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**NOTES ON BUILDING A SOCIAL MOVEMENT  
IN THE GLOBALISATION ERA**

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## NOTES ON BUILDING A SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN THE GLOBALISATION ERA

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“Democracy in our mind is a creative destabilizer, the means by which concepts ‘ahead of their time’ continue to progress and encourage social action to progress”  
(Amin 1994:331)

### **INTRODUCTION: from colonisation to social welfare self-reliance to globalisation**

Imagine that we were living in the 1930s, in the midst of colonialism. Would we take colonialism for granted, as natural, inevitable, and unchangeable? That is how the majority of Tanzanians, and citizens of other African countries, perceive globalisation today.

Of course, many Africans did take colonialism for granted, even though they struggled to advance themselves within the colonial state as clerks, magistrates or teachers, or to better their lives in the economy. They accepted the overwhelming power of the European colonisers as a given, in contrast to the low level of technology of African societies, and, many believed in the natural superiority of the colonial masters. Nevertheless, a broad liberation movement developed to fight against colonialism, led by a small number of ‘educated natives’. The nationalist struggle was limited: black faces replace white, leaving state structures intact; a colonial economy which was dependent on primary commodity production and trade. But political independence made a difference.

The institutions of racial apartheid were dismantled, and equity principles were adopted in education and health services. The postcolonial state created specific support systems for smallholder farmers, including farm input subsidies, price supports, and an assured market for crops. Largescale growers complained about a crisis of casual labour and began to lobby against the state’s farm policy. The migrant labour systems which formerly fed the sisal, tea, coffee and sugar cane plantations with cheap labour were disrupted by the rapid expansion of (self)employment opportunities in the former labour reserves. Output figures in the late 1980s and early 1990s never matched peak output levels for most key export crops in the 1970s, and/or 1980/81 (Mbilinyi 1997c) in spite of a major infusion of capital investment, and the liberalisation of trade.

After independence, women were freed from colonial barriers to free movement, such as restrictions on the movement of ‘independent’ African women to town or across territorial borders. Many migrated from rural areas to escape oppressive patriarchal relations at household and community level. Employment opportunities rapidly expanded in towns, parallel to the expansion of government administration, public social services, and the private sector. Within two decades, the female-male ratio had evened out, or reversed, with women outnumbering men in many towns.

Import-substitution policies led to a rapid growth of industrialisation; dependence on primary commodity production was reduced. The quality of life increased dramatically, as measured by life expectancy rates, infant/child/mortality rates, access to formal schooling for girls and boys, women and men, access to primary health care. These gains were achieved during the 1970s and 1980s, the product of *Azimio welfarist* policies which were, in turn, efforts by government to meet popular demand (URT/UNICEF 1990).

Most of the gains of the 1970s and early 1980s have been wiped out by structural adjustment policies (SAP) which were adopted by the government in the mid-1980s, to liberalise the economy, tighten credit, privatise national parastatals, reduce public expenditure in social services, and strengthen the role of market forces vis-a-vis state regulation and control of the economy. Government direct involvement in production and trade, a legacy of the colonial state, was also reduced. Principles of equity and redistribution

were replaced by market principles. Perhaps most tragic, the negative impact of globalisation has been blamed on internal factors such as inward-oriented development strategy, state intervention, corruption, and inefficiency in government, thereby shifting the focus away from external factors that have the greater explanatory power (Loxley & Seddon 1994).

Strengthening market forces has meant in practice strengthening the power of transnational corporations (TNC) such as the owners of plantations and mines, vis-a-vis smallscale farmers, livestock-keepers and workers (Mbilinyi 1997bc). Given the conditions of uneven development, liberalisation has led to the dominance of trade capital and finance capital over productive capital (Carmody 1998). Unable to compete without state support systems, a large number of private production firms have converted their operations to become import/export merchants. Others have become subordinate partners in joint ventures so as to access the advantages of foreign capital. Local producers face a battery of taxes and nontax hurdles, including bribery and corruption, whereas largescale and especially foreign investors receive five year tax holidays, infrastructural support and other inducements.

SAP is part of a long history of globalisation, the deepening incorporation of economies in Africa and elsewhere within the global economy/polity/society. Globalisation has had a long history in Africa, which includes slavery, the internationalisation of the slave and ivory trade in the 16-19th centuries, European colonial conquest, and debt peonage today.

The **aim** of this paper is to decentre mainstream thought and practice which *takes globalisation for granted* as natural, inevitable, unchanging. Another is to challenge the parochial nature of the debate over development strategies in Tanzania. We need to put the situation in Tanzania in context, and to carry out comparative studies of the globalisation -- and antiglobalisation -- processes in other countries of Africa, the south, and the north as well. Developments in Tanzania are not unique, as anti-statist critics would have us believe. The problems faced by the economy are similar to those faced in countries like Malawi, which never attempted to develop socialism nor self-reliance.

