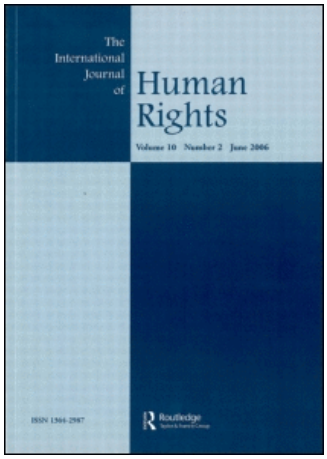

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Capabilities Approach to Youth Rights in East Africa

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Capabilities Approach to Youth Rights in East Africa

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ABSTRACT *Early physical maturity and delayed social maturity, created by the Industrial Revolution, make youth a vulnerable group. Governments, including those of East Africa, attempt to respond to this situation in their National Youth Policies. However, these policies remain weak and uncommitted to youth rights. The capabilities approach, pioneered by Amartya Sen and developed by Martha Nussbaum, challenges the naivety of debates on human rights by calling for affirmative action. In the light of the capabilities approach, this article critically examines the existing National Youth Policies of the three countries of East Africa—Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It suggests certain elements that need to be added to youth capabilities in the African context.*

Why talk about youth rights? Are they not taken care of within the human rights? It is true that the fundamental rights of every human person are enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). It is also equally true that youth rights flow from human rights, while drawing attention to the fact that youth is a vulnerable group that needs special attention, just like women, children and the physically and mentally challenged. The capabilities approach[1] to human rights is a contemporary view, pioneered by Amartya Sen[2] and developed by Martha Nussbaum.[3] This approach offers a solid theoretical foundation for discussions on human rights while protecting it from abuses and oversimplifications. It also reduces the individualistic elements in the human rights debate, and lends itself to speaking about communitarian rights, which, of course, is very significant in the African context.

In this article, I would like to critically examine the attitude of the existing National Youth Policies of the three countries—Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, from the capabilities perspective. The article attempts to invite governments, churches and other agents of youth work to go beyond rights to the realm of capabilities, where the young people would be able to fully realise their human goals.

We begin by defining 'youth'. A summary of the definitions from the youth policies of East African nations shows the relativity of the age criterion. The definition of youth tends to be culturally constructed, particularly in the light of the impact of industrial revolution.

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The second section of the paper summarises the listings of youth rights as they are presented in the said policies. Youth policies are very sketchy in their listings and seem uncommitted to youth rights. This justifies our proposal for the capabilities approach. The following section, therefore, elucidates the concepts related to capabilities approach, particularly applying to the rights of youth. Finally, I list certain elements that have greater significance for youth capabilities in the African context.

Relativity and Vulnerability of Youth

Youth is a stage in human development that lies between childhood and adulthood. However simple this definition may seem, it is valid nonetheless, because it brings out the relativity and vulnerability of youth. Youth as such exists only in relation to childhood and adulthood. And it is merely a passing stage. It is a sandwich phase whose separate identity is seldom recognized.

Age criterion is another possible way of defining youth. Even this has its intricacies. United Nations defines youth as a person aged between 15 and 24 years. The Commonwealth defines youth as one aged between 15 and 29. The youth policies that we are considering in this article have varying definitions. 'The Kenyan Youth is defined as one aged between 15–30 years old.'[4] Tanzania, on the other hand, 'adapts the definition of youth as declared by the United Nations which defines youth as a person aged between 15 and 24.'[5] While taking into consideration the international definitions of youth, the Ugandan Youth Policy acknowledges 'that [as] the family and extended kinship ties loosen due to the different factors many young people by the age of 12 years have assumed adult responsibilities'.[6] Hence, the Ugandan age criterion for youth would extend from 12 to 30 years. In general then, we note that there is no universal age criterion in defining youth.[7]

Other psychological and sociological definitions are also possible. But for our discussion on youth and young people in this article, it will suffice to furnish a descriptive definition. Youth is a window period between childhood and adulthood, often between the onset of puberty and marriage (or another permanent form of settling down in life), that is marked by a restless energy, rapid growth, and also by an extreme vulnerability, while being rich in promise.

