



UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES (CoHU)

Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies

UNITED NATION'S WORLD PHILOSOPHY DAY 2021

Conference theme:

Philosophy in Tanzania Today: Reaching to the core of
political and socio-economic concerns

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS



18th Nov. 2021

New Library Auditorium, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

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REPLACING MONOPOLIES WITH IMPACT REWARDS

Thomas Pogge

Globalized in 1995 through the TRIPs Agreement, humanity's favored mechanism for encouraging innovations involves 20-year product patents, whose monopoly features enable innovators to reap large markups or licensing fees from early users. This system encourages innovations in a way that impedes their diffusion and withdraws innovator attention away from the needs of the poor. These defects being most harmful in the domain of pharmaceuticals, we urge the creation of a supplementary alternative mechanism that would reward pharmaceutical innovations from fixed annual reward pools, divided according to the health gains achieved with each, while capping the sales price at a variable cost of manufacture and distribution. Such a **Health Impact Fund** would create powerful new incentives to develop remedies against diseases concentrated among the poor, rapidly to provide such remedies with ample care at very low prices, and to deploy them strategically to contain, suppress, and ideally eradicate the target disease. By promoting innovations and their diffusion together, impact funds include poor people in the orientation and in the benefits of innovation and thereby massively increase its social value and cost-effectiveness.

* * * * *

Imagine a Health Impact Fund that, jointly supported by many countries, invites innovators to register any of their new pharmaceuticals for participation in ten consecutive annual payouts, each to be divided among registered products according to health gains achieved in the preceding year. With these reward payments enabling innovators to recoup their R&D expenses and to make appropriate profits, the price of registered products is capped to merely covering their lowest feasible costs of manufacture and distribution. Registrants must also agree to their registered product going generic after its 10-year reward period, even if it still has unexpired patents. To reassure funders and/or registrants, a maximum and/or minimum reward rate could be specified.

The Health Impact Fund might get started with annual pools of \$6 billion – less than 1% of the \$800 billion per annum the world currently spends on branded pharmaceuticals, and obtainable if countries representing one-third of gross world product contributed 0.02% of their gross national incomes. This contribution would be offset by savings on registered medicines and other health care costs as well as by gains in economic productivity and associated tax revenues.

Innovators would remain free to charge patent-protected high prices in non-contributing affluent countries. This would give innovators more reason to register products with the Health Impact Fund and affluent countries more reason to join the funding coalition. Over time, the Fund might grow – through economic growth in contributing countries, accession of new countries, or agreement to raise the contribution percentage – and

would then attract an increasing number of new pharmaceutical products.

There are three main reasons for adding the Health Impact Fund to the current regime. First, it would end the neglect of the neglected tropical diseases, which afflict over a billion people, and of other major diseases concentrated among the poor, like tuberculosis, malaria, hepatitis, and pneumonia, which together kill some 7 million people annually. By inducing innovators to prioritize these diseases, against which the most cost-effective health gains can be achieved, the Health Impact Fund would be a valuable partner for organizations like the Global Fund, GAVI, and MSF by making available to them, at very low prices, the novel pharmaceuticals they need in their work. The Health Impact Fund would also engender much deeper and broader knowledge about such diseases and greater capacities for developing additional, more targeted responses quickly. Innovators would thus be much better prepared to develop and supply pharmaceuticals suitable for confronting emerging threats such as Ebola or COVID-19.

Second, the Health Impact Fund would motivate innovators to build, in collaboration with national health systems, international agencies, and NGOs, a strong public-health strategy around their product. To earn maximum rewards, they would aim at supplying not many patients but – after eradicating the target disease – none at all. If an innovator achieved eradication in year 7, it could enjoy the world’s gratitude while still collecting three large payouts toward its next R&D project. Patent rewards, by contrast, penalize such efforts: a pharmaceutical that slashes the incidence of its target disease thereby ruins its own future market. The Health Impact Fund is needed, then, to motivate innovators to fight communicable diseases, such as COVID-19, at the population level. The absence of such incentives heretofore may well be the reason why, with all our scientific sophistication, all the trillions spent on pharmaceuticals, humanity has ever managed to eradicate only a single human disease: smallpox, over 40 years ago.

Third, while sales prices of patented medicines often exceed 1000 times manufacturing costs, causing millions of people avoidably to suffer and die every year, Health-Impact-Fund-registered pharmaceuticals would be available without markup from day 1. Yet, despite their low sales price, innovators would nonetheless have strong incentives reliably to deliver such products, in top condition, to remote and impoverished places, with clear local-language instructions and adherence support for patients and providers. This is so because the Health Impact Fund lets innovators earn more than the sales price from supplying a product. It *leaves no one behind* by assigning more value to the health and survival of poor people than what they themselves can afford to pay. Doing so is morally right. It is also collectively advantageous, especially with communicable diseases, which would be central to the Health Impact Fund: By containing and ideally eradicating such disease among the poor, we protect everyone from the threat it poses, including the threat of new drug-resistant strains, which often emerge in patients who cannot afford to take the full dosage or full course of treatment of an expensive drug.

The recent outbreaks of Ebola, swine flu and COVID-19 bring into sharp relief all three reasons for supplementing the current regime: we have too little knowledge and know-how in regard to the infectious diseases of poverty, we allow poor populations to be breeding grounds for new diseases and (often drug-resistant) disease strains and we lack incentives toward coordinated global efforts to contain and eradicate diseases. Such efforts must include poor populations: we need good new treatments for the diseases of poverty, and we must ensure that people everywhere have access to important pharmaceuticals and can use them to optimal effect.

Impact funds are a meta-innovation, an innovation in how we reward innovations. They can work in any domain where a *uniform* metric of *social* value can be formulated, such as health gains (pharmaceuticals), pollution reduction (green technologies), knowledge and employment (education), nutrient yield, and reduced use of fertilizers and pesticides (agriculture). Their key features are:

- Impact funds are optional for both innovators and funders – a complementary alternative to monopoly rewards, designed to mitigate their main moral defects and inefficiencies. Such dual optionality makes it easier to establish any impact fund in a gradual way.
- While monopoly patents reward innovation through the sales price, thereby severely impeding their diffusion, impact funds cap the sales price at or near the lowest feasible cost of manufacture and distribution, thereby disconnecting the sales price from the cost of innovation.
- Impact funds then cover the fixed cost of innovation plus appropriate profits through additional reward payments based on the innovation's performance of which diffusion is an integral part: we need innovations, and we need these innovations to spread and be used to good effect.
- Impact funds tie performance rewards to an objective value standard that is sensitive to externalities (effects of parties other than the innovation's buyers and intended users) and insensitive to the buyers' economic position and willingness to pay.
- Impact funds train innovators to work holistically: to optimize the whole venture from conception of R&D to realized social benefits.
- Impact funds engender a wide competition across an entire domain of innovation, thereby sustaining a broad quest for the most cost-effective progress (the lowest-hanging fruits).

An impact fund's reward rate is self-adjusting: when innovators find it unattractive, a decline in registrations will raise it; when innovators find it highly attractive, a rise in registered innovations will lower it. Such automatic self-adjustment reassures innovators that the reward rate will not become unprofitable and reassures contributors that this rate will be held down by competition among innovators.

- While patent rewards turn innovators into jealous spies in search of possible infringers, impact rewards encourage innovators actively to promote *widespread* and *effective* deployment of their innovation with an eye to *optimizing its overall impact*.
- Impact funds motivate registrants to invest in promoting optimal use and even in subsidizing the innovation to poor buyers if and insofar as the increase in impact rewards gained from such investments is expected to exceed their cost. Innovators would typically collect much more money in impact rewards than from sales proceeds.
- While monopoly rewards tempt innovators in various ways to “put profits over people,” impact rewards can align profits with human needs, thereby making the business of innovation much more *equitable* in terms of *research priorities* and *access to its fruits*. Innovators *do well by doing good*.
- Impact funds would guide innovators to make their investment decisions in light of each potential innovation’s full expected impact and to facilitate each registered innovation’s fast and wide and impactful diffusion. Such large gains in cost-effectiveness would enable a triple win: for beneficiaries of innovations, for the innovators, and also for governments/taxpayers.

Any impact fund should ideally be global to serve more people at a lower *per-capita* cost. Richer people and societies should contribute more – as they do under the present system, where early users provide the rewards through large markups or licensing fees. The difference is that when the affluent contribute through ordinary taxes, there is no need to exclude the poor. Promoting innovations and their diffusion together, impact funds include poor people in the orientation and benefits of innovation and thereby massively increase its social value and cost-effectiveness.

The proposed Health Impact Fund is a large agency with a budget between those of the World Food Program and the Global Fund. Because it works with long-term incentives, its funding must be secured for some 15 years into the future. To win governments’ support for such an ambitious undertaking, a significant pilot is essential. With funding from the European Research Council, we have concluded a small pilot in India, focused on data collection for health impact assessment. The next pilot must be substantially larger and involve real rewards to innovators, showing how they respond to incentives and how much can be achieved with a given pool of reward funds.

The planned pilot would involve a reward pool of ca. \$100 million, collected from a few governments and foundations (US, Germany, Italy, South Korea, India, UK, Gates Foundation). This is not enough to fund the full development of even a single new pharmaceutical. Instead, we would invite innovators to submit proposals of how they might, with one of their existing molecules, achieve additional health impact in some selected poor country or region. They might propose, for instance, to develop especially

for, and then to provide in, some poor tropical region a heat-stable or pediatric version of one of their drugs or vaccines, a fixed-dose combination, a new distribution or treatment protocol, or a suitable new diagnostic. An expert committee would select the four best proposals based on, *inter alia*, anticipated incremental health gains, prospects for broad, equitable access especially by the poor, susceptibility to reliable, consistent, and inexpensive health impact assessment, and promise of follow-on social value. Selected proponents (which might include non-commercial innovators such as DNDi and the TB Alliance) would then be given three years for implementation. At the end of this period, achieved health gains would be assessed (according to pre-agreed criteria, by an agency like IHME or IQWIG) and the reward pool be divided proportionately. If this pilot were reasonably successful, an international agreement on the establishment of the Health Impact Fund would become a real possibility.

We ask for collaboration and moral support from African states toward advocating and implementing this pilot and – based on what will be learned from it – toward advocating and implementing the Health Impact Fund itself.

More fully including the poor in the benefits of pharmaceutical innovation is an imperative of justice and fully in line with prevailing rhetorical commitments as enshrined, for example, in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care...” (Article 25), in the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, recognizing “the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health” (Article 12), and in the *Sustainable Development Goals*, especially “Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages” with its associated targets to “reduce the global maternal mortality ratio” (3.1), to “end preventable deaths of newborns and children under 5 years of age” (3.2), to “end the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and neglected tropical diseases and combat hepatitis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases” (3.3), to “achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health-care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all” (3.8), to “support the research and development of vaccines and medicines for the communicable and non-communicable diseases that primarily affect developing countries, provide access to affordable essential medicines and vaccines ... for all” (3b), to “strengthen the capacity of all countries, in particular developing countries, for early warning, risk reduction and management of national and global health risks” (3d). The Health Impact Fund would be highly effective at promoting all these rights and targets.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the Health Impact Fund is that thanks to the astounding inefficiencies of monopoly rewards, it could dramatically improve global health, especially among the world’s poor, without cost to anyone. Raising the social benefits achieved with pharmaceutical innovations, vastly extending their reach, and

greatly reducing wasteful expenditures by patentees, the Health Impact Fund would greatly improve the efficiency of the pharmaceutical sector.

A CHRISTIAN THEORY OF GLOBAL JUSTICE

Elke Mack

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My little knowledge of African ethicists tells me that western ethics should listen and hear what you have to say, first. Authors like Odera Oruka (Parental ‘Earth Ethics’) would emphasize an absolute right to a human minimum and reject conditions of excessive inequality. An Ubuntu principle in African ethics will stress a spirit of humanity, empathy, care, and solidarity. Your colleague Aidan Msafiri developed the theology of Human Rights in Africa, wrote about “Globalization of concern” and a book on environmental ethics, which is all very respectable in my eyes. I also completely agree with Philbert Komu to consider the principle of democracy as a key concept for modern political ethics – I do it myself for a long time. As well as I could not more agree with Judith Valerian who takes a stance for women’s rights, which are one of the most important rights to be at stake in Africa. In line with these, I will offer my ideas as well.