The paper also challenges the pessimistic view that there is no hope for Africa, that nothing can be done to stop the globalisation process, in the long run; and in the short run, to renegotiate the terms under which globalisation takes place. The globalisers need the compliance of ordinary citizens today, even more than they did in the colonial past. A class-conscious, organised social movement can challenge globalisation, and in the process, transform state apparatuses at all levels, from local and national to global, in order to build the groundwork for real, popular democracy.

The second part of this paper analyses the globalisation process in Africa in more detail. The third part examines the alternative to globalisation, i.e. people-centred participatory development. Examples of initiatives already taken by coalitions at national level, and by community-based organisations, will be noted, but that is the topic of another AGSC paper. However, it is important to note that there is very little documentation in the literature on people's own initiatives, understandably so, since that would challenge the dependency syndrome which has been cultivated as part of globalisation politics and discourse.

*Tamasha la jinsia* -- Annual Gender Studies Conference 1998 -- has a special significance in providing us with concrete examples of people who have united together to change society, to challenge the system at different levels, and to network among several organisations so as to strengthen their lobbying power and their voice. We need to document these initiatives, and the lessons learned, both good and bad. Deconstructing globalisation ideology is part of the struggle, and this includes the documentation of resistance and struggle.

This paper is presented as a series of unnumbered notes, because of its tentative nature. It is based on the study of several analyses of the present situation, focusing on a political economy of globalisation, including sociological, political and economic characteristics. Key concepts pertaining to globalisation, including the concept of 'civil society', will be explored further in the body of the text.

## GLOBALISATION

### Systemic crises

Globalisation has been characterised by a long history of systemic crises. The following are key crises from the perspective of poor third world women, as outlined by the third world women's organisation, Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era or DAWN (Sen & Crown 1987:ch 2):

- food-fuel-water crisis
- balance of payments and debt crisis
- militarisation and violence, including military-led coups
- a crisis of culture, which ranges from macho traditionalism to sexual imagery of women in the mass media and entertainment industries.

These crises have all been exacerbated by economic reforms and the globalisation process. Land reform and commercialisation have led to growing land shortage, especially among women, and the loss of rights to fuel forests and water. Villagers in the Ngorongoro Crater Area, for example, have lost access to vital forests, water ways and grazing lands, as a result of land deals involving private tourist corporations, the government and the Ngorongoro Crater Area Authority (NCAA). Ololosokwan villagers have also been dispossessed of their land by private tourist and hunting firms, with the support of government officials at all levels.

Balance of payments have continued to be a problem, given the inability of African economies to compete on an equal basis with other actors in the global economy. Meanwhile, debt has increased as a result of rising interest rates, and placed African nations in a form of debt peonage to IFIs and other international development agencies. The negative impact of debt service on Tanzania's economy and social sector has been documented in detail in the 1998 position paper by Oxfam. Numerous critics have argued that development in Africa along any path will not be possible until the debt is abolished.

I think it is crucial to emphasise, however, that debt relief is not enough. Without a radical restructuring of the global economy and the position of African countries within it, debt will reemerge as a problem, along with other forms of dependency.

The particularly hardnosed form of economic reform that has been imposed on African people has required escalating forms of political repression, in order to meet popular resistance. Student strikes, worker strikes, public demonstrations against the rising costs of food, transport or taxes -- these are some of the signs of popular dissatisfaction in most countries, Tanzania included. How do nation states respond? with tear gas, batons and jail; expulsion from school or college; firing from work -- all forms of violence, economic violence included. Many countries have slipped into military rule in response to the crisis over implementation of SAP. Moreover, the level of violent crime has also risen, as well as the circulation of arms. Women and children are the most vulnerable in situations of military repression and/or armed violence, subjected to rape and sexual harassment, as well as to other forms of physical violence.

The crisis of culture is played out on the bodies and dress of African women -- witness the rapid expansion in beauty contests, as women's bodies become marketed objects. At the same time, fundamentalism has increased pressure on women in Christian and Islamic communities to engage in the other extreme, radically conservative behaviour and dress. Women must cope with different and often opposing interpretations of 'tradition and culture', those promoted by the state and dominant classes, which accentuate women's powerlessness and subordinate status, and those grounded in the real histories of local communities and groups, which extol the power and influence of different groups of women.

Alternatives to globalisation will need to meet the challenge of each type of crisis, examine the underlying and root causes, and develop strategies to overcome them.

### The impact of SAP

As noted by UNDP in its *Human Development Report 1996* (Box 3) and cited by Elson et al (1996), market-oriented development has undermined democracy in all spheres, political, economic and cultural (Box 1).

