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## **The Value and the Indispensability of Justice in the Quest for Development in Africa**

### **Abstract**

The discourse about justice in any society is unquestioned, and interpreting this in the context of other influences and isolating the significance of justice towards development is challenging. Justice has been accepted as one of the fundamentals of democracy whether in its old form from the Athenian city-states to the new waves in its representative form. Examining justice as being sacred to human society is important in the sacredness of human dignity. But the problem today is the way the 'leaders' of new modern-day democracies tend to look at the discourse and praxis of justice because transparency, common good and truth among others, which are the hall-marks of justice, have been eroded especially in countries below the Mediterranean. The tenets of justice have been replaced with manipulation, relativism, negotiations, inequality, usurpation of power, compromises among others.

The thrust of this paper will be to thematise the discourse of justice and its significance as a sacred issue in the governance of human societies towards enduring development. If the dignity of man is sacred in itself, so also the discourse of justice cannot be under-valued. Hence, the sacredness of the nature of social justice will be examined, and argued for in the quest for survival and sustenance of Africa.

The paper will therefore, project that justice is a necessity in human society and without it; there will be no peace and development. In order to achieve our objective, this paper will employ descriptive-analytic method towards examining the significant roles justice, if enthroned, will engender towards development in Africa. It is, therefore, expected that this paper will initiate a platform in the discussion of justice for the attainment of authentic development in Africa.

### **Keywords**

Justice, Social Justice, Development, Authentic Development, African Society.

## **Problematising the Discourse of Development**

The discourse about development is a fundamental issue in today's world as it affects everything that man does. It could be seen as a form of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system to produce higher and better living standards. In other words, it could be interpreted as man's capacity to expand his own form of consciousness, awareness and power over himself and the society; that is, the optimum realisation of the well-being of individuals and the common good. It is the power of a people to solve their own problems with their own wisdom, experiences and resources.

Development in every aspect of life must affect individuals and institutions of the society; that is why it is an over-all social process, which is dependent upon the outcomes of man's efforts. All societies of the world have experienced and are still experiencing one aspect of development or the other. But areas and levels of such development vary from one part to another. In thinking about development, one can say that it is a process, which is laden and full of value judgement. This signifies the fact that development is multi-lateral in nature. And since development is a multi-prone process that has several dimensions, it is important to look at the two levels: individual and social levels. At individual level, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. And at social level, it implies an increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships and it is concerned with transformation of the society in its totality. More specifically, it aims essentially at the maximum improvement of the material, cultural, social and political aspects.

In order to ascertain the above, there is the need to state the objectives of development since it is a combination of social, economic, cultural and institutional