In the light of global poverty, the political suppression of human beings in the world, and the need of saving the planet, a just international framework is overdue. Therefore, Christian social ethics takes a stance for a new global order, which is nonviolent, socially just, and sustainable. Since we as Christians see a relationship among all people in the world, regardless of their religion, we often talk about a world’s family. The major focus, in favor of this world’s society, is to find a just framework for us all, based on communication, free of power, between all persons concerned, who are all invited to find a fundamental consensus on global justice. Two important approaches, the Discourse Ethics of Jürgen Habermas and the theory of Justice of John Rawls, are both combined with a Christian tradition of just world order.

I am convinced that we cannot achieve this with a one-sided and power-imbalanced paradigm, nor should it be a paradigm based on claims of individual entitlements alone, since we are all social beings, who are all sitting in the same global boat. So, the consciousness for the fact of social, economic, political, and ecological interdependences between all human beings, should give rise to a new global order. On a cosmopolitan level the justification of such is a challenge because it equally must respect the ethical demands of all possible traditions, religions, cultures, and peoples on different continents – even those of minorities and smaller nations, regardless of economic inequality. A global framework can only be called just if all human beings have equal status, a guarantee of their human rights, and a right of giving proportional or representative expression to themselves.

Christian Ethics would uphold principles of solidarity and the human dignity of the person – regardless of his or her cultural or ethnic background. This cannot be done in the sense that one only assumes the role of a patron who knows where the deeper needs of all other people lie. It is even more absurd to take responsibility for someone,

who comes from a completely unfamiliar cultural or social background and might be suffering severe deprivation, but who is not asked for his or her needs, interests, or perspectives. When one takes a stance for deductive ethics of right, nobody is really invited to get involved in a global discourse between human subjects. Ethical experts of the West cannot have comprehensive *a priori* knowledge of what the existential needs and interests of the African people are. I tell you this from my own experience in other African countries. To avoid all forms of ethical paternalism in ethics, there is no alternative to a process of repeatedly coming to **a new global agreement** on *every* fundamental issue of global justice.

Human Rights and Solidarity

Notwithstanding, we can hardly think of any global structure that would not be based on human rights. Human rights practically amount to the code of principles from which a global order cannot really retreat. Therefore, fundamental principles of right are crucial elements in a global structure in favor of the very poorest – like the legal claims to basic goods (food, water, housing ...), the rights of subsistence, the right of physical integrity, the right of equality, rights to empowerment and participation, as well as the idea of new ecological human rights on sustainability.

It is obvious that human rights already constitute a normative consensus for most of the world. Therefore, most ethicists make them the irreducible starting point for their arguments. At the same time, however, they are not yet sufficient as ethical criteria regarding the fundamental problems of the absolutely poor and oppressed, especially women and girls. There are two reasons for this: First, as Amartya Sen found out, a human right of equality, for instance, has not only to be guaranteed by the rule of law in a public realm, but within households and families, and within private relationships. If Female Genital Mutilation is not considered a crime within families, it takes a lot of effort to build up public and social awareness within society, that it is one of the severest violations of the human rights of a woman. And this will only succeed after a long change of mind within patriarchal societies. Secondly, goals of justice, namely equating the most disadvantaged people in the world, cannot be achieved by developing states on their own. In a situation of malnutrition, drought, the severe need for basic goods, underdevelopment, or undercapitalization of a whole country, global solidarity and special investment in poor economies are overdue. This undertaking of solidarity must not be a zero-sum game, nor does it just reflect a pure donor-recipient relationship between human beings.

What is really needed, however, is constant fair political interaction and economic investment in the Global South as a form of solidarity in a globalized world. Big capital must not wait with its investment in Africa until the wages in Asia are rising, so Africa would finally be attractive for global capital. Paul Collier therefore proposes a more Social Capitalism. The Germans call it a World's Social Market Economy (Cardinal Reinard Marx, Munich). To secure this aim, a global order should not only be a question of social motives, but in favor of the long-term advantages of all human

beings and the entire world.

For it can be empirically proved, that extreme situations of inequality – like the poverty and deprivation in parts of Africa - are counterproductive for the *global common good*. For Empirical studies in development, economics showed that the gains in standard of living are less for the entire world – and not just for the most disadvantaged if we leave out Africa south of the Sahara. On the contrary, a global society where all have sufficient means of exchange is going to be beneficial to the entire world. So just on empirical grounds, a certain form of mutual solidarity is consistent with normative reasons as well as further economic prosperity for the world at large.

The same is right for climate change, which is not only a question of changing peoples' style of living, energy use or economic production in western states alone, but a question of changing all transactions human beings undertake into a sustainable system all over the world. Development economics, ecological ethics and the ethics of justice coincide on this point, and lead to the necessity of a reformed world order in terms of justice, solidarity, and sustainability.

Justification of a Global Order

From the point of view of global ethics, however, we must still ask how a global order can be justified.

Following a democratic turnaround in modern ethics of justice (Philbert Komu), this very same method can be applied to the global level likewise. For in view of a wide range of global problems like climate change, extreme poverty and suppression of women and minorities, can only be solved by establishing a *new global social order* based on solidarity.

Although many cultures, religions, national identities, interests, and needs exist, a considerable number of problems can only be managed by means of a world order to which everyone must agree – at the least on a hypothetical ground. Theoretically we must ask how people would assent to global norms of justice – in a neutral situation, where they do not know whether they are living in Norway or in South-Sudan, whether they would have been born as a man or a woman, white or colored, whether in affluent or in needy circumstances, whether they will live today or in future generations. Only this kind of neutral approach would allow us to speak of a justified global social contract in the interest of all human beings, which would meet the criteria worked out by John Rawls “Law of Peoples” (1999) and in full agreement with a Christian theory of justice.

Christian input: the principle of subsidiarity

Still, if we were able to justify a global social contract of this kind, the question of political practice would of course remain open.

To make it work, Christian social ethics plead for an *international order of a subsidiary, in which the rich are not over-flowingly demanded, but obliged to a necessary extent of solidarity. The degree of solidarity is measured as far as the smaller units (either states, communities, or individual persons) cannot take care of their needs by themselves.* This implies that the social order must fulfill the basic needs and the fundamental capabilities of all human beings as having equal status (John Paul II, Centesimos Annus, 1991).

However, cosmopolitan positions can be criticized in view of the fact, that they make over-extensive moral demands. These are supposed to overburden the capacity of richer economies and are therefore stigmatized to be too excessive. For this reason, based on the theory of justice, what one should aimed for, is a *subsidiary global order*, which does not make excessive interferences in markets or states, but offers necessary levels of responsibilities as much as is necessary. According to the principle of subsidiarity, this demands first, that poorer countries develop their own intrinsic capabilities as far as they can on their own capacity.

Christian social ethics is therefore only open to a federal world order, which should still be subsidiary and polyarchic (Benedict XVI, Caritas in Veritate, 2009). Global power of this kind would have to subordinate itself to the rule of law, and stand by the principles, justified by the consensus of the peoples of the world. Any form of global order should be focused on the realization of a world's common good and the realization of a truly holistic form of human development for all.

As John Rawls proofed, *ad hoc* arrangements are not sufficient to justify a just order, because they are always in danger being dominated by hegemonic supremacy and the misuse of power. In line with this approach, Christian ethics claims traditionally that the basic needs of all persons concerned must be respected, especially concerning the weakest. So, a hegemonial stance of predominant states must be ruled out for ethical reasons. For, nations like Tanzania or other populous African states are only included on an equal footing, if they are proportionally included in the creation of a social, political, ecological, and economic global order, by which they sufficiently can bring in their particular interests and needs. Nothing else can be called just on a global level.

Therefore, upholding the dignity of the human person must be the supreme principle for the development of social structures, so that *development can* not only be materialistically curtailed, but understood in terms of human capabilities, – like in the light of the “capability” approach of Sen and Nussbaum, as well as in that of Christian social ethics.

The dignity of the human person equally implies fundamental recognition of the other party (namely people of other color, people of diverse sex, the women, the foreigners...) and solidarity with the weaker and less advantaged out of a required responsibility for everyone in need. This social demand is not only valid for face-to-face contacts, but also for national policy and the state as well as for international relations. Therefore, no state that tolerates violation of human rights and fundamental

deprivation of human beings within its borders, can claim means of solidarity by the world community. Democracy as a form of human recognition really means that all people are sovereigns not only every four or five years when they can vote. Since a democratic rule of law is supposed to serve every individual every day, independently of their gender, skin color, religion, social origin, or ethnic background.

Persons prior to nature

In keeping with this ascription of dignity to the human person, the distinctive character of Christian social ethics lies in making a stance for the possibility of normative ethics at a global scale, but an ethics that is not biocentric, not transhuman and not plainly naturalistic. I say this, because we are now in the process of finding the right way to argue for an ecological global order.

Out of a Christian perspective all human beings are inhabitants of the planet and therefore the basis of claim for ecological global justice - in the sense of a Human Ecology as Pope Francis named it in “*Laudato si*” 2017. He emphasizes, that *ecological ethics is a function of humanity*, one that postulates a global responsibility to every suffering individual human being. This challenges global ethics at last to keep livable conditions in Africa south of Sahara and especially around the equator. Due to this, the extreme economic inequality in the world demands wealthy countries and transnational corporations not only to make an impact to the Global South’ economic welfare increase, but to contribute to a carbon neutral economy worldwide as much as they can. The people in Africa should not just have access to fundamental basic goods, but also should have a real chance of participating in the processes of global prosperity and sustainable conditions of living. However, the ecologic transformation must serve human peoples as ends in themselves. So, nature has an ethical worth, but has considered to be anthropo-relational.

Inequality and responsibilities

Therefore, a Christian theory of global justice will advocate a global difference principle together with Charles Beitz and Thomas Pogge, which demands a justification of inequalities in the world towards the poor. This is overdue, because now it is more than doubtful that the least advantaged countries in Africa benefit from the current situation of inequality, because their inclusion in globalization is still rudimentary. A global difference principle will only see global economic inequalities as justified if they suffice to provide the poorest with the greatest possible benefit. Thus, in the context of this approach, it is considered inadequate to guarantee a mere obligation of aid in the interest of human survival and subsistence rights to the poor. However, a new and subsidiary *global social contract is overdue, which is inclusive for all and promotes prosperity for everyone – especially Africa south of Sahara*.

From a Christian perspective this, first, would involve national solidarity obligations in form of a national social state, not playing it out against a complementary transnational form of solidarity. Both must go hand in hand. And any form of solidarity must be

social and economically subsistent at the same time.

This subsidiary stance of social responsibility is in harmony with the demands of secular political philosophy of the present day, which insists, that peoples as well as national states are co-responsible for their members and citizens.

Considering the particular interests of the poor and the most disadvantaged, this approach stresses above all the importance of global institutional regulations and the reform of national social institutions in the same measure, especially in countries suffering from political instability, climate change and poverty.

As it has become apparent in interdisciplinary research into poverty and climate change, there is no alternative to the institutional correction of negative economic effects and politically inadequate institutions, even up to the reform of failed states.

This ethical paradigm of consensus on a better global structure calls for the inclusion of the poor in an economic and political sense and for their basis of living. In the light of this we can assume that the poor would demand a global order which at least guarantees them a framework of inclusion in global economy, rights of subsidiarity rather than subsistence and a right of veto on further changes to global institutions to their disadvantage.

A form of global solidarity involving the poor must exceed the threshold to self-development and participation in global processes of prosperity. This initial measure of solidarity and subsidiarity must change the disadvantages affecting the poor, at least up to the point where *positive autonomy and subsistent independent activity become possible*.

Conclusion: Cultural Respect

At last, a central precondition for the successful implementation of a global theory of justice is that it be compatible with the moral cultures of the countries concerned. In concrete terms this means that such a strategy must be thoroughly grounded in local ethically motivated resources. At the same time, a strategy of this kind will always support those self-reflective processes in a culture which critically scrutinize their own traditions in the light of reinforcing or overcoming poverty and human rights violations within its own society. This ethically cosmopolitan basic approach must however get beyond the traditionally Eurocentric semantics and embrace the core elements of the various valuable moral cultures in the world. And I assume that East Africa can offer to us a valuable treasure of ethical ideas which we jet did not recognize for ourselves.