**Box 1 Results of market-oriented development a la SAP**

- *jobless growth*  
expanding output does not reduce unemployment
- *ruthless growth*  
growth mainly benefits the rich
- *voiceless growth*  
growth of output is not accompanied by an extension of democracy or empowerment
- *rootless growth*  
as output grows, cultural identity withers
- *futureless growth*  
growth today squanders the resources needed by future generations

This is the outcome of money-centred development, which “puts money at the service of people, rather than people at the service of money” (Elson 1994). Two questions become central to activists engaged in building social movements for democratic change and social transformation:

- who is in control of the development process?
- in whose interests?

*Globalisation is not neutral.* Certain actors consistently benefit from the globalisation process, whereas the vast majority of people, especially in the south, experience immiseration, disenfranchisement, and expulsion from the global system. Who are the *stakeholders* in the development of globalisation? Whose interests are served by the strengthening of globalisation i.e. who are the beneficiaries? whose interests are hurt? A list is provided in Box 2, but this is tentative. Participants are invited to create their own list, and in the process, query where they would position themselves -- as beneficiaries or as losers, in the short and in the long run?

**Box 2 Stakeholders in globalisation: beneficiaries and losers**

<u>Beneficiaries</u>	<u>Losers</u>
transnational corporations (some more than others)	smallholder farmers, livestock-keepers
compradorial merchants	fisher-people
bureaucrats in IFIs, GRIs, G-7 states & African nation state	paid workers (formal, informal sector)
technocrats/experts dependent on con-	unpaid family workers
	micro & small business people
	service deliverers & extension agents

sultancies & supportive of globalisation wealthy consumers	at the bottom eg bibi shamba, primary school teachers, nurses low income consumers
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### The concept of globalisation

Globalisation is a process which extends through all aspects of society: economic, political, ideological. Although it has had a long history, the present phase of globalisation -- a phase marked by deepening but not widening of capitalist integration -- is quite different from the earlier expansive phase of capitalism (Hoogvelt 1997). During the colonial era, for example, third world territories were incorporated into the global capitalist system as cheap labour on plantations and mines, or as peasant producers of cheap raw materials. In the 1970s and 1980s, countries of the Far East and Latin America became major producers of electronic goods, with large segments of their population employed in free trade zones by transnational corporations. The situation today is different. Capitalism no longer has the capacity nor the need to absorb new populations of people into its orbit, as a result of the transformation which has occurred in production and circulation of capital, which is associated with information technology. Intra-product trade has replaced inter-product trade, involving export competition between producers in different countries in the same product lines (ibid:122). An increasing portion of global trade also consists of exchanges involving subsidiaries of one firm. Global market standards have been imposed on business everywhere -- those that can cope, survive, but a large number collapse or merge.

As a result of globalisation, whole segments of the world's population in the north, but especially the south, have become 'superfluous appendages', rejects. They lack the skills to compete in the global market, or the market discipline to keep up with the fast pace required by the global market. Core-periphery relationships have become stronger than before, but now cut across national and geographic boundaries, and include the growing number of retrenched workers in the north, and the 'unemployables' who have not been employed in the formal sector for generations, including social welfare mothers. The development of core-periphery into a social relationship, rather than a geographic one, provides a positive outcome, however -- more scope for international organising in a broad social movement to challenge globalisation on its own ground, linking 'first world' and 'third world' people together.

A *politics of exclusion* has developed within the global system to manage those "those disadvantaged groups and segments in all societies that can no longer perform a useful function as either producers or consumers within the global market" (ibid:147). Global management is "not an economic problem but a law and order problem" (ibid:148). The politics of exclusion includes anti-immigration laws in Europe and North America, and urban influx controls in Africa. AIDS -- and official indifference to it -- is another way to manage exclusion -- let the people die. Extremist groups who shoot street children in Brazil and Columbia; and global indifference to deepening war and military conflict in Africa. There is also national indifference as well, eg to the rising incidence of armed violence in border areas of our country (eg Malambo in Ngorongoro District, as well as Ngara, Kigoma). Official agencies support community-based action programmes which help to contain discontent, in developed and developing nations. These programmes contribute to the maintenance of globalisation by "organising the poor and the marginalised to care for and contain and control themselves" (ibid:149). They respond to *neo-liberal* ideals of self-help, voluntarism, and a reduced dependency/demand on the state.

The global dimension of economic institutions such as markets is paralleled by a rapid development of global regulatory institutions such as the International Finance Institutions (hereafter IFIs), led by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and others. The global regulatory institutions attempt to impose a complex set of rules and regulations on nation states, transnational corporations (TNCs) and other actors, whose ultimate intent is to support the further expansion of advanced capital world-wide, with particular attention to the needs and interests of the G-7 countries and their trading blocks (Bush & Szeftel 1998, Mohan 1994). Macro economic and fiscal policies are adopted which further the interests of TNCs in their search for new markets and new sources of cheap labour, and reduce barriers to the free circuit of money-capital and goods.