It is important to note that the vulnerability of youth has been aggravated by the social changes caused by industrial revolution and urbanisation. Children are physically maturing earlier, due to better food intake and improved health care. If in 1900 the average girl began menstruation when she was 18 or 19, today girls, especially in urban areas of Africa, begin to menstruate at about 12 or 13. By contrast, their social maturity, in terms of taking up a job and getting married, is largely being delayed, due to prolonged school education.[8] If these changes took centuries to be noticed in Europe, in Africa they are taking mere decades! Moreover, in Africa, unlike in developed countries, due to lack of jobs, young students cannot take up part-time jobs. This makes them even more dependent on adults. In short, there is a large population who are not children in terms of physical maturity but who in terms of social maturity are not adults either.

Our brief attempt at defining youth explains the fact that youth is difficult to define because of its transitory nature. This transition contributes to the difficulty of being young, and makes young people a vulnerable group. Hence the need for an explicit assertion of youth rights as such.

Youth Rights as a Corollary to Human Rights

The United Nations has the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) and the Convention on the Rights of Children (1989), but has only a 'World Programme of Action for Youth' (1995). This programme, published to mark ten years since the International Year of Youth (IYY1985), elaborates further the theme of the IYY—participation, development and peace. The document identifies ten priority areas for action, aimed at improving the situation and wellbeing of youth.

1. Education
2. Employment
3. Hunger and poverty
4. Health
5. Environment
6. Drug abuse
7. Juvenile delinquency
8. Leisure time activities
9. Girls and young women
10. The full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and in decision-making.

While these priorities intend to provide, as the introduction to the programme claims, 'a policy framework and practical guidelines for national action and international support to improve the situation of youth', it is weak as a policy document. It lacks the international persuasive appeal that the declarations on women and children have. If almost one-fifth of the world's population is between the age of 15 and 24, and if, for instance, over 75 per cent of the population of East Africa is below the age of 30, there is surely a need for a better policy framework to protect the rights of this vulnerable group. Youth rights should not be considered merely as corollary to human rights in the sense of being an appendix; youth rights flow from human rights.

On the other hand, the youth policies that we are considering in this article do list some specific rights of youth, though often in a sketchy and haphazard manner.

The National Youth Policy of Kenya recognizes the importance of the right of young women and men to enjoy their youthfulness. Irrespective of social status, sex, all young people have a right to:

- Life;
- Meaningful education;
- Better health;
- Marriage at the legal age of consent;
- Protection from sexual exploitation and abuse;
- Seek meaningful employment;
- Adequate shelter, food and clothing;
- Freedom of speech, expression and association;
- Participation in the making of decisions that affect their lives;
- Protection from social, economic and political manipulation;
- Individual ownership and protection of property;

The Ugandan National Youth Policy seeks to provide for the following youth rights:

- Right to life;
- Right to meaningful education;
- Right to better health;
- Right to marriage at the legal age of consent;
- Right to protection from sexual exploitation and abuse;
- Right to seek meaningful employment without discrimination;
- Right to adequate shelter, food and clothing;
- Right to freedom of speech, expression and association;
- Right to participation in making of decisions that affect their lives;
- Right to protection from social, economic and political manipulation;
- Right to individual ownership and protection of property;
- Right to protection from forceful recruitment into the forces;
- Observance of all other rights in the Uganda Constitution of 1995 and the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

The Tanzanian National Youth Development Policy, though brief, is more to the point than the other two policies on the issue of youth rights. The rights are included in the policy as part of the Analysis of Youth Situation in Tanzania, and the policy acknowledges how the real situation falls short of these benchmarks:

- Right to education: for everybody to pursue in the field of preference to any level depending on merit and ability;
- Right to equality: everybody, including the young, is equal before the law and has the right, without discrimination, to be protected and to be treated equally;
- Right to live anywhere;
- Right to employment and wages;
- Right to privacy and security.