Main Source: Elke Mack, A Christian Theory of Justice, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany 2017, Chapter 3, 148ff (with all notes and sources).

https://www.uni-erfurt.de/fileadmin/fakultaet/katholisch-theologische/Professuren/Systematisch/Christliche_Sozialwissenschaften_und_Ethik/AChristianTheoryofJustice.pdf

GENDER-BASED INEQUITY IN EDUCATION

Lissa Patrick (Postgraduate Student)

Introduction

The human rights approach to development is built on the principle that all people are morally equal and, as a result, have the right to such basic rights (Stewart, 2013; Maftai, 2015; & Hall, 2021). According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (Stewart, 2013). Gender manifests in terms of socially and traditionally shaped roles, features, and expectations assigned to women, men, girls, and boys. Gender equity involves just opportunity in access to goods and services required to meet their social needs and services for both males and females. This paper seeks to better comprehend how women are constrained by the world’s dominant patriarchal system, which has resulted in the manifestation of gender injustice and inequity in access to education, as stated in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Furthermore, 189 countries approved the 1979 convention on the bill of rights for women, which was adopted and signed as the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1981. In the convention agreement Article 10 necessitates equal educational opportunities for female students are required, and coeducation is encouraged. It also guarantees equal access to athletics, scholarships, and grants for female students, as well as a “decrease in female dropout rates from school (Maftai, 2015). Females and people with disabilities are the most vulnerably affected group that remains uneducated in society due to structural, economic, and social-cultural practices that will be discussed in this paper (Emmett, 2006).

Definition of Terms.

Sex

Relates to women’s and men’s biological and physiological features.

Gender

Refers to the socially constructed roles, relationships, and customs that society believes proper for men and women. In a specific setting, gender determines what is expected, authorized, and valued in a woman or a man (WHO, 2011a)

Gender equality

Is the state of having equal access to resources and opportunities, including economic participation and decision-making, regardless of gender; and is the state of equally valuing different behaviors, goals, and needs, without gender bias. Gender equality is the aim, while gender neutrality and gender equities are practices and ways of thinking that aid in that objective’s achievement. (UNICEF, 2011).

Gender inequity

It refers to a lack of mistreatment for men and women based on their respective needs and demands to mean the rights, duties, benefits, and opportunities they are unbalanced (USAID, 2008).

Girls' Involvement in Education throughout History

In the early years of life, most girls receive an education in a classroom sponsored by a royal or aristocratic household, or in a convent. In late medieval towns such as England, there is evidence of informal elementary schools, where girls got some instruction from parish priests or clerks (Hall, 2021). In the same study, the author said that girls were typically taught orally, but instructors would read texts aloud to them. Families with wealth and rank send their daughters to nunneries for education outside of the home. They come across a vast range of reading material there.

Laura Bassi earned a Ph.D. from the University of Bologna in 1732. She was the first woman in history to get a Ph.D. in science. Bassi was also the university's first salaried female educator and one of its highest-paid employees (Frize, 2013). Complaints about gender inequity prospered following the adoption of civil rights legislation between 1865 and 1871, resulting in the Women's Suffrage Movement and the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

A Manifestation of Gender Inequity in Educational Attainment

Gender inequity manifests itself in society in a variety of ways, including employment and experience level, pay gap, health, and education, particularly in elementary and middle schools (Gustafson 2012). For instance, the myth of science subjects has got its roots in history, as subjects related to technology, mathematics, and engineering were dedicated to men and not women. According to Sector (2017) data, only 33% of children and adult females were in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics in 2017, with discrimination, biases, and social norms to blame.

Worldwide, it has been noted that between early and late adolescence, girls lose interest in science, engineering, technology, and mathematics disciplines, thus affecting their performance from secondary to higher education as female students account for 35% of all students enrolled in science-related fields of study worldwide. Female enrolment is lowest in engineering, manufacturing and construction, natural science, mathematics and statistics, and information and communication technology departments. However, there are significant regional and country-wide variances in female representation in STEM disciplines, implying that there are contextual variables influencing girls' and women's participation in these fields (Chavatzia, 2017).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, some improvement has been made so far in some countries concerning gender gaps in education, though there is variation among countries in the level of achieving gender disparity depending on different factors that affect much more within the region, the question of disparity in education remains an agenda that

needs to be addressed intensively.

Likely, the situation in Tanzania is different from some levels of education. At the primary level of education, opportunities for education for both sexes are equal and girls perform better than boys, thus increasing the chances of many girls' enrolment into secondary schools (MOEVT, 2016). Despite the government's efforts to ensure equal access to education, females continue to lag behind in the group of literates, limiting their decision-making power on matters affecting their welfare.

Factors Affecting Girls' Participation in Education

Many enormous reasons contribute to the failure of total participation of females, especially girls, in attending school effectively. As a result, girls drop out of school or fail to complete their studies.

Traditional and Cultural Practices

Africa has been dominated by the shed of people practicing their traditional values and beliefs as a way of life. Many societies in Africa believe in the concept of the common good as life depends on nature and on practicing rituals inherited from their ancestors. Thus, some of those practices have affected girls' children and women negatively. For example, a study by Arkadi (2020) on factors hindering girls' completion of secondary education among pastoral communities shows that due to the patriarchal system of men dominating in decision-making in the Maasai community, women's participation in education is impossible since they have the responsibility of performing the domestic core and taking care of the young ones.

Because of the nature of pastoral societies, young girls and boys are responsible for caring for the cattle rather than attending school. When looking for pastures for their cattle, they don't tend to stay in one spot for long. As a result, when drought strikes, females are more likely to drop out of school to attend to domestic responsibilities such as trekking long distances to gather water or seasonal travels in search of pastures during dry seasons (Arkadi, 2020). Therefore, such cases hinder girls' complete involvement in education. A report by UNICEF (2005) revealed that many girls under the age of 18 are forced into marriage as their parents believe that the dowry payment will help raise their financial status and social development. Unfortunately, child marriage leads to early pregnancies, and since these girls lack knowledge about reproductive health and how to improve their economic wellbeing, it results in poverty growth.

Furthermore, practices such as Female Genital Mutilation in the Mara and Maasai regions have a direct impact on girls' education due to the pain they experience, and some of them even die due to blood loss; the same is true in the coastal regions of Pwani, Mtwara, Morogoro, and Zanzibar. The culture of practicing "Unyago" among young girls exposes girls to early sexual affairs with strong desires to practice what they were taught in the camps. As a result, a girl who is pregnant cannot further her

studies, hence she must drop out of school. Also, due to unprotected sex, STDs and HIV/AIDS are the output of these practices, affecting girls' completion of education. Therefore, such cultural practices have affected girls' stability in education.

Economic Factors

The financial situation of a family plays a significant role in determining whether a parent can afford the direct and indirect expenditures of a child's education. Tuition, school uniform fees, transportation expenses, and other material expenditures such as textbooks are all direct charges for a child to attend school. A Kenya-based study revealed that, for poor families, girls are the most direct victims when education costs are unaffordable. In a survey conducted in the mid-1990s, 58% of respondents let their daughters drop out, while only 27% chose sons over daughters for primary education (Anastasia & Teklemariam, 2011).

Thus, due to economic hardships, girls are probably the first victims of dropping out of school when their parents cannot afford to meet school expenses. Coupled with a negative perception towards girls, they are probably subjected to bullying at home and at school. Therefore, educating a son continues to extend the clan and increase prosperity in the family. Thus, this myth increases the disparity in education between girls and boys.

Geographical Factors

The disparity between rural and urban areas contributes to affecting girls' participation in education. In areas where the school is far away from home, girls are more likely to be refused by their parents to attend school than boys. For instance, a study by Brock and Cammish (1997) shows that some educational patterns, such as in Bangladesh and Sierra Leone, are unfinished even at the primary level. The effect of this is pronounced to be an insufficient or irregular primary provision in terms of spatial provision, which leads to distance issues between home and school. As a result, parents are likely to restrict their girl children from going to school rather than boys.

UNESCO (2011) proclaimed that despite the efforts the government made in building new schools, there is little consideration of the distance factor concerning student residence and performance, especially those situated in rural areas, resulting in school dropouts due to factors such as unexpected pregnancies by men familiarly known as "Mafataki" who lied to them with expensive and modern materials such as phones, junk food, and so on.

Administrative and Educational Factors

Insufficient instructional materials at school and inadequate infrastructures such as classrooms, dormitories, and toilets affect girls' participation in education as the environment is unconducive to girls. Factors such as a lack of sanitary latrines and incinerators to dispose of their sanitary towels, as well as a lack of clean and safe water to wash, discourage girls from attending school. On the side of administrative factors,

despite the policies established that aim to promote gender equity in education, the political will to implement the policies is restricted by economic budget constraints, thus affecting girls' involvement in education.

Strategies for Addressing the Gender Gap in Education

Women's integration into the development agenda has proven to yield positive outcomes since they are the agents of human capital development, so their needs should be prioritized for them to continue to be positive agents of development. The 4th United Nations Conference on Women was held on September 4–15, 1995 in Beijing, China, and attended by more than 17,000 participants from 189 countries. It was remarkable as the most significant conference adopted a Beijing Declaration and a Platform for Action, calling upon the international and civil society to take direct actions for women's development and achievement of gender equity in 12 areas of concern, such as violence against women, children, women in power and decision-making, women's health, women's economy, inadequate and unequal access to education and training, to mention a few. Thus, the conference was a turning point towards raising awareness of promoting equity in education and training for both males and females (Muyoyeta, 2007).

From the MDG's in 2015, a set of SDGs by 2025 was introduced as a blueprint for making the world a better place by 2030. The targeted goals are being implemented through a framework that was developed, and goal 4 is aimed at ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education (Adams & Judd, 2016). The means of achieving those targets are through upgrading inclusive and safe schools, expanding higher education scholarships for those in developing countries, and increasing the enrolment of qualified teachers.

Nevertheless, in the field of education, gender disparity still exists at the global level and regionally, but despite the setbacks, various pioneers have stood to advocate for gender equity, specifically in promoting girls' right to education. Equity in education liberates women from social oppression and violence. Some of the activists for that were Zainab Salbi, Julia Gillard, Michelle Obama, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Erna Solberg, Erma Watson, and women from Africa like Angelique Kidjo, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Graca Machel, and Phumzile Mlambo. And from Tanzania, specifically women such as Judith Kitinga, Rebecca Gyumi, and Flaviana Matata.

Activists such as Malala Yousafzai from Pakistan made a remarkable history in the universe when she stood up and advocated for human rights and women's right to education. In October 2012, Malala Yousafzai was shot by a Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan gunman in an attempted assassination. She was shot in the head on a bus when she was 14, after taking an exam (Schifrin, 2013). Her campaigning for girls' right to education earned the Nobel Peace Prize in 2014. In July 2013, Malala Yousafzai addressed the United Nations, and in October 2014, she visited Queen Elizabeth II. She founded a Syrian refugee school in Lebanon on her 18th birthday, in July 2015.

Malala Yousafzai has urged international leaders to buy “books, not guns” (Mendoza, 2015). As for the Flaviana Matata Foundation, with her colleagues, they initiated a program to support girls during their periods living in underserved communities, and 1,000 students benefited from it one year inclusively, to ensure they stay in school, even when they are on their period.

Msichana Initiative’s creator and executive director, Rebeca Gyumi, is a local NGO whose mission is to empower a girl child through education and to solve significant problems that hinder girls’ access to education. She is a solicitor who was awarded the 2018 United Nations Human Rights Prize and the 2016 UNICEF Global Goals Award for her work in Tanzania strengthening girls’ rights. She has been a TV personality and youth ambassador for Femina for more than eight years. Rebeca is a volunteer and advocate for several campaigns and social causes, campaigning for safe schools and decent education for Tanzanian students. She is devoted to the empowerment of women and girls. From the Education 2030 Agenda that aims at ensuring access to basic education for everyone as part of the SDGs, there is a need to integrate education into every aspect of development by equipping people with enough knowledge on how to achieve the target.

Success in achieving gender equity in education in Tanzania

In Tanzania, access to free education from primary level to secondary school was part of the party manifesto by the late president, John Pombe Magufuli. This paved the scope for increasing the enrolment of girls’ children into school as an initiation in implementing the MDGs under the framework of the poverty reduction strategy. Furthermore, an increase in affirmative action has assisted many females in enrollment at the university level. Various campaigns have helped to sensitize parents’ awareness about the value of educating girls beyond primary education. Moreover, an increase in female teachers in rural areas and hostel provisions has helped a lot in ensuring girls’ safety for those staying in boarding schools, as there is more time to concentrate on studies rather than doing domestic chores when they stay at home.