The debt crisis has ultimately empowered the core countries by providing the rationale and the means to impose economic and fiscal policies of benefit to themselves, and to create a global management system which helps to impose global market discipline around the world (Hoogvelt 1997). In the process, the developmental state has been dismantled, leaving an impotent government apparatus beholden to its creditors. Real economic reforms that would lead to real development require a strong developmental state, capable of managing resources at all levels -- as was found in the Far East in the 1980s and 1990s.

### **Discourse politics**

Market-oriented discourse has developed which reflects neo-liberal money-centred ideology to both construct and reproduce globalisation. Taken-for-granted concepts such as the 'market', 'free trade' 'comparative advantage', 'civil society' and 'globalisation' itself are not challenged by bureaucrats and technocrats within African governments, nor by most NGOs, labour unions, peasant associations and other civic organisations (Mohan 1994). Underlying these concepts is market philosophy which asserts the superiority of private property, the legitimacy of social inequalities and anti-statism (Amin 1994).

In reality, these concepts are all problematic and controversial. The market or markets are institutions consisting of different actors with different, often opposing interests. How a market is structured and functions depends on the structure of power among those actors. TNCs exert their economic power and political influence to ensure that global and national policies, including SAP, are implemented which further their own interests. At another level of analysis, Amin (1994) argues that the market is simply another word for *capitalism*. Calling it by its real name would help to demystify its supposed neutral character.

Within the present stage of advanced capitalism, 'free trade', where all countries/actors compete on an 'equal' basis, regardless of how differentially resourced and developed they may be, is an illusion (Allen 1998). Numerous critics have been able to document that the present global structure of trade relations works, and will continue to work, against the interest of less developed nations in SSA, and against the interests of the poor and excluded world-wide (see the analysis and references in Hoogvelt 1997; Coote 1992 for case studies). The terms of trade are worsening against primary agricultural and mining commodities upon which most African countries depend; there is no reversal of that trend, short of political action to change the mechanisms which determine relative prices. Moreover, Africa's share of direct foreign investment among all developing nations has declined during the last 10 years, in spite of real efforts to manage national economies according to SAP principles. Official aid has also dropped -- 48% in 1996 alone (Bush & Szeftel 1998:175). A growing proportion of national income is exported overseas to G-7 countries and IFIs in the form of debt service payments, thus depriving national economies of needed capital for investment and development.

A form of global indirect rule is being established with pressure from local elites in government and the private sector, as well as global regulatory institutions (GRIs), to oversee. GRIs can depend on national governments to maintain rule, with their active support and intervention -- external military intervention is rarely needed. African states lack the autonomy needed to develop an independent development trajectory (Mohan 1994:536). Their dependence on GRIs is partly explained by economic factors, including the lack of foreign exchange, lack of capital with which to invest in development projects, lack of a vibrant production sector capable of benefiting from market opportunities at the global and regional level. Of greater significance is the political dimension, however. African states lack a powerful social base among 'the people' ie producers and consumers at the local level, which would support their efforts to challenge global rule. Otherwise, they are increasingly beholden to an assortment of class interests which benefit from globalisation, including compradorial merchant interests with strong ties to overseas corporations, governing bureaucrats, technocrats who depend upon consultancies for their livelihoods, and foreign investors (Mamdani 1994).

Comparative advantage would better be called 'competitive advantage' (Carmody 1998:28). Those corporations which can produce cheaper or better quality goods are in a position to monopolise growth sectors of the economy. Their productive ability is based on the acquisition of technological capabilities which required protection or subsidies from their governments. SAP policies have ensured that African countries, in contrast, have steadily been channeled out of the race as a result of deindustrialisation, deskilling of human resources, the growing dependence on traditional exports from agriculture and mining sectors, the expansion of trade and service sectors at the expense of productive sectors, and the weakening of the nation-state's capacity to regulate the economy, support the development of local producers and entrepreneurs, and promote a more inward-oriented, dynamic economy with strong linkages between agriculture, industry and services.

National and regional economies in Africa depend upon the expansion of domestic markets, for example, which would absorb surplus labour, increase local purchasing power, and thereby expand market opportunities for local producers in a complex web of interlinkages (farmers and livestock-keepers produce raw materials for local processing and manufacturing industries; and in turn become consumers of the products of local industries, along with workers and traders, as their purchasing power rises). Labour (whether in wage or self-employment) needs to be looked upon as a resource, rather than a cost to be minimized, same as in countries of the Far East (Carmody 1998). Economic reforms have the *opposite* objective -- to reduce inward-orientation, and increase the external-orientation of national economies, so as to have more competitiveness in global markets. African producers cannot compete in global markets with countries in the Far East and Latin America, however, because of poor infrastructure, an unskilled and unproductive labour force, the lack of autonomous state systems, and limited analytical and administrative capabilities within the state and the private sector (Carmody 1998).