These youth policies merely list youth rights without elaboration or appropriate explanation, except in the Tanzanian policy, as above. These policies assume that everyone understands these rights, as based on the UN Declaration of Human Rights. This often gives the impression that youth policies are made in African nations just because every other nation has them, or because funds are available for the policy-making process. In the end, the policies remain on paper without being translated into legislation or being reflected in the annual planning and budgeting of public institutions.

From Youth Rights to Youth Capabilities

What are capabilities? 'Capabilities' is a term first used by Nobel laureate Amartya Sen,[9] and later developed by many others, especially by the philosopher Martha Nussbaum, to challenge the legalistic naivety of human rights. A systematic exposition of the concept was laid out in a work co-authored by Sen and Nussbaum, *The Quality of Life*.[10] They argue that governments could be party to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and yet not take any affirmative action to enhance the quality of life for their citizens. At worst, governments may infringe the rights of individual citizens, justifying this as a necessary evil to

guard common interest. And at best, nations may take a stand on what Nussbaum calls 'negative liberties'—not to make any legislation that will actively infringe the rights of citizens. Constitutions of countries that follow the American rule of law adopt this approach to human rights. Nussbaum quotes the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution: 'No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the US; ... nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.'[11] In this context, capabilities approach exhibits progress in the consciousness of human rights. The concept of capabilities is intended to provide certain benchmarks for governments, institutions and individuals to enhance people's 'being and doing'.

To understand this further we need to review certain constituent concepts. For the sake of simplicity I like to summarise them as the following propositions:

1. Human beings by nature are free. Amartya Sen holds that freedom is intrinsically good, even if it may be misused. Martha Nussbaum, however, believes that to avoid the misuse of freedom, certain social or even legal restrictions may be necessary.
2. Every human being values a set of doing and being. This is what Sen calls 'functionings'. Functionings are the choices that an individual makes in daily life that reflect what that individual aspires to do and to be. For example, an African male person may value *building* a house (that is doing), where he can *create* a home (still doing), where he will *be recognised* as the father of some children (this is the level of being). Ultimately, he may dream of *being accepted* by his society as a respectable person, etc. These, in simple terms, are functionings.
3. Capability is the umbrella reality that makes the functionings possible. In other words, capability is 'the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve. [It] is, thus a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting the person's freedom to lead one type of life or another ... to choose from possible livings'.[12] Capabilities are a set of real opportunities within which functionings can be carried out. Let us illustrate this, again by referring to an African young person, but this time a young woman, Wanjiku. Wanjiku may have different capabilities, or opportunities to carry out a certain set of functionings, with regard to different sectors of her life. As a physical being, she should have the capability to access adequate shelter and balanced diet. As an emotional/social being she has the capability to choose to get married or not. As an intellectual being, she could choose to pursue her university studies. We can see different types of capabilities—some capabilities are in terms of opportunities provided by her society, while other capabilities have to be achieved through her own right choice and effort. Since the capabilities approach is about public policy, it concerns opportunities and choices that are rightly available to an individual in a given environment, within which the individual can function. We shall return to this shortly.
4. The implication of the above propositions is that a good government should create an environment for its citizens so as to make it possible for them to have access to these capabilities. In the opinion of Sen and Nussbaum, a good government—or true development, for that matter—is not necessarily that which achieves a high GNP per capita, because the maximisation of GNP does not always ensure the equality of distribution. A more pertinent question is, how well is the wealth distributed among the different groups in the country? Nor can development be measured even in terms of providing equal opportunities for all: 'Equality of resources falls short because it fails to take account of the fact that individuals need different levels of resources if they are to come up to the same level of capability to

function. They also have different abilities to convert resources into actual functioning.'[13] For example, a child may need more protein than an adult; a young person may need more recreational facilities than an older person; and in African context, pastoralist communities may need more educational opportunities than agricultural societies. Simply put, the capabilities approach calls for affirmative action on the part of public bodies; that is, in Sen's parlance, to promote 'substantial freedom'.[14] A good government is that which provides adequate 'personal and social conditions that facilitate individual's ability to transform resources into different functionings'.[15]

As one can see, this is a different way of understanding social justice. It is less simple, and certainly calls for a greater human sensibility. What does this mean in practical terms and what are its implications for youth? To answer these two questions we need to take our discussion on the capabilities approach a little deeper.