Challenges in achieving gender equity in education in Tanzania.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, girls’ academic performance has been declining progressively due to various factors, but also a gap is seen between secondary and higher education. In fields like education, humanities, and art, for example, the proportion of girls greatly outnumbers that of boys. Boys outnumber girls in science, engineering, and architecture (Leder, 2015). Furthermore, the distance disparity is still a challenge for girls’ safety, and to avoid walking long distances and absenteeism from school, they are forced to rent houses in areas nearby known as “mageto”, thus becoming more vulnerable to sexual abuse due to peer influence and behavior.

A quarter of Tanzanian women aged 15 to 19 were pregnant or had given birth in 2014, while a third of all girls were married by the age of 18, and 3,700 girls dropped out of primary and secondary school in 2016 as a result of adolescent pregnancy. However,

this figure is a “huge underestimate”. Due to insufficient means of accommodation caused by the increasing enrolment of students at the university, female students in residences are forced to carry each other in small rooms that were meant for less than four students, a term familiarly known as “Kubebana”. Hence, for those who miss accommodation, they rent rooms in the streets, where the risk becomes much higher as they become exposed to sexual assaults.

Conclusion.

Notable steps have been carried out to foster girls’ access to education and thus meet the goals of SDGs such as first, ending poverty in all its forms, second, ending hunger, achieving food security, improving nutrition, and promoting agriculture, third, ensuring healthy lives and promoting wellbeing, fifth, achieving gender equity and empowering all women and girls, and sixth, eradicating child poverty, eighth, Long-Term Inclusive and Sustainable Economic Growth and sixteenth, promote peaceful and inclusive societies. There is a need to invest more in female education to empower them to be able to participate fully in developmental activities in the public and private domains. Therefore, it’s a call for the government and society to make more efforts to increase girls’ enrolment in schools.

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THE INFLUENCE OF GLOBAL CAPITALISM ON WOMEN IN AFRICAN HISTORY – (IN)COMPLETE PROCESSES AND AGENCY

Alma Simba

Global capitalism has had profound effects on women across regions throughout history. Ellen Hartigan O'Connor argues that the history of women and global capitalism has been understudied as the male/female binary has been perceived as natural rather than “historically constructed”.¹ The result is that the experience of women under capitalism has been seen as a product of natural capitalist development rather than a crafted, gendered division of labour. Effectively, ideas that are assumed to be natural and fixed such as ‘labour’ and ‘the market’ are not as neutral as one might think but rather embodied in the hierarchal division and intense gender differentiation. By assessing women as active actors in the growth of global capitalism, novel understandings of globalization and the world economy can be noted.

For instance, the slave experience has been shown to be extremely gendered. The contribution of slavery to the global economy, and particularly industrialized nations such as America and Britain, has been discussed at length by scholars.² Sugar plantations in the Caribbean demanded strenuous work and most field slaves were women despite the labour demands being physically harder for them. Evidence from British slave plantations, Newton and Seawell show how sickness was closely monitored by slave owners as any days off affected production and profitability. At Newton, the time that pregnant women got off was low due to this rationale, and women “were forced to return too quickly to labour, [which] alone probably drove them into the sick house and created chronic health concerns”.³ Women were subject to harsh working conditions both physically and reproductively.

The reproductive element of women’s experiences during slavery has been a key area of study. Jennifer L Morgan highlights how when African women arrived in the Atlantic World, they were forced to reproduce labour. The “logic of racial slavery defined reproduction as work” and the children produced by women were seen as new labourers.⁴ Thus, women were embroiled in a system of capitalism that required them to work by cultivating the fields, as well as work by reproducing more labour. This crucial role must be seen within the framework of capitalist production and the plantation system that required the constant supply of labour. In this context, practices of abortion and infanticide must be seen as resistance to this “dual burden”

1 Hartigan-O'Connor, “The Personal is Political Economy,” 336.

2 Most notably is the seminal work by Eric Williams, which highlighted this relationship. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1944).

3 Justin Roberts, *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic, 1750-1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

4 Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 144-5.

of reproduction and labour.¹ Women who ended their pregnancies through various means were resisting the demands of the plantation and in a larger context, of global capitalism.

Diana Paton and Pamela Scully discuss how even with emancipation women remained entrapped in capitalism and subordination of gendered capitalism. With the abolition of slavery and the introduction of “free labour” women were still subjects of unequal material relations as the work that women performed “made women’s work invisible”.² Paton and Scully argue that this dynamic cut across regions from Brazil to Jamaica and French West Africa. As such, the period of emancipation across history can also be viewed as the continuation of global capitalist relations where women’s work was seen as invisible to the global economy. In the history of the so-called ‘Third World’, global capitalism has had a unique relationship with women. Melissa W. Wright shows through industrial history how women of the Third World were hired in factories and multinational corporations due to gendered assumptions that they were compliant, hard-working, and meek workers. These traits were, and remain, valued in workers as they do not pose a threat to material relations and production. These workspaces thus capitalize on these qualities until “injury, illness and anger overcome them”.³ Global capitalism has relied on gender stereotypes to propagate itself throughout history.

Colonial Africa and women

Historians have emphasized the process of proletarianization in Africa as a crucial phase in the history of global capitalism. This perspective argues that with colonialism and the enforcement of the capitalist economy, Africans became members of an international proletariat.⁴ This process followed a strict trajectory of the means of production being denied, peasants perhaps moving to urban centers, but altogether being forced into wage labour in the agrarian sector mostly and their skills being devalued. This oppression supposedly led to the development of class consciousness. This idea has been challenged by historians such as Bill Freund who show that in African history “total commitment to a proletarian lifestyle was rarely the most attractive of options”.⁵

Recent historians such as Stefano Belluci and Andreas Eckert also challenge the hypothesis by arguing that people who left the countryside were not turned into proletarians but were engaged in various complex livelihoods, and agriculture and formal employment were peripheral.⁶ Neither of these differing perspectives concentrates on the experience of women. On the topic of proletarianization, Deborah Bryceson has argued that African women have not gone through the process of proletarianization

1 Barbara Bush-Slimani, “Hard Labour: Women, Childbirth and Resistance in British Caribbean Slave Societies,” *History Workshop Journal*, no. 36 (1993): 83–99.

2 Pamela Scully and Diana Paton (eds) *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Duke University Press, 2005), 1.

3 Melissa W. Wright, *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 26.

4 Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 1989), 255.

5 Bill Freund, *The African Worker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 30.

6 Stefano Bellucci and Andreas Eckert, (eds) *General Labour History of Africa Workers, Employers and Governments, 20th-21st Centuries* (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2019).

as they never owned the means of production.¹ However, she adds that the increase in women's participation in the formal economy represents resistance to this dynamic of disenfranchised workers. By women increasingly turning to wage labour, they resist the "oppressed position of women in peasant commodity production".² This illuminates how in African history, women have mitigated the effects of global capitalism by adopting the role of the proletariat that is denied of them by the state and patriarchal society. Despite Bryceon's intervention, the debate on proletarianization has failed to consider the factor of women seriously. Instead, scholars view women as occupying a liminal role of oppression and liberation throughout history – often dependent on men or capitalism rather than their own initiatives.

With the growing dominance of the colonial economy and its adherence to features of the global economy such as wages, the experience of women changed. Similarly, to the proliferation of prostitution in early industrial America, the dominance of colonial capitalism in Africa led to more women relying on sex work as a means of income. In early nineteenth century Kenya, prostitution was a growing form of labour due to the lack of other labour options available to women. As the wage economy relied on intense male physical labour in mines, plantations and estates, women were often overlooked by the state and the market while also subject to it. Luise White argues that women's reliance on prostitution in the changing economy is not surprising given that in pre-colonial Kenya women were "mediums of exchange" and therefore, selling sex was not totally alien to them.³ This familiarity with selling the body must be seen in the context of sex work as form labour. Women in early colonial Africa were forced to find different ways of earning cash in an economy that disregarded them and therefore relied on prior forms of womanhood as exchange. In pre-colonial Africa, "chiefs and fathers competed for the labour power women" with exchange of cattle representing this.⁴ This insight shows how women's experiences under colonial and global capitalism are situated within a longer history of global patriarchy as a means of extracting labour.

In German East Africa, the colony was oriented around commodity production for export. The labour of women and children was appropriated by the colonial economy especially when global demands required it. During harvesting seasons for commodities such as coffee, cotton, and tobacco, women were "recruited as migrant workers...or employed locally".⁵ The need for women's labour was described as "urgent" despite their role as workers being ignored during off-peak seasons.⁶ Women's participation in the colonial economy was also forced either by circumstance or physical violence. Koponen highlights that the Maji Maji war left women in Southern Tanzania vulnerable

1 Deborah Fahy Bryceon, "The Proletarianization of Women in Tanzania," *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 17 (1980): 4.

2 Bryceon, "The Proletarianization of Women in Tanzania," 26.

3 Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 34.

4 Jeff Guy, "Analysing Pre-Capitalist Societies in Southern Africa," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14, no. 1 (1987), 33.

5 Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1994), 615.

6 Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 615.

as the death of their husbands required them to provide for themselves and the family.¹ As much as the working patterns of women were influenced by external factors, their shift into the agricultural economy represents initiative on their part.

In addition, with the greater integration of men into the cash-economy women were forced to play a more dominant role in the cultivation of fields, a job primarily done by men. Due to the seasonal nature of agricultural labour, women were required to work in the fields while the men were away as they could not wait for them to come back.² Doing so would mean hunger and a lack of income for themselves and their families. This trend of African women comprising the bulk of agricultural work is a feature that continued in post-colonial Africa.

The post-WWI colonial period in Africa was significantly different to earlier colonialism. With the influence of the League of Nations, labour commissions and departments became increasingly important.³ This prioritization increased in the 1950s where colonial governments focused on labour stabilization and introduced more rigorous models. Frederick Cooper argues that the colonial state attempted to construct a coherent working class to reliably draw on labour and “productive collectivity”.⁴ This working class was oriented around the European family structure, of which women were expected to play an instrumental role. Women however had been playing an instrumental role in the capitalist economy, but due to state criteria of labour, it did not fit into this. The attempted enforcement of these working codes, most popular in French West Africa, failed to acknowledge the crucial role women played in commerce and other income-generating activities; thus, placing them “outside the law’s conception of work”.⁵ Even amidst the changing nature of global capitalism during the colonial period, women faced marginalization, with their labour going unnoticed despite their contribution to the economy.

The post-colonial experience of African women

Global capitalism facilitated the rise of poverty in the post-colonial African context. With this rise, the continuation of historic patterns of labour has continued. Claire Robertson argues that female slavery in the form of sex trafficking is one of these legacies. This slavery “has arisen in the time of dominance by multinational corporations of the world economy”.⁶ The difference in the post-colonial context to the colonial and slave trade period is that women’s labour has been deemed disposable. There are clear

1 Koponen, *Ibid*, 616.

2 Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, 617.

3 This can be seen in the popular and widely referenced book on labour in Africa. Raymond Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa* (New York: Macmillan, 1928).

4 Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 14.

5 Andreas Eckert, “From Poverty to Informality?: The Social Question in Africa in a Historical Perspective,” In Jan Breman, Kevan Harris, Ching Kwan Lee, and Marcel van der Linden, (eds) *The Social Question in the Twenty-First Century: A Global View* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019), 157.

6 Claire Robertson, “We Must Overcome: Genealogy and Evolution of Female Slavery in West Africa,” *Journal of West African History* 1, no. 1 (2015): 62.

economic incentives for this, namely that with the subservience of women and their labour, wages decrease which in turn increases business profits.¹ Robertson argues that this trade has its roots in the institutions of slavery laid in the pre-colonial period and exacerbated by colonial economies in West Africa.

Globalization has relied on global capitalism to increasingly “transform the world into a single market... [with women’s labour] being the most exploited labour within the context of the new international division”.² The global economic crisis of the 1970s emphasized the value of women’s labour. In Africa, this materialized most clearly with the encouragement and proliferation of the informal economy. By women conducting ‘informal work’ that could be done alongside child-rearing and household duties, contribution to the global capitalist economy could be maintained.