SAP is partly responsible for these conditions, by shifting public resources away from investment in education and health systems, one aspect of human resource development and the strengthening of analytical and administrative capabilities; and lowering real incomes/wages below the poverty level. Part of SAP conditions was the withdrawal of state intervention in regulation, monitoring and support for producers (such as farm subsidies). The increased dependence on foreign expatriates to carry out management and technical functions in the government and private sector deprives national citizens not only of a job, but of the opportunity to strengthen their skills and knowledge -- which is a public loss.

*Civil society* has become a fashionable term in development discourse, but its meaning is illusive and confusing. In popular and donor usage, civil society means the set of associations and/or organisations which are outside of the state. The assumption is often made that these groups, by definition, oppose the state or state policies, and seek to increase democracy.(Allen 1997). No questions are asked about whose interests are served by these organisations? or to what extent they simply represent state appendages, carrying out administrative or social delivery functions on behalf of the nation state, or the global state. For development agencies have incorporated the concept of civil society into their conditionalities, as part of political liberalisation. An increasing percentage of donor funding is now allocated to NGOs for programmes and projects that formerly were funded through government. Democracy begins to become synonymous with the number of NGOs and CBOs that exist -- indeed, the term 'social capital' has been coined by World Bank experts to indicate the level of development in civil society.

Critics of the concept have noted, however, that it is too general, and covers different, often opposing political positions. Civic organisations include Chambers of Commerce, which actively lobby for globalisation; employer federations, which seek to crush workers' organisations and lower real wages even more; as well as labour unions and activist groups which oppose globalisation and seek to increase the power of workers in decision-making about macro economic policies, as well as wage policies. They are all part of civil society. Civil society includes traditionalist ethnic associations and fundamentalist religious groups which include among their aims, the reimposition of patriarchal values and structures. They are politically in direct opposition to the objectives of women's and gender-oriented groups which struggle to liberate women, youth and society.

In order to understand the conditions necessary for democratic struggles, or to identify potential allies for a social movement, it becomes more relevant to question to what extent a given organisation or movement challenges the status quo, ie the present political, economic structure? is a conscious struggle being carried out to reform or transform government, donors? to what extent have democratic values been internalised within that organisation/movement's internal structure? is the organisation part of the democratic movement? how dependent is the organisation on the state, understood in the broad sense to include donor development agencies as well as the nation state?

Concepts of gender and class become more useful and powerful in explaining political trends than civil society. How does the organisation/movement position itself with respect to opposing interests of big business and peasants/workers/small business? patriarchy and women/girls/youth?

Moreover, clarity is needed in not reducing opposition to the state to mean opposition to a particular political regime, or given political party -- that is state politics, which takes the present state system as given, and seeks to replace one set of faces with another. Democratic social movements not only oppose the state, but seek to redefine and restructure the form and content of the state.

### **Implications of economics of exclusion for the labour market -- from farmers to prostitutes**

The decline in the significance of the traditional productive sector in the global economy, and its replacement by Information Technology as the growth sector, has important consequences for African women and men. IT demands high skilled labour, which is in short supply in Africa, and has been undermined by SAP. This reduces the competitiveness of individual women and men to acquire jobs, and also the economy of the region as a whole.

A growing number of young women and men are leaving the countryside to move to rural and urban towns in search of employment and a more dignified life. The majority of young men become street hawkers, *machinga*, and casual labourers; whereas many women become *mama ntilia*'s or food sellers. However, a young woman, fresh from the country, lacks the economic base to become a trader or a *mama ntilia*. She is much more likely to begin as a bar girl or a house servant, and move rapidly into prostitution as a full-time occupation. Other women engage in sex work on the side, to supplement other earnings.

Market pressure to expand prostitution will increase with the expansion of tourism, which has been identified as a significant growth sector which earns forex. Sex tourism is a regular part of global tourism, supported by the media, transport and hostel business, and with implicit support from host and home governments (Phongpaichit 1982). Mombasa's fame as a centre of sex tourism, dependent on the sale of young men as well as young women, parallels that of 'sun city' hotels which surround South Africa, stemming from the old, apartheid days. Zanzibar shows signs of rapidly catching up, with planeloads of male European tourists flown in on weekends.

The only concerted action against sex tourism has been the coalition work organised by women's NGOs, first in the host country, the 'recipient', such as Philippines and Thailand, and later joined by groups in the home country such as Japan. Governments turn a blind eye because of the tax revenue derived from the tourist industry, the political power of direct beneficiaries, including TNCs, and corruption.