Nussbaum distinguishes three kinds of capabilities: basic, internal and combined.[16]

1. *Basic capabilities* are the innate potentialities of individuals that serve as a necessary basis for developing more advanced capabilities; for example, seeing and hearing, capability for language, work, practical reason, etc.
2. *Internal capabilities* are developed states that the individual would have achieved within him/herself to various degrees using basic capabilities; for instance, bodily maturity, capability for sexual functioning, religiosity, etc.
3. *Combined capabilities* are 'internal capabilities combined with suitable external conditions for the exercise of the function'. For instance, one has the internal capability to express oneself. Now, according to the degree of freedom of expression that a particular socio-cultural environment provides, an individual would be capable of self-expression. Public policies, therefore, serve to provide the possibility for individuals to exercise their combined capabilities.

In summary, if my faculty to speak is not impaired, then I have the 'basic capability' of speech. If I have achieved certain skills in speaking, helped of course by my environment, then I have the 'internal capability' to express myself. However, if I am not able to express my views at a given environment for fear of repercussions, then I lack 'combined capability'. The capabilities approach is primarily concerned with the combined capabilities – providing the environmental (social, political, economic, cultural) support system where people, as individuals and groups, can use their achieved internal capabilities in their functionings.

Can we list some universal human capabilities? Sen would not commit himself to such a list. Nussbaum was critical of Sen for his uncommitted stand and listed ten Central Human Capabilities:[17]

1. *Life.* Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely.
2. *Bodily health.* Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
3. *Bodily integrity.* Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
4. *Senses, imagination, and thought.* Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason—and to do these things in a 'truly human' way, a way informed and cultivated

by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.

5. *Emotions.* Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety.
6. *Practical reason.* Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)
7. *Affiliation.*
   A. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another.
   B. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin.
8. *Other species.* Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
9. *Play.* Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
10. *Control over one's environment*.
    A. Political. Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.
    B. Material. Being able to hold property, and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason, and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.

Way Forward: Youth Capabilities in Africa

It is not within the scope of this article to critically evaluate the list of central human capabilities. Nussbaum herself acknowledges that her list is still very tentative, and that it needs to be adaptable to different cultures and times. So we ask, what do these capabilities mean for young people in Africa? First, it is not enough for national youth policies to focus on negative liberties; they must promote substantial freedom. What are the benchmarks that governments and other agents have to achieve, together with the young people, in providing them the opportunities to exercise their functionings?[18] We can propose a list of central capabilities for young people in Africa. This list is not exhaustive; it only mentions those areas where governments can intervene. Hence, it is to be considered as flowing from, and at the same time, supplementing the one proposed by Nussbaum.

1. *Abundant life:* Vital force is a central aspect of the African worldview.[19] The African worldview asserts the fact that from birth to death, human existence revolves around the reality of life. What is morally good is that which enhances human life, and that which does not enhance life is immoral. In East Africa, where 65 per cent of the population is below the age of 24, and with the average life expectancy of 45 years, vital force is in a paradoxical situation. While there is high birth-rate, there are also numerous life-threatening situations that make physical survival difficult, let alone ensuring the quality of life. Youth is a stage of human life where every aspect of life is at its peak. So, in terms of public policy on behalf of African youth, the capability of 'abundant life' has a strong case for priority.
2. *Religion and transcendence*: 'Africans are notoriously religious, each people has its own religious system with a set of beliefs and practices. Religion permeates into all the departments of life so fully that it is not easy or possible always to isolate it.'[20] However 'notoriously religious' Africans may be, religion offers significance to their very existence. On the one hand, even in a context of rising secularism, young people in Africa continue to find ways of fulfilling their inner need for transcendence and discovering meaning for their existence through structured religion. Religion in Africa also plays a vital role in providing a norm of morality. African peoples' perception of the Holy demands and enforces their emotional and behavioural commitment and so gives direction to their moral lives.[21] So, take religion from Africa and you leave a moral vacuum. On the other hand, effects of secularism, even on the moral front, can already be noticed among young people. Therefore, public policy cannot leave aside religious factors or religious leaders. It cannot create a vacuum in the lives of young people.