Simultaneously, women’s role in the ‘informal economy’ was severely affected by the 1970s global crisis. Global financial crises often most severely affect the lower strata of society thus having an adverse effect on women. In Africa, women who made a living off selling wares in the marketplace suffered from the loss of income from their customers and faced competition from “men who began working as street vendors after losing their waged jobs”.³ Due to the precarity and invisibility of women’s work, state assistance was minimal thus subjecting women to mitigate the effects of the global downturn on their own. The act of marketplace trading was thus an act of survival for women in the global economy. This activity elicited hostility from the state which desired to control the economy in the face of global crisis.

In post-colonial Ghana, women who traded in the marketplace represented a long history of opposition to the state-controlled economy. This was a role that the post-colonial government inherited from the colonial economy and enforced with similar ferocity. Women traders “frustrated government attempts to channel commerce through larger corporations and government agencies... [as well causing them] a considerable loss in taxes and customs revenues”.⁴ When marketplace activity did generate taxes through rent it went to local governments rather than the state, thus undermining the centrality of the nation-state that is crucial to global capitalist relations. The post-colonial period, as in the colonial period, saw women, being overlooked as labourers and navigating this invisibility through their own adopted forms of income. This represents gendered agency within a system of global patriarchy in both the international and national economies.

In post-apartheid South Africa, women navigated the vulnerabilities they faced in global capitalism through rotating saving schemes. As wage incomes have largely been reserved for men in global capitalism, African women have had to find ways to

1 Robertson, “We Must Overcome,” 62.

2 Neşe Öztimur, “Women as Strategic Agents of Global Capitalism,” *International Review of Modern Sociology* 33, no. 1 (2007): 118-9.

3 Eckert, “From Poverty to Informality,” 163.

4 Gracia Clark, *Onions Are My Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 373.

supplement income available to the household. Saving clubs or *stokvels*, have been crucial to this survival in post-apartheid South Africa. Mark Nyandaro shows how even if these saving clubs do not completely lift women out of the poverty that global capitalism constrains them to, the clubs “enable women to cope within a system of exploitation and inequality”.¹ This mere survival demonstrates women’s agency in relying on themselves for sustained livelihoods rather than an external system.

Conclusion

Proletarianization can be seen as an unequal process of capitalism but African women’s gravitation to it can be seen as evidence of resistance to the expected role of the passive woman confined to peasant production. Moreover, given the structural omnipresence of global capitalism, any form of activity that brings independent income to women is an act of survival and thus of resistance. The structure of capitalism aims to keep women confined to the periphery for its own gain, women’s economic activity thus undermines this intention and brings prosperity, even if limited, in a global society that has historically relied on women’s subservience.

The effect of global capitalism on women’s experience throughout history has been blatant in both Africa and the world. Women of colour and black women, have particularly suffered from the weight of racism and patriarchy that are embedded in capitalism. The dimension of poverty in comparison to other countries globally, further differentiates the experience of African women in history. African women thus represent the confluence of various elements of global capitalism using other structures for its survival.

By overlooking the experiences of African women in the history of global capitalism, nuance into the nature and development of global capitalism is lost. This gendered history demonstrates that global capitalism is not, and has not, been constrained to the economic sphere. The subjugation of women to the global economy is thus indicative that global capitalism relies on multiple systems of hierarchy. At the same time, women’s resistance to global capitalism demonstrates how it has not succeeded in integrating Africans. From absenteeism to birth control and women’s role in the informal sector, subverted and overt instances of women’s resistance demonstrates agency in the face of a forced system of oppression.

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ROLES OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MAKING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT A REALITY

Agaton Theodory Msimbe

Abstract

This essay is intended to demonstrate explicitly how the higher education system plays greater role in making sustainable development a reality. The essay has applied the critical analytical methodology in scrutinizing the major aspects of development by making reference to the credible authoritative figures from international reports, national reports, institutional reports, and credible authors. Development as the gradual change from the lowest standard to the highest advanced standard of the human life in socio-political and economic aspects; is stimulated by the effective utilization of natural resources as well as human resources through the use of sophisticated means of labour in facilitating the production activities. Development is achieved through production this leads to the fact that there is no development without mental or physical work through which man attains his needs and he also becomes the philanthropist by working for the needs of the future generations.

Sustainable development policy advocates the entire generation to engage in effective utilization of the natural resources and human resources for the satisfaction of its needs without liquidating or compromising the needs of the future generations.¹ It is the policy which seeks to cultivate the answers to the needs of the current generation ecologically by making sure that those answers will not become the hindrance to the needs of the future generations. Since man is the social being he is the product of his society and his society is the product of the former society, moreover, the future society is the product of the entire society, to this juncture the reason to why the production activities of this generation should consider the needs of the future generations is the humanistic factor in the sense that all human generations are interdependent, there is no future generation without the present generation, it is that direction by which the African axiom presented by J.S. Mbiti: "*I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am*"² is certainly true and should be solidified by the attitude of J.K. Nyerere which cements that we come from the community and the community will come from us.³ To think of the future generation is therefore to think of the society that is generated by the entire generation.

Education becomes the means to the reality of the sustainable development project by transforming knowledge and skills of answering human problems through engaging in proper utilization of natural and human resources from one generation to another, to that vantage point the main objective of education becomes the practical knowledge and skills of manipulating nature for satisfaction of the human demands of the entire

1 Cf. L.K.S. Mwakajinga, *Development Studies for Colleges and Universities*, 38.

2 J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 142.

3 Cf. J.K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa Essays on Socialism: Ujamaa - the Basis of African Socialism*, 6-7.

generation and the future generated generation. In accounting whether the current education system accommodates the meaning of such objective of education which has been given in this essay the impacts of the entire education system gives the answer whether it is only centred to answer the problems of this generation or both the entire and the future.

Introduction

Education can be defined as the system of knowledge that organizes human consciousness of the nature of reality and how his understanding of reality constructs the gradual development of his awareness. It is the knowledge that man acquires in his struggle to understand the reality of nature and how that understanding structures the relationship between man and other realities which constitute nature. Also, education is the understanding of how the world orients itself to man and how man orients himself or herself to the world in order to create man's awareness of himself or herself in the world. Recognition of such awareness makes man to realize his relationship with other beings and the fullness of his own potentiality as well as the potentiality of the world, the basic role of education is to make man realize his potentialities in the world and the potentialities of the world to him or her and how such recognition creates the perennial symbiotic relationship between man and the world. Therefore, this understanding of education builds the vocation of man in the world, in this context critical evaluative thinking makes man define vocation as man's rational recognition of his potentialities and the potentialities of the world as it relates to him or her.

Higher education is the formal education standard that constitutes the advanced scope of knowledge for creating specialization in the particular faculties so as to make individuals be experts of what learn, examples experts are engineers in engineering, linguistic in language, biologists in biology, economists in the economy, sociologists in sociology, doctors, health personnel in health, politicians in politics, philosophers in philosophy, mathematicians in mathematics, geographers in geography, astronomers in astronomy, chemists in chemistry, and lawyers in law. In most contemporary states, the higher education system is offered in high schools, institutes, colleges, and universities. In these spheres, the learner's capacity of knowledge or competence in the faculty of specialization is measured by either practical or theoretical based examinations. Higher education becomes the means to the project of sustainable development if such education system creates intellectuals who are capable of discovering the potentialities of the resources surrounding them, engaging competently in proper utilization of those resources for answering the demands of the entire generation and manufacturing the answers of the demands of the future generations, if this profound goal is not achieved the entire education system will be the disaster to the philanthropic needs of this generation and the generations to come otherwise that education system is reformed.

The modern individuals and states at large are looking for the advanced standard of life in socio-political and economic aspects by sophisticating the systems of health, education, ethics, political consciousness, democracy, agriculture, fishing, industries,

commerce, transport and communication infrastructures, architecture, mining, science and technology. Higher education in whatever mental or physical activity will be sustainable if it responds to the needs of the human generation of today and the future by advancing the means of operating those activities.

The Roles of Higher Education in Making Sustainable Development a Reality

The roles of higher education in making sustainable development a reality is to advance social values, political values and economic values.

1. Advancement of the Social Values

The holistic process of the higher education system has the role of advancing the human life in the society; the care for humanity should be given the foremost priority because if humanity is protected nicely it lays the foundation of undertaking any other domain of work which considers the value of human dignity. It should be noted that there is no development without work, and since work is the value of man therefore the project of development cannot take place without man who build the society, in the mind of Nyerere education service should be designed to serve the kind of the society to be built.¹ The value of any production activity should be measured by paying attention to the worth of human beings, this means that production activities should not be taken as the measure of the value of man rather its vice versa. It is the role of the higher education to create experts who are going to take care of the entire generation by providing social services such as good health services, energy supply, water supply, and proper education for the elimination of poverty, ignorance and diseases, to this juncture social services are directed towards the formation of human characters for the physical and ethical wellbeing of the entire generation which is necessary for the existence of the future generation. The following are the examples of profound social services;

1.1. Health Services

Health services concerns with the provision of the treatment of human health both physical and psychological, the higher education system produces the health experts such as doctors and nurses who treat the health of the people, also it imparts the knowledge of studying the physical and biological structure of the human being, it helps to conduct researches on how to improve the human health system by discovering further the remedies, pills, vaccine, as well as discovering the types of food which improves the body immunity system to react against some diseases and pests.

Universities train people in many disciplines—biological, behavioural, and physical sciences, as well as engineering. Advances in the biological sciences, biomaterials sciences, and in biological information processing and analysis have ushered in a new era of progress and innovation in medical devices and bioengineering.²

¹ Cf. J.K. Nyerere, *Ujamaa Essays on Socialism: Education for Self-Reliance*, 51.

² U.S.A. National Academy of Engineering, *The Impact of Academic Research*, 88 – 89.

For instance, the COVID-19 pandemic disease has killed more than 5000000 people and still others are still dying but it has been the valid contribution of the medical experts that has led to the discovery of different kinds of vaccine after conducting the intensive research about the COVID -19. It is certain that without protecting the health of people procreation of the future generation is impossible, because, the dead bodies of human species cannot procreate. On the other hand, education helps to alleviate the problems of alcohol and drug abuse which endanger the human health mentally and physically.¹

1.2. Education Services

It is sound that education can be used to improve education sector and vice versa, there is no higher formal education system if there is no lower formal education system which is the grass roots of the higher, this is why the higher education system produces experts who facilitate the improvement of education system such as teachers who will teach various subjects in the schools, it should be synthesized that the quality of education is determined by the quality of the facilitators and the quality of the curriculum of the education which is taught, it is the role of the education experts to restructure the education system to ensure that subjects which are taught are relevant to the generation and so are capable of answering the problems of the society.² The education curriculum becomes sustainable if it enables people of that particular place to discover the resources that they have and to utilize them effectively for their wellbeing, for instance it is certain that Tanzania, Ghana and Congo among other African countries have a lot of mineral resources such as gold, copper and Tanzanite but unfortunately the national curriculum of these nations do not constitute the subjects of researching the usefulness of these minerals for their countries rather their curriculums give less as the result their education forms the people who are going to excavate the minerals to be ready for export to developed nations. It is also significant to cement what Nyerere had thought that: education should be the means of liberating people to be self-reliant and redeem themselves from the peril of dependency syndrome, such education is sustainable because people become self-reliant primarily by discovering the value of the resources which are found in their places and secondarily by investing beyond their places this is what was meant by Nyerere when he said;

Make the education provided in all our schools much more Tanzanian in content.
... Make our education system more relevant to our needs. ... It is now clearly time for us to think seriously about this question: ‘What is the educational system in Tanzania intended to do – what is its purpose?’³

Nyerere had identified that development is achievable if there is three requirements: people, land and instruments of labour he believed that combination of the three requirements will be the answer to the tripartite problem: poverty, diseases and

1 Cf. World Bank, *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation*, 126; 137.

2 Cf. World Bank, *World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation*, 68.

3 J.K Nyerere, *Ujamaa Essays on Socialism: Education for Self-Reliance*, 49.

ignorance;¹ he called these the enemies of development, then it is valid that if higher education solves these problems is qualified as sustainable otherwise it is not. For example, from independence to now days Tanzanians have made the great efforts of improving education system by building many schools, institutes, colleges, and universities and from 2015 Tanzania government had established the free education system from primary to secondary levels, this has contributed to the alleviation of poverty, diseases and ignorance.