Tourism, however, is not the only source of market expansion in demand for prostitutes, at least, not foreign tourists. Many urban hotels depend on the conference trade. Among the services demanded by conference participants, largely (but perhaps not entirely?) male, are sex workers (Mgani 1997). Even small town and rural trade centres have a pool of sex workers to provide sex services to drivers, visiting government officials and business people, and to locals as well.

Another expanding source of demand are expatriate workers, often single men working on short-term contracts, who have left their families at home.

The spectre of prostitutes, their male pimps, and expatriate clients who met in all-night bars, night-clubs, and brothels came to symbolise the worst aspects of neo-colonialism in Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s, and the ravages of the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s in Asia. We are rapidly approaching a similar situation today in Tanzania and other countries of Eastern and Southern Africa. The recent expulsion of six secondary school girls in Songea for working in a brothel is one sign. There is no point in moralising about the issue. People will do what they have to do get money in a money-oriented economy. Young women and girls have the least access to any form of regular wage employment or alternative self-employment, besides sex work. Moreover, the earnings from sex work far surpass the pitiful minimum wage in government employment.

The issue ought to be, why has the government failed to create and implement a full employment strategy, which benefits people in the rural and the urban areas, with equity for all social groups? another issue could be, what steps have been taken to control the market of demand, ie the clients who seek sex

worker services. what sanctions exist, especially against clients who seek sex with under-aged girls and boys, below the age of 18 years?

## **PEOPLE-CENTRED PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT**

### **Alternative visions**

In order to visualise an alternative view of development, we need a clear vision of what we want society to be like, and what we want for women, youth, the poor and other disempowered groups. We need strategies to get there, from here, and methods to actualise our vision and strategies through the empowerment of individual women and girls, and youth, and their organisations (Sen & Crown 1987 ch 3). Here is DAWN's vision (ibid 80-81):

We want a world where inequality based on class, gender, and race is absent from every country, and from the relationships among countries. We want a world where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. Each person will have the opportunity to develop her or his full potential and creativity, and women's values of nurturance and solidarity will characterize human relationships. In such a world women's reproductive role will be redefined: child care will be shared by men, women, and society as a whole. We want a world where the massive resources now used in the production of the means of destruction will be diverted to areas where they will help to relieve oppression both inside and outside the home. This technological revolution will eliminate disease and hunger, and give women means for the safe control of their fertility. We want a world where *all institutions are open to participatory democratic processes, where women share in determining priorities and making decisions.*

The political will to create such a world does not exist among those in power, not in African governments, development agencies, global regulatory institutions like the World Bank and IMF, not in the Chambers of Commerce either. The political will must be created by broad social movements which are centred around the struggle for the rights and interests of the working people of the world, who demand a reorientation of policies, programmes and projects at all levels to become people-centred, rather than money-centred (ibid:81). The gender perspective needs to be inserted in all social movements, to ensure that progressive movements are not on the backs of women as in the past. This requires changes in laws, civil codes, property rights, labour codes, all the social and legal institutions that maintain male control and privilege need to be changed if women and girls are to achieve justice in society (ibid:81). However, the attainment of women's rights cannot be achieved in a money-centred economy, especially not one which is subjugated to globalisation. Hence, women's struggles need to be joined to broad social movements which seek to abolish globalisation as it is presently understood, and create an alternative structure of society and economy.

### **Alternative economics**

It is useful here to return to Elson's two questions:

- who is in control of the development process?
- in whose interests?

Each question is vital, and needs to be taken together. For example, the *Gender Budget Initiative* in Tanzania, led by the FemAct Coalition, seeks to increase the participation of women, at one level, and 'ordinary citizens', at another, in the decision-making process over a key determinant of development strategies, i.e. the budget process at district and national level. In whose interests would ordinary citizens or women act? To what extent would theirs be an alternative vision of development, which consciously opposes the present market-oriented approach of the government, IFIs and other development agencies?

*Self-determination* is a key element in Elson's (1994:513) definition of people-centred development:

“the formation and use of human capabilities through social and political and economic arrangements that put people in control of the development process...rather than being controlled by the development process...There have to be some democratically organised collective agreements organised to set the social and political framework (‘rules of the game’) if chaos is to be avoided. Moreover, *democratic participation in decision making is not enough: these collective agreements have to constrain the power of money over people.*”

Whether development will be guided along money-centred or people-centred principles is a political question, which will be determined by the balance of power between the “owners of money-capital” and producers/consumers, nationally and globally.

Some specific steps could be taken to restructure the international financial system, beginning with a transaction tax to be extracted from speculators in money markets--a suggestion made by economists twenty years ago, and ignored by IFIs (ibid:521). Economists in the North and South are resurrecting the idea again. Social regulation of the money market needs to be matched by social regulation of markets for labour and goods as well, along with the processes of production and of consumption. There needs to be interaction between market opportunities, state provision and community organisation, which transforms the present terms under which people enter into economic relations at all levels. The following questions have been designed by Elson (ibid:522) to guide the movement for change:

- opportunities in what kind of markets?
- what kind of provision for whom by what kind of state?
- what kind of community organisation with what kind of objectives?