   Moreover, religion is an important player in the human development of the peoples of Africa. A recent international report by the Commission for Africa, spearheaded by former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, recognizes this fact:

   > Religious beliefs, movements and networks cross the lines between material and spiritual experience. They affect all aspects of how people live, including the social, economic and political parts of their lives. Indeed, many Africans voluntarily associate themselves with religious networks for purposes that go beyond a strictly religious aspect. Religion provides the means by which to understand and adjust to conflict and tragedy such as AIDS. It provides language of hope and aspiration. These networks are also plunging Africa into globalisation.[22]

3. *Holistic education*: In Africa, contemporary school-based education unfortunately consists of too much feeding of information into the minds of students.[23] This information-based, examination-oriented system that imposes discipline for its own sake is what the great Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire calls, 'the banking system of education'.[24] The post-modern era calls for a 'liberative system of education', a system that is dialogue-based, and oriented towards conscientization, where discipline is promoted as a means of self-liberation.

   Educational policies in Africa should ensure that the system of holistic formation of the young is not stolen away by the pressure of exams. Our schools have to find time for extra-curricular activities like drama, music, games, and literary activities. In this way

education will cater for body (physical aspects), mind (mental aspects), heart (emotional aspects) and the soul (spiritual aspects) of the individual.

4. *Meaningful employment:* Most of the population of East Africa are still either subsistent farmers or pastoralists. Traditionally, most ethnic groups were self-reliant in meeting their basic human needs, however simple. The contemporary capitalist economy has not only created more needs, but has mediated access to even basic social amenities only through the use of a currency. This type of economy is relatively new in most parts of East Africa. Today, lack of access to cash means lack of access to food, clothing, shelter, and especially to health care, education and other consumer goods. Access to cash can be assured by providing meaningful employment, especially to young people above the age of 18 years. Affirmative action on behalf of youth, on the part of the governments, simply means creating employment opportunities.
5. *Access to truth:* Young people of Africa stand in need of a combined capability for truth. Because the youth of Africa do not have access to a variety of means for acquiring information their access to truth is coloured by those selective media.[25] These include the purely profit-oriented mainstream media as well as governmental and religious propaganda. Due to inadequate education, young people lack the critical ability to make judgements about what is true. In this context, there is a need for a concerted effort on the part of public institutions to provide young people with possibilities for alternatives in the use of media so as to achieve their capability for truth. When young people have access to truth they will be able to find solutions to their own problems in such a way that their functionings will reflect human dignity.

It was not my intention to propose an exhaustive list of youth capabilities in the African context. As I said earlier, these aspects are meant to be considered alongside Nussbaum's list. The main intent of this article was to point out the inadequacy of the existing youth policies of East Africa, especially their sketchy, irresponsible approach to youth rights. They surely stand to be enhanced by the capabilities approach, particularly in providing substantial freedom to young people.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I will summarise the arguments that I have put forward in this article:

1. Youth are a vulnerable group, by virtue of their transitory stage of life. Therefore, there is need for an explicit assertion of a set of rights proper to them.
2. Existing youth policies in East Africa fail to provide an adequate framework for the promotion of the wellbeing of young people in this part of the world.
3. The capabilities approach proposed by Sen and Nussbaum provides a viable alternative to otherwise legalistically naïve human rights discussions.
4. The same capabilities approach can present a better framework for youth capabilities in Africa.
5. Youth capabilities in Africa have to include certain cultural and contextual elements in safeguarding the meaningful functionings of young people.