1.3. Ethical and Moral Formation

Ethical and moral formation is concerned with the descriptive and prescriptive knowledge of the rightness and wrongness of the human behaviours or actions so as to guide people to incline to the good that promotes both personal and community wellbeing. It is the role of the higher education system to impart the knowledge of virtues such as prudence, justice, courage, temperance, and hospitality; this will help to solidify the reciprocal fraternal relationship among the members of the society so as to create the society which is stable, equitable and the society in which everyone recognizes that others are human beings and that humanity can never be defined by racial, geographical, economical, and gender differences. The enhancement of ethical and moral knowledge for virtuous life helps to overcome sexual abuse, prostitutions, injustice, intemperance, civil wars, selfishness, hypocrisy, corruption, conflicts, terrorism, kidnapping, hijacking, power monger, and burglary in this generation and the future generations. In most of the high learning education institutions the intellectuals are emphasized to behave morally in the society in like manner they are responsible to teach the society to be virtuous. In fact even the course of ethics is part of the curriculum of the higher education in many institutes, colleges and universities such as in the University of Dar-es-salaam and Jordan university college among other universities.

2. Advancement of the Political Values

The higher education system creates political consciousness and promotes democratic knowledge to the learners who are expected to educate their fellow citizens to participate in politics which enables them to understand the systems of their government, laws, policies, constitution; and to identify the good leaders who are capable of creating the manifesto which they can implement appropriately for the common good of their people. The following is how the higher education system helps to create political consciousness and promote democracy.

2.1. Creation of Political Consciousness

According to Marcus Garvey "*Politics is the science of the government*"² Government is the administrative structure of ruling people in the state, institution or a social group. The higher education system includes the specialization in the faculty of political

¹ Cf. S.T. Maliti, *Honest to My Country*, 70.

² M. Garvey, *Message to the People*, 71.

science among other faculties, however man is the political being in the sense that he is the socially organised being that is why he constructs the government so as to organise his affairs in the society, to this philosophical vantage point it is the role of the holistic process of the higher education system to produce people who are politically aware of their social systems so as to create the patriotic responsible citizens who value the essence of democracy, true meaning of freedom and independence, and to form accountable, diligent and committed leadership system in the state, institutions and social groups. It is better to take Tanzania as the exemplary of democratic nation due to its struggle to insert political knowledge in the education curriculum from lower to higher education level specifically in the subjects of history, civics, general studies and the faculty of political science.

2.2. Promotion of Democracy

The term ‘democracy’ is etymologically derived from the two Greek words: *demos* which means ‘people’ and *kratos* which means ‘power’¹ therefore democracy is the system of the government in which the decision and leadership affairs comes from the power of the people either directly or indirectly through their representatives. Democracy according to Abraham Lincoln is the “*Government of the people for the people by the people.*”² The higher education has the role of creating the intellectuals who understand the principles of democracy such as transparency, accountability, rule of law, freedom of speech, the right to vote and to be voted; and the effective use of these principles to express their opinions which enable the public to correct its weaknesses and to strength its positive policies for the wellbeing of the society, Nyerere warned that the education system should not hinder the values of democracy by which people are not stopped to think about what is done or the policies and manifesto of their leaders.³ Understanding of the values of democracy helps to overcome the problems of post election conflicts, violation of human rights, religious intolerance, favouritism, dictatorship, coups d’état , civil wars, fraud and embezzlement of public resources:⁴ all these endangers the development of the society in every generation.

3. Advancement of the Economic Values

Economy refers to the wealth and the resources of the community in terms of production and consumption of the goods and services. Sustainable development policy looks for the effective management of the economic system in the society including the proper use of the resources and its allocation, the higher education system imparts the knowledge of the techniques of the operation and management of the economy such as in agricultural and industrial sectors.

1 Cf. D. Howard, *The Primacy of the Political*, 3.

2 A. Lincoln, *The Gettysburg Address*, 19 November 1863.

3 Cf. J.K Nyerere, *Ujamaa Essays on Socialism: Education for Self-Reliance*, 54.

4 Cf. C. Bird, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*, 1.

3.1. Agricultural Improvements

Agriculture is the fundamental source of human basic needs through which food and shelter are obtained; by engaging in the agricultural sector the problems of famine, hunger, and malnutrition can be solved.¹ Also, agricultural production ensures the availability of the raw materials in the industries for processing the products which will serve the human generations, the production of cotton contributes for example the development of textile industries from which humans are getting the clothes; maize, wheat and rice ensure the availability of food and animal pastures; cultivation of fruit crops enables the accessibility of fruits which can be used as food, medicines, and some are used to manufacture drinks. The higher education system prepares the experts who are improving the agricultural sector by making researches about the suitable crops and the favourable land as well as the climate that is conducive for cultivation of particular crops.² Furthermore, the higher education creates the specialists of agricultural production who are educating the farmers on how to produce crops effectively and how to use pesticides, insecticides, fertilisers as well as mechanised technology for the effective cultivation of crops and animals keeping. By improving the agricultural production the current generation participates in feeding the future generation by eliminating the problem of food security and the scarcity of food.³

3.2. Industrial Improvements

Industrialization is one of the profound projects for development in every epoch; it ensures progress of other sectors such as health, education, agriculture, business, transport, science and technology. Industrial sector concerns with manufacturing of the instruments of labour such as tractors for agricultural productions, microscope for magnifying the objects such as bacteria in the human body or animals for diagnosing the diseases, tools of communications which are used in mass media for broadcasting the information such as phones, computers, radios, televisions and other network systems like email system;⁴ also industries manufacture objects of transport such as cars, planes, ships, boats, and motors; also industries manufacture domestic objects, health facilities, education facilities and business products. The achievement of the industrial sector depends in the education sector which creates experts who innovate or discover the technology as well as the experts who are educated on how to use the discovered technologies for improvement of productions and for the maximum distribution of the products for satisfying the human needs.

Conclusion

The true education that projects the sustainable development project should be improved not only at the higher learning institutions but also it should principally be improved from the primary levels which are the grass roots of the tertiary levels

1 Cf. World Bank, *World Development Report 2008: Agriculture for Development*, 8.

2 Cf. T. Allen & A. Thomas, eds., *Poverty and Development into the 21st Century*, 513.

3 Cf. L.K.S. Mwakajinga, *Development Studies for Colleges and Universities*, 214-215.

4 U.S.A. *National Academy of Engineering, The Impact of Academic Research*, 62.

because it is impossible to mount to the higher without the starting point at the lower. Philosophy as the science of the rational understanding of the world view it helps to reflect the nature of the human society and manipulation of the knowledge that enables the existence of the human society in the cosmos. From this ground all branches of knowledge or education should be structured towards understanding of the universe and to make it a better place for life of man, if the holistic process of education is not directed to accomplish this objective education will be the source of destruction of the human potentialities and the world such as when education tolerates environmental pollution, air pollution, noise pollution, famine, malnutrition, drug abuse, moral deterioration, violation of human rights, racism, diseases, ignorance and poverty.

The higher education system should encourage global humanitarian solidarity so as to invite all to answer the human needs for all. If the education curriculums answer effectively the human needs through global cooperation globalization policies will benefit each society, nation and continent to complement its demands from the other societies, nations or continents. Globalization which meets such criteria becomes the mandatory means to the global advancement of the education policies which accommodate the sustainable development goals. Nevertheless, globalization without the agenda of global philanthropic fraternity in the tussle of answering humans' problems especially socio-political and economic insecurities it will be the disaster for this generation and for the generations that will be generated by the entire generation.

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CHALLENGES FACING VULNERABLE AND MARGINALIZED GROUPS IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES

Ilonga Desdery Sigonda

This essay is based on the challenges facing marginalized groups in any society. The point here is to show how the marginalized groups came to being, and how they came to form part and parcel of the society. But first, the concept of a society has to be explained. The essay will therefore seek to answer the question: who are the marginalized groups? Why are they labeled marginalized? What challenges do they face? Then, the essay ends by suggesting possible solutions to those challenges. All points shall be evident with vivid examples happening across the globe in different time eras.

To start with, a society is a large group of people who live together as a family, they perform different activities with a collective aim.¹ Those who form society are brought together by the spirit of oneness, love, sympathy, charity, compassion and hardworking. These pillars are significant because they make it possible for one to exist in society. Existing in a society entails that all can fully and equally participate in issues such as decision making, sharing skills, and performing various tasks.

One may conceive society as the best place ever for any human being to live in given the fact that societies are presumably founded in love and togetherness. However, there seems to be no such ideal society. Practically, what is happening in contemporary societies is that the spirit of togetherness has been abandoned. It appears that it is the society that acts as a sharp sword to some groups of people by allowing persistent segregation and discrimination. Classes have been created classes which are based on differences in terms of economy, religion, race, sexual orientation, age, and physical disabilities. The existence of such classes has brought about the group of people, commonly branded ‘the vulnerable and marginalized group’.

The question is: who are the vulnerable and marginalized groups in society? These are people who are denied the right of participation in different matters of society due to their differences in terms of race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, age, and physical disabilities.² They are ‘vulnerable’ because they are exposed to various kinds of attacks or harm both physically and emotionally. They are also marginalized people because they are excluded from taking part in issues of society. This weaker and oppressed section of the society includes the disabled, elders, children, women, criminals, people of color and low-income earners.³

1 Cambridge Dictionary, available at <https://www.dictionary.cambridge.org> (accessed on 22 October 2021).

2 Marginalized Communities: Patna University, available at <https://www.patnainiversity.ac.in> (accessed on 22 October 2021).

3 (2020). Research with Marginalized Communities: available at <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov> (accessed on 22 October 2021).

Reasons for Marginalization

Starting with the disabled, these refer to persons whose bodies/minds are impaired in that it makes it difficult for them to perform certain activities. The disabled have limited interaction with other persons due to their visual impairment (blind), movement difficulties (crippled), hearing problems (deaf), skin problems (such as albinos) and other mental difficulties such as remembering and thinking. Such impairments limit them from participating in society works and recreational activities.¹ These people are marginalized when, due to their body or mind impairment, are considered not fit, hence the society excludes them from decision-making.

Another marginalized group is women. By women, it is intended adult female human being. Women are marginalized due the patriarchal tendency that persists amongst many societies in the globe. In the patriarchal system, men are considered to be dominant and superior than women. Due to this, women are excluded from decision making, are denied the right to own properties, are not given equal chance to education, and are often considered fit for domestic and farming activities. As a result, most women have been classified as ignorant and low-income earners. The patriarchal system is typically practiced in African countries.²

Another marginalized group is the elderly. An elder is defined by the United Nations as a person who is over 60 years of age. Elders are also considered as aged people who have lost strength to perform different activities, and whose body immunity is lowered due to ageing, hence they have been vulnerable to many diseases.³ Elders are discriminated from the society as they are considered to be out of date (old fashioned). This has led to their exclusion from decision-making. They are also discriminated as they lack enough strength to perform different activities. In most African societies, elders are often believed to perform witchcraft.

Consider another, often marginalized group, the criminals. A criminal is simply a person who breaks the law. Most criminals are sentenced before the courts of law and receive various sentencing including: death, life imprisonment, and corporal punishment. Even so, while in prison, criminals are often considered to be of no value due to their conducts which led them to being criminally convicted. They are segregated from the rest of the society as they are provided with poor housing facilities, and they are not treated as humans while in prison. For instance, most of the African prisons are overpopulated, poorly organized and with poor hygienic conditions.

Consider again children. A child is a young person between the stages of infancy and puberty. In most places children are considered to be people below the age of 18. In a legal sense, children are referred to as minors since they are dependents. Generally, children have a low thinking capacity hence unable to make serious decisions on their own. Children lack self-confidence to defend their own interests and rights. Due

1 Disability and Health Overview: available at <https://www.cdc.gov> (accessed on 22 October 2021).

2 Bigirwamungu, J., & Deogratias, S. Understanding General Studies for Advanced Level: Contemporary / Cross Cutting Issues in Tanzania (4th ed). APE Network. P.47

3 Older Persons_ UNHCR. Available at <https://emergency.unhcr.org>

to such characters, children are subjected to corporal punishment, forced to early marriage, they are victims of early pregnancy and child labour with difficult working conditions and meagre wages.