Do the labour markets, for example, recognise women's need for safe, viable child care? protection from sexual harassment? the right of all workers to a viable living wage for themselves and their families? if not, social action is needed by workers' organisations supported by community organisations to demand appropriate changes, while raising awareness among workers (including the self-employed) about their rights, and facilitating their capacity to organise themselves on their own behalf.

### **Elements of an alternative development strategy**

In this section are listed priority aspects of an alternative development strategy, drawn mainly from Loxley & Seddon (1994):

- debt relief - complete
- food security, based partly on promotion of indigenous food crops by increasing resources allocated, including selective subsidies on farm inputs, with controls on investment in traditional export crops
- reducing import dependence
- strengthening national/regional integration
- expansion & strengthening of the domestic market, especially for mass-consumed agriculture products and food, and for capital goods produced within the country (Amin 1994, Mamdani 1994)
- industrialisation through selective and strategic investment, oriented first to the domestic and regional markets
- commodity price support schemes
- support for rural non-agricultural development

- human resource development through more and better allocation of resources to education and health, understood in the broad sense to include water and sanitation
- mass electrification in rural and urban areas
- strengthening of communications including low cost rural transport systems (no more head loads!)

Globalisation critics (Amin 1994, Loxley and Seddon 1994) point out that these strategies are not possible without national and regional autonomy to decide on economic and development policies in a participatory manner. 'Fifty years of the World Bank is enough!' -- in other words, progressive forces need to challenge the role and existence of the World Bank, IMF and the other IFIs, and construct people-centred global institutions which are truly participatory, and responsive to the will and interests of ordinary people - not the owners of money-capital. *Politics is central* to economic transformation (Samoff 1991).

What kind of strategies are needed to implement the kind of economic transformation noted above, and to ensure that the process is equitable, just and not exploitative i.e. not exploitative in the global capitalist sense? These strategies need to be guided by basic principles of participatory development.

### **Participatory development**

Participatory development has the following characteristics (Rahman 1993):

- all segments of society have a voice in deciding what the key priorities/ objectives of development will be
- all segments of society participate in making key decisions on the policies to be followed to reach these objectives
- at the level of implementation, all segments of society participate in deciding how to use means so as to reach given ends
- all segments of society benefit equally from development, in terms of access to and control over key resources at all levels of society
- special measures are adopted to overcome inequalities and disempowerment of the past, so as to enable specific disempowered groups (women, youth, pastoralists, the poor) to access resources and become full participants in development.

Some specific strategies for action include the following:

- create participatory mechanisms for decision-making about budgets at household, district, national, regional and global level; the gender/women budget initiatives led by NGOs in Tanzania, South Africa and Uganda provide a start
- create participatory structures of decision-making about macro and micro level policies at all levels (macro, meso, micro), involving all stakeholders and/or their popular representatives
- build capacity in the skills/knowledge needed for policy-making through economic literacy programmes, *while at the same time*, demystify economic ideology, and challenge the dominant position of economic/development 'experts' vis-a-vis other stakeholders
- increase investment in human resource development at all levels (increased public support for education, including higher education as well as basic education; for health, with a focus on primary health care; clean water and sanitation;
- support local and community-based initiatives to meet local needs and to expand and diversify local economies
- promote a strengthened social movement representative of the needs and interests of the majority of producers, who are low income smallscale farmers, livestock-keepers, wage earners (including casual workers as well as full-time regular employees), and unpaid family labour
- establish state regulation of trade and financial circuits of capital so as to channel resources to the productive sector (Carmody 1998:36)
- create a dynamic balance between central direction and local autonomy in state structures

- strengthen the civil service by provision of adequate incentives (remuneration, on-the-job training), clear mechanisms for accountability and transparency, while implementing strong sanctions against corruption
- restructure global regulatory institutions, including the IFIs, to make them accountable, transparent, democratic and participatory, partly by means of institutional restructuring so as to reduce the power of G-7 nations, USA in particular
- reduce the power of international money capital, in part by partial regulation of the exchange rate, regulation of movements of capital across national borders, and the implementation of a transaction tax on capital markets and money speculation
- revise the principles of WTO so as to meet the needs and interests of developing nations, especially in Africa

### **Popular social movements**

These strategies require the building of popular social movements for popular democracy. Political organisations -- not political parties which are defined here as state institutions (Wamba-dia-Wamba 1994) -- need to be created and/or strengthened, which challenge globalisation at all levels, and the structures of power in place in politics, economics and culture. These organisations are self-organisations, led by members of a given interest group such as smallholder livestock-keepers or farmers or workers or students or working women. Building a popular democratic state will depend on a process whereby African people become increasingly responsible for their own self-emancipation, through experience in organising themselves and struggling for their rights. Emancipation cannot be provided to the disempowered by, for example, an NGO which seeks to represent their interests -- this would be a continuation of the paternalistic missionary relationship which has fostered dependency attitudes and behaviour at all levels.