Notes

1. I am grateful to John M. Alexander for his valuable contribution to this essay.
   For a comprehensive collection of bibliographic resources on the web on Development and Capabilities, see: http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~freedoms/index.cgi
2. Amartya Sen, born in India in 1933, is an economist. After the completion of a doctorate at Trinity College, Cambridge, he taught in several universities in India and abroad. Since 2004 he has been at Harvard University. He is known for his contributions to economics and human rights, and won the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1998. His works include: *On Economic Inequalities* (1973) and *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (1982). His latest work is *The Argumentative Indian* (2005).
3. Martha Nussbaum, born in New York in 1947, is an American philosopher who earned her doctorate from Harvard in 1975. Since 1995, Nussbaum has been Professor of Law and Ethics at the University of Chicago. During the 1980s, Nussbaum began a collaboration with Amartya Sen on issues of development and ethics. Her works include *Aristotle's De Motu Animalium* (1978), *Women and Human Development* (2000), and the ground-breaking work co-authored with Sen, *The Quality of Life* (1993).
4. Office of the Vice-President, Ministry of Home Affairs, Heritage and Sports, *Kenyan National Youth Policy*, Draft 2, November 2002.
5. Ministry of Labour and Youth Development (Tanzania), *National Youth Development Policy*, 1996.
6. Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (Uganda), *The National Youth Policy – A Vision for Youth in the 21st Century*, 2001.
7. The Convention on the Rights of Children (CRC) defines a child as anyone below the age of 18. There is an overlapping of ages between this definition of child and UN definition of youth (15 to 24 years). Based on this fact, there is a tendency to consider the rights of children and youth under the same umbrella. This, in my view, further infringes on the rights of youth. In this essay I would like to assert the rights of youth, beginning by considering them as a separate group with their own identity.
8. John Abbott, 'Battery Hens or Free-range Chickens: What Kind of Education for What Kind of World?', The Gray Mattern Memorial Address, European Council of International Schools Annual Conference (2001), www.21learn.org
9. Amartya Sen, Tanner Lecture, 'Equality of What?', Stanford University, May 1979.
10. Martha C. Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, *The Quality of Life* (New York: Oxford University Press 1993).
11. Martha C. Nussbaum, 'Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice', *Feminist Economics*, Vol.9, Nos 2–3 (2003), p.38.
12. Martha Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000), p.6.
13. Nussbaum (note 11), p.35.
14. Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (New York: Random House 1999), p.37.
15. John M. Alexander, 'Capabilities, Human Rights and Moral Pluralism', *International Journal of Human Rights*, Vol.8, No.4 (2004), pp.451–2.
16. Nussbaum (note 12), p.84.
17. Nussbaum (note 11), pp.40–1. Since the section is too brief to paraphrase, I have left it largely verbatim.
18. What are the duties of young people, in this context? In capabilities approach, I think, we go beyond rights and duties. We talk about benchmarks that a particular society can achieve. It is about policy frameworks that provide the environment to achieve these targets. It surely falls within a choice of a group of people, in our context, the young people to use the environment for their functionings to achieve these benchmarks.
19. For an elaborate discussion on this theme see, Laurent Magesa, *African Religion: The Moral Traditions of Abundant Life*. (Nairobi: Paulines Publications 1998). See also, Martin Nkafu Nkemnkia, *African Vitalogy: A Step Forward in African Thinking*. (Nairobi: Paulines Publications 1999).
20. John Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers 1969), p.1.
21. Magesa (note 19), p.15.
22. Report of the Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*, No.36 (March 2005).
23. See, *Recommendations of the Symposium on the Multi-dimensional Crisis of Education in Tanzania*, No.7 (February 2000).
24. See, Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Penguin Books 1993), p.56.
25. This is often caused by poverty. Print media, for instance, especially books, are very expensive in Africa and remain an elite media there.