In similar vein, the low-income earners. A low-income earner is a person who does not earn much for a living. In fact, such persons fail to secure most of the basic needs for instance food. They can hardly afford one meal per day, proper shelter, education, and health services. The majority of the low-income earners are viewed as people with no influence. Due to their levels of ignorance and poverty, they are often excluded from decision making. It seems that we are living in a capitalist world where the rich people would matter than the poor. This means that Kings are those who have Money. For example, in Tanzania, people with high-income earners, and sometimes those with high education status are considered to be competent leaders – which is a threat to democracy. When in the 2015 general elections, for example, a peasant with no money and education, wanted to contest for the presidency the majority in Tanzanian were shocked. More often than not, for these or other reasons, the colored people, especially those of black origin, are discriminated due to their colour.

Challenges Facing the Vulnerable and Marginalized Groups

As any other member of the society, the marginalized groups face challenges which cannot be ignored given the physiological, psychological, and any other possible effects that they might suffer. The following are the challenges they face:

1. Lack of Access to Various Social Services

Social services are of a great importance to every human being. Everyone has the right to be provided with social services that are in a good quality. The social services such as education and health that are given to special groups are in a poor condition. Despite the quality of the services rendered, the attitude of the service providers towards the marginalized groups is a big issue as they are often not treated with humanity.¹

Regarding healthcare services, for example, hospitals servicing elders are not well equipped with enough materials such as wheelchairs. Wheelchairs are essential since most elders need support walking. Lack of wheelchairs in the hospitals can make matters worse as elders have to be carried on people's backs, making the task heavy and complicated. It was reported on Saturday 23 October 2021 on East African Television (EATV) that elders in Simuyu in Tanzania face similar and many other challenges in the health sectors. The elders appeared to ask the government to reintroduce free healthcare services to the elders, which was previously known as '*Dirisha la Wazee*' (literally The Elderly Window). This shows that some elders do not have enough money to pay for hospital bills as they are too weak to work thus resulting to difficulties in accessing high-quality medical services.

Similarly, women and children face challenges in accessing healthcare services. It looks like hospitals are located far from human settlements. This is evidenced by the

1 Masango, S., (2018). Some of the Challenges Faced by Disabled Persons. Available at <https://risenshine.org.za>

increased mortality rate amongst infants and pregnant women. Pregnant women are forced to give birth at home and in most cases, they fail to make it to the hospital on time resulting to death due to excessive complications on the way to the hospital. Remoteness of health centers from human settlement has also brought high infant mortality rate. Despite the issue of remoteness, the hospitals do not have enough medical service providers, medical supplies, and laboratory tools.¹

When it comes to education, a similar thing can be observed. Education is the key to life for everyone in the society. However, it is not equally provided in its proper standards to everyone. Women (girls) and people with disabilities are victims of poor quality of education, and some of them are not sent to school at all. Most of the African societies are notoriously patriarchal, and believe that boys should be the only ones who are to be sent to school. Most African girls are not sent to school, and even most of those who successfully join school face various difficulties. Girls at school are often not well supported by their parents. Hence, they lack enough funds to pay for school fees, buy proper school uniforms, school transport fee and for meals at school. This situation has dragged girls to seek financial support from men who engage them in sexual relationship at an early stage. Most often, these men have no intentions to help the girls but to ruin their lives. According to Primary Education Statistics in Tanzania reported by Haki Elimu; a non-governmental association, from 2015-2019, there has been an increase in the number of students with early pregnancies. Schools are located far from homes making transport an issue; this affects majority of the girls. In Tabora Tanzania, for example, students take a long walk to schools thus attracting most of the girls to seek for 'lift' from men who sometimes end up raping them.

Most African societies do not have the culture of educating disabled people. In some parts of Africa, they are viewed as a curse to society. Apart from the local belief, Africa lacks enough professionals who can teach disabled persons, it is only a few universities (such as The University of Dar es Salaam) that provide such courses. Most schools are built in a modern way with stairs which is not friendly to the crippled to attend classes on time. The unfriendly environment that persists in schools has made most of the disabled persons to attend isolated classes from other students.²

2. The Violated Rights of Marginalized Groups

The marginalized groups must enjoy all rights like any other human being in the society, but these rights have often been greatly violated. Globally, for example, criminals have rights such as to have a lawyer, to appear in trials and to be visited by family members. These rights have been greatly ignored most especially during the Corona pandemic. Taking reference from Tanzania in March 2020, the Prime Minister of the state officially declared a lockdown, all Tanzanians had to stay indoors to avoid the spreading of the killer disease. This came together with cancellation of the prisoner's key rights of seeing a lawyer, attending trials and to be visited by the

¹ Disability and Health Disability Barriers. Available at <https://www.cdc.gov>

² Disability and Health Overview. <https://www.cdc.gov>

family members. Significantly, prisoners were not provided with facilities for video conferencing.¹

It seems also that blacks in diaspora are highly segregated. Their rights such as to vote, participate in political issues and quality social services are not often upheld. Blacks discrimination is highly witnessed at India, United States of America and South Africa. In 1870s, The United States of America had legalized the Jim Crow Laws that had declared discrimination of the black race in America. Racial segregation did not end during the 1890s in America, it is still present to date despite the efforts made by the black rights pioneers like Malcom X, Martin Luther King and William Dubois. On 25th May 2020, a black man named George Floyd was killed by a police officer in Minneapolis after being suspected that he had counterfeit \$20 billion. The police knelt on the deceased neck and back for 9 minutes and 29 seconds causing his death.²

3. Marginalized Groups as Victims of Inhuman Practices

African societies have bad traditional practices that can be described as inhuman such as the Female Genital Mutilation that is common in many Southern African States, raping of women, killing of elders and people living with albinism. Killings of people living with albinism is mostly done due to witchcraft belief that one may become rich after sacrificing an albino. For example, elders are often killed in Shinyanga Tanzania with the believe that they are witches. The female genital mutilation is done with the belief that it can control girls' irresponsible sexual behavior. It was found out by the Legal Human Rights Centre LGHRC on 6th December 2010 that over 770 girls from various villages at Tarime in Tanzania were mercilessly mutilated. In 2021, Mara Region in Tanzania has been recorded as a region that highly abides to the norm of female circumcision. This is a challenge to women as they get embarrassed in the process also some lose a lot of blood leading to death³.

Another inhuman practice is cruelty against children. Children are treated with violence, torture, and cruelty. Children are also victims of child labour, sexual abuse, and corporal punishment. The Legal Human Rights Centre found out in 2010 that more than 30 children from different regions in Tanzania Mainland were brutally killed by either biological or stepparents.⁴ Children are also mercilessly killed, as it was reported on 15th July 2021 by the BBC Swahili that Masten Wanjala, a Kenyan man killed 14 children by using chemicals similar to flour, hanging them, or bleeding them through veins.

1 (2020) Tanzania: Prisoners' Rights Ignored in Covid-19 Response. Available at <https://www.hrw.org> . Human Rights watch. Accessed on 20th October 2020.

2 Ullmann, I., Justice for George Floyd. Available at <https://www.shineglobal.org> .Shine Global.

3 Bigirwamungu, J., & Deogratias, Understanding General studies for Advanced level: Contemporary/Cross Cutting issues in Tanzania (4th Edn). P.179

4 Bigirwamungu, J., & Deogratias, S. Understandings General Studies for Advanced Level: Contemporary/ Cross Cutting Issues in Tanzania. P.180

4. The Isolated of the Society

It has been a common practice in most of the African societies to isolate people with disabilities as it is a belief that they are cursed. It has been reported across the media of a 21-year-old Rwandan boy named Zanzimana (African Tazan) who looks and behaves like an ape and spent his life in the forest eating grass, roots, and fruits. At 21, Zanzimana was not enrolled in school, even though people have volunteered to take him to school. This shows that people with disabilities are highly isolated this makes them fail to get basic social services. Was it not for his isolation, Zanzimana could have been enrolled to school in his early childhood years¹.

The special groups are also isolated in the terms of decision making in the society. The opinions given by those in special groups are ignored by the society. The society takes advice from the rich class leaving the low-income earners. This is not democracy; in a democratic society, all people should be treated equally despite their difference in income, race, sex, and religion.

5. Little Government Support

Majority of the people in these marginalized groups live in extreme levels of poverty. It is hard for them to get greener pastures as the society isolates them from employment opportunities. Unemployment leads to high levels of poverty some can hardly afford one meal in a day. Poverty makes them fail to get various social services such as health and education. On top of all these problems they are not given support by the government. The government is the leader of all people in the society despite their classes. The government serves the interests of those who are not marginalized providing them with good services and ignoring the needs of the marginalized groups. The Non-Government Organizations that seek to support the special groups are also not given the support by the government. The non-governmental organizations do not have enough funds to curb down the problems of everyone who is in the special group.

Clearly, the problems faced by marginalized groups should be taken into consideration. They should be treated equally as any other member of the society. This can be achieved by provision of education to the society to make them realize that special groups are also members of the society. They should also be involved in decision making and provided with proper social services. The government should work hand in hand with the non-governmental organizations in order to remove the problem of discrimination amongst classes in the society. This is an urgent matter and needs to be addressed immediately. Rep. Ilhan Omar once said, “We should never look at anyone and say, ‘You can lead tomorrow.’ Everyone needs to understand the urgency of leading today.”

¹ (2020). Zanzimana: Nusu Binadamu, Nusu Sokwe, Awashangaza wazungu. Available at <https://globalpublishers.co.tz> Global Publishers.

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BUILDING A PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY FROM THE GRASSROOTS IN AFRICA

Emanuel P Masora

Abstract

This paper shows how democracy is known by the majority, delicate democracy in the name of multiparty, unfruitful election which does not result out of the votes' right. I Am trying to heal the wound of rapped democracy. Also, it indicates how the majority are knowing only popularizes at the expense of politicians. Democracy as a political ideology must favour individual rights and dignities. The work started with political change tended to focus on transition. The transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic government, here, in evaluating the degree to which the transition has caused democratic consolidation under the various altered political practices. Through many cries for this democratic thought, inclusive participation and condensation become phenomena to be excused. It carries the concept of democracy, from colonial to democratic transitions, the consolidation of self-rule, enhancement failure of democracy, and strategies to enhance consolidation of democracy. This paper is directed by the African context.

Key term

Charismatic leader, Democracy, development, dignity, free and fair election, freedom, rule of law, and good governance.

Introduction

The term democracy has no single definition duly to satisfy philosophers. Dahl defines democracy as “a distinctive set of political institution and practices, a particular body of right, a social and economic order, a system that ensures desirable result or unique process of making collective or building decision” (Dahl, 1989:5). Joseph Schumpeter defines Democracy “as an institutional arrangement for arriving at a political decision in which individual acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for people’s vote” (Schumpeter, 1976:260). This definition gives a close connection with what am arguing for, that offered by Abraham Lincoln. Which points to three procedures (rule by the people), purpose (for the people), and authority (for the people). Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Also am arguing with Nyerere that cannot be true democracy without development. One major of democracy is individual freedom (Scope, 1973:29). True democracy is that follows the interest of the majority.

From Colonial legacy to independence and foundation of democratic transition

Colonialism powers portray a picture of colonial civil service that sought to devise a pragmatic way of adopting the imperial directives to the administration of its subjects

rather than the method of inculcating new political governmental behaviour (Claude, 2000:35). During the time of independence, for the African nationalists, the new drive and autonomy meant that colonial powers. They realized that in refusing the dictatorship of their enemies (colonizers), long dream democracy would be unveiled.

The colonial power to African countries was all-powerful and arbitrary. This occupying force had right above all and enjoyed unlimited privileges in the government and state at large. Being supreme power it promoted its own interests and whims it imposed taxes restricted land and installed forced labour. The colonial officials showed little interest in transforming domination into hegemony beyond the notion that their domination was also civilization mission (Claude, 2000:35)

The consolidation of self-rule

The emergence of strong authoritarian tendencies took place aftermath of independence. The urge to attain political independence by colonized countries was followed by the development of a one-party state and the formation of a military government. The spirit of nationalism felt by Africans in their fight against the common enemy that is colonialism, refracted in inner desire for liberty, a basic stepping stone for democracy. The elites had thought of forming democratic states with cooperative election freedom of speech, inclusive of active public participation and equal differ of resources (Claude, 2000:37).