The new social movements is a term which often refers to community-based initiatives, pluralistic politics, removed from class-based movements. The danger is that such initiatives are reactive, not proactive; adaptive to the existing status quo; and readily cooptable by the state, given their focus on material well-being rather than a restructuring of power relations (Mohan 1997). As noted above, the donors have shifted major resources from governments to NGOs working in Africa at the community and/or district level, as part of the politics of management of exclusion, not transformation (Hoogvelt 1997). Communities or particular interest groups such as women are provided with training, credit and other resources, so as to *better cope* with immiseration, thus reducing the costs of welfare on the state (national, global) and reducing the possibility of resistance and revolution.

What does politics mean here? Politics is about taking a position on political issues such as the structure of the state, the relationship between the state and social movements, the nature of class relations from a gender perspective. To take a position is not a rhetorical question or an academic exercise. It suggests political action to change the situation, by challenging the status quo i.e. the government, the IFIs, and challenging the premises and discourse upon which development is currently based i.e. globalisation.

What does popular democracy mean? In the present context of globalisation, democracy is in the service of national liberation and social progress (Amin 1994). Shivji's (1991) definition is sharper: popular struggles for democracy are anti-imperialism, what I have called anti-globalism. The new democratic struggles refer to the democratisation of state life, on the one hand, and the separation of the state from civil society, on the other. Civil society is understood to be a problematic concept, however, in that any and all class/gender positions are reflected in the different civic organisations, and some are in absolute contradiction with each other.

Basic aspects of liberal democracy are necessary, though not sufficient, to provide the conditions for popular democracy. They include freedom of association, of speech, of movement, and of the press; the rule of law and order; the separation of executive, legislative and judiciary powers within the state.

Certain conditions need to be created for the restoration of democracy (Amin 1994):

- democratic re-politicisation of the masses, through social movements and community-based initiatives, not formal political parties
- reinforcement of the people's capacity for self-organisation, self-development through forms of cooperatives, co-management and popular management
- building linkages between the democratic movement and parties which are 'leftist', populist and/or anti-globalist
- reconsidering, in the building of a social movement, the role of transformative intellectuals; the cultural content; and the long term outlook -- towards socialism or capitalism?
- encouraging innovative, 'ahead of their time' ideas and actors, to further decentre and destabilise mainstream structures of thought and action

A major contribution of critical third world feminist groups, along with other human rights organisations, has been to encourage the development of these conditions. Organisations like TGNP, TAMWA, Human and Legal Rights Centre, Kuleana, HakiArdhi and TAWLA have consistently raised their voices to challenge the status quo, to demand legal reforms, and to build analytical and organisational capacity at all levels. Popular literature and theatre of all kinds, including posters, pamphlets, booklets; consciousness-raising workshops; radio talk shows -- all sorts of media have been used to contribute to the raising of consciousness. Space is being provided for people to organise themselves on their own behalf -- though this is an aspect that needs strengthening.

Indeed, activist organisations who identify themselves to be part of the social movement for social transformation need to assess their work in the light of each of those conditions. How 'political' are they, in terms of class/gender issues and the nature of the state? Are they part of the democratic movement for social transformation, or part of global management of exclusion? To what extent do they encourage self-organisation among the people, or do they adopt a top-down approach, acting on behalf of the people rather than facilitating people to act on their own behalf? Are linkages being built between activist organisations in civil society and those political parties which share common views? How much time and other resources are devoted to reflection and analysis about the nature of the movement? Are innovative thinkers and actors encouraged or stifled?

*Tamasha la Jinsia* provides us with an opportunity to carry out the reflection process, together, in an honest and open fashion, and to strengthen capacities needed for the building of a democratic movement for social transformation. We can look upon the present phase of globalisation, which for Africa is marked by the politics of exclusion, as an opportunity to create an alternative economic and political system, a people-centred system. This is a moment of hope, not despair nor cynicism. The wealth of experience and knowledge represented in this *Tamasha la Jinsia* provides hope and inspiration for the present and the future.

## ABBREVIATIONS

CBO	Community-based organisation
GRI	Global regulatory institutions
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IFI	International Finance Institutions
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IT	Information Technology
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SAP	Structural adjustment policies
TNC	Transnational corporations
UDM	University of Dar es Salaam

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**Appendix Globalisation Clippings - Headings for and against**

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