The establishment of the one-party system was done by either merging the opposition parties with the ruling party as the cave or by the dissolution of the small parties by the ruling party. In retaining a one-party state, the charismatic leader gives reason to support it. For example, cited by Oyungi that

“where there is one party and that party is identified with the nation as a whole, the foundations of democracy are firmer than they can ever be when you have two or more party each presenting only a section of the community” (Oyugi, 1988:72).

This implies that the citizen should hold common political views that could be easily accommodated in a single party. The possibility of different ideas in regard to state affairs to be addressed unlike when there were different parties. Charismatic leaders (these are leaders supported strongly the establishment of the one-party system) had the mentality that, one-party system arouses during the mobilization phase of the struggle for independence where people left behind their ethnic and political differences to fight the common enemy, the colonizers, adds that one-party state was seen the source of unity (Sandbrook, 2000:7). The stands where the dominant view among the anarchy leaders, that free and fair election would lead to region ethnic or religious strife cannot be accommodated today. This is throwing democracy to the winds.

A chilies heel of oligarchy in Africa is miss trust of rivals and fear of Competition. The single party has the advantage of being able to accommodate some of the participants without incurring a risk of

internal discord stemming from the organized political competition
(Jackson & Romberg,1984:198).

Many countries had a view that democracy had a western connotation and origin with political orientation than development. Their emphasis was on unity as essential for social-economic development. From the above overlook we can say that the one-party system was seen as an absolute authority, leaders exploited the interest of rule. It was mandatory for citizens to follow the footsteps and commands of their leaders. With patrimonial legacy, the right to rule was only within a particular domain rather than an office, despite the official existence of a written constitution. Leaders satisfied their own interest at the expense of the subject in this case patrimonial legacy was the only enhancement of patrimonial logic into bureaucratic institutions. These systems lead to a decline of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and African countries to depend on foreign aid and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs). Economic decline compounded the misdistribution of wealth. Money produced by profitable enterprises went to transnational corporations in the interest of the pockets of the particularistic leaders and their governing body. The external debt and number of protests were increased. These protests were done not only in the economic sphere but also in the political (Naomi, 1999:7). These aspects drive the need for democracy.

Enhancement failure of democracy in Africa

Democratization has a far-reaching and wide-ranging movement. It is not an instant activity but it has to undergo some phases. We can say that attaining democratic consolidation can take a thin lane. The process of democratic construction is to practice democracy in spheres, needs to adjust to a sound political path. By the fact that we have different approaches regarding how these prerequisites can be practiced there is a common denominator under which we can assess them. Since they cannot be attained fully, practicing them has a great impact both politically and economically. African countries lack values like the creation of stable political parties, institutionalization of democracy which is dependent on constitutional stability and creditability, freedom of association and expression, adult suffrage, and economic development which are essential elements for democratic consolidation.

I will use free and fair elections, representing the rule of law and freedom. All these culminate in inclusive political participation and contestation.

Free and fair election

Democracy improves government by accommodating transparency and responsiveness of decision-makers. The protest against the authoritarian regime was a need for a competitive election. Election being an essential element, they should lead to universal participation among the political groups, adult suffrage and political freedom of personal security, movement and associations among others and even election qualities such as rules, the campaign itself voting and counting should be revealed (Sandbrook, 2000:25).

Full public participation should lead to free and fair elections. Fraud and irregularities are an indication of malpractice. The activities of elections should bail maximum voting equalities at the decision stage. The election should not be restricted but extensive which formation of parties has a space. It should be noted that adult suffrage and intangibility in principles of any citizen to seek help in public office and the right of a political leader to compete freely for votes and support are a clear indication of pluralism in a state. This lead to public contests and inclusive participation in politics. It's widely held that party competition increases governmental accountability which extends to political elites, rural majorities, new interest groups, and associations that are in that state (Otway, 1997:65). Competitive multiparty elections indicate that the political elites acknowledge this is the only eligible way to choose a national leader.

The main problem facing an election in African countries is not political participation but the rules for open political contests and firm rules of the game. Political control by the incumbent leads to manipulating rules. Rigging of votes, buying votes, political intimidation before polling day, some leaders deprived voters of their right to vote, Voters threatened by contestants during polling day and Leaders also uses strict to remain in power during the election. Thus institutionalized party is the one in which both government and opposition sustain organizational and programmatic presence accepting each other's legitimate role and rule of electro competition (Sandbrook, 2000:119).

The electoral commission should be to run credible elections. Defeat and win should be mate under rulings of juridical system. The contention is that in every free and fair election activity there can only be one winner and another lose. Competitive elections generate strong incentives for the rulers to exploit the available resources which in turn lead one to rule according to his capability. If one rules well according to a majority interest will be re-elected again.

Respect for the rule of law

The rule of law gives an equal treatment of all people and preservation of all human rights towards the state and each other (Cheru, 2002:54). Constitution reform endorsed by the greedy leaders who are the simplest measure of their ineffectiveness to maintain an agreed set of state objectives and institutions setting via which the member should act and behave. Lack of respect for rule of law may lead to the insecurity of properties, right, and conducts. There are incidences whereby, leaders discourage political investment in favour of speculation political investment and capital flight. In such cases, the rule of law grants citizen the chance to express themselves without fear of punishment.

The constitution should support regular free and fair elections which in turn open all other values of good governance. Civil society should be covered by the rule of law civil society prevails when its content is beheld and estimated. With adherence to a rule of law, we experience the government of laws and men. Every individual is thus

invited to abide by the outlined laws without exception regardless of the position one has in the society (Heywood, 1999:154).

Freedom

A free society is one that allows expressing their views without any coercion whatsoever. Freedom in decision making, to form confederate organizations, and expression should be not overridden. Civil society will function only where there is freedom. Locke preaches that

Liberty for everyone to do what he lists, to live as he pleases, and not to be tied by any laws. But freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by common everyone of that society, and made by negative power to erected in it liberty to follow my own will in all things that rules prescribe not and to be subject to the inconstant uncertain unknown arbitrary will of another man as freedom of nature to be restraint but rule by the law of nature” (Locke, 1957:13).

Freedom to have access to media is required for a government to get a diversified information. Free press is the eyes and ears of the public. It's that which maintains the value of fair play and respect for the one's right (Cheru, 2002:56). We should have a freedom to do something and freedom from interference. The law should not limit the freedom rather than protect and promote it. Restricting and banning some newspaper, buying, controlling and detaining some journals is curtailing freedom.

We should have freedom in our democratic institution and political engineering society to counteract the populated sovereignty and as such enhance all the members to be involved in inclusive participation and political contest. Successful democratic consolidation is consummated when qualities such as public accountability, responsiveness, transparency, and efficiency lead not a genuine democratic state. Failure of these prerequisites freedom has hampered the consolidation of democracy.

Failure of consolidation democracy in Africa

Dictatorial regime.

Thrasymachus one of the sophist preached that “might is right and right is the interest of party power” (*nguvu ni haki, na haki ni matakwa ya wenye nguvu*) (Mihanjo, 2004:42). All in all, such leadership serves not as the cause of national stability or democracy. Non-authoritarian regime draws the citizen's interests toward the state's development by respecting the state's authority start deteriorate. The loss of confidence in the ruling authority always results in the discouragement of the subjects' desire towards the state development. Remember that a leader against respect, who conducts himself in a dignified way.

Civil wars

Civil wars have left room for the citizens of the victimized states to practice democracy. Most of their time is used for self-protection against enemies. Such a situation is fostered by political ambition, tribalism, and the economic dependence on natural resources of which are not equally distributed. Civil wars are the war that emerges within the state and its political figures competing for the control of the state or resources. A violent conflict within a country is fought by organized groups that aim to take power at the centre or in the region or to change government policies.

Civil strife provides a comparative perspective about the causes of these wars and the processes in which these wars may be prevented or rather stopped. High level of poverty, political instabilities, unfree and fair elections, and unequal distribution of natural resources has contributed to civil wars. Civil wars have further result in d economic, political, social, environmental collapse, as well as psychological disturbances, Uganda, Congo DRC, Angola, and Sudan, are examples of nations that were considered to have civil wars.

Strategies to enhance consolidation of democracy.

Democratization is a process, not a one-day process. It involves improvements and development in some realm. These improvements will render a smooth path leading to the consolidation of democracy. The sovereign is only the custodian who is there to guarantee the existence of people's rights. When these rights are observed then there is justice. therefore, for us to talk of democracy should have some essential field as: -

Good governance

Good governance is the respect rule of law and constitution legitimacy. To achieve this, leaders should address, the participation of civil society, free and fair election there are two important components in democratic regime act as an engine to prevent fraud and regulative commitments to an open and equitable economic distribution as well as decentralization of power. It heightens the transparency and accountability of public affairs, the aspect of accountability leads to a more effective system of governance public welfare and the short-term expenditures (Wiseman, 1995:228)

For African to make a move, leaders should enhance development, work for the welfare of the people and oppose personal gain. To change the leaders without changing the mode of governing, which implies the old statics to lead the state, is like to change new dancers with the old music and style. The new leaders should change all malpractice of the former governments, as massive rigging, intimidations, and threats to death.

A good government should put into account diversified institutions and implement them in meddling the state (Richard, 1999:180). The government's credibility is in the political society but not imposed extrinsic factors only to be tolerated by the citizen. People have the mandate to make sure that their leaders are adhering to the expected

prescriptions. Citizens have the power to retain or discard their leaders through their votes. People's votes are their voice.

The African states should focus on the quality of government policy and action, a just exercise of authenticity, competence, problem-solving, and efficient implementation of the basic transaction (Ibid ,2001:184).

Civil liberties

This is referring to non-Governmental, non-profit, independent organizations, which promote and facilitate maximum citizen participation. It is an extensive range of voluntary, cultural, economic, social, and political association institutions and relations outside the state (Wiseman, 1995:228). This is a result of the state being capable of constitutionalizing politics or improving the economy. This inclusive participation will constitute a well-informed and strategic political atmosphere; with its ideologies geared towards the growth and development of the state. To introduce democracy without empowering excluded sector is like attempting a space flight into orbit without combustion (Cheru 2002:58).

Civil liberties help to limit and regulate both the intensity and exercise of power by the government. Help in decision-making through the promotion of ideas and values. It also increases people's better performance in state affairs. It acts as the medium in which popular demand can be achieved. Its existence thus is assumed to narrow the state power. Civil liberty may favour the long-term prospects leading to a lasting impact on state growth. This culminates in the re-distribution of the state's pow/er to the citizenry and empowering them to take the chance of their state. This inclusive participation will constitute a well-informed and strategic political atmosphere, with ideologies geared towards the growth and development of the state.

Evaluation

Democracy should not be viewed as a desirable arrangement for the articulation of political life, but so as a commensurate path to which we can constitute a more just and egalitarian society bearing in its matrix the interest of the society at large. African states have opened a phase in which the need for political and economic advancements is at the state. I think it is evident that the criterion by which we can talk of the democratic consolidation assessment is highly judgmental under the ways and circumstances in which the democratic practices have been carried out. This cannot be extrapolated from what Africa has passed through. Although we cannot compare Africa with developed countries in the aspect of democratic consolidation, state capabilities for penetrating society and crystallization of public policies remain very weak. Government should look to 'what type of system should be consolidated' and to 'what extent can we talk of its performance' has its own weight. It's good to note that 'what type' can be failed to be achieved but 'what it maybe practicable' may be achieved. The judgment for this democratic should be based on the minimalist end of the view rather than the ideals of democracy that rely on the extreme. Thus one-

off tests cannot qualify or disqualify it but the mode in which it grows is considered essential.

Conclusion

The reality of little worldwide democracy replaced by the tie of ruler system inflexible under the stomach of imperialism growing in volume from day today. In as much democracy obeys its saying as a government of and people, their civil rights are being protected and dutifully respected. This we experience in Africa is not a really democracy but is what we can call the “rapped democracy”. We need changes in the aspect of governance, to create good governance which favour the individual desire. The kind of leadership we are going to anchor without a doubt is destined to determine the type and the way of democratic governance. The re-emergence of new leaders holding the old attacks will deter political and economic development. The extent to which democratic political systems are inspiring should see as a process where vital alterations are channeled. This gives room for the two transitions, one being a transition from the previous authoritarian regime to open democratic government and the second one transforming the democratic government to effective function of the democratic regime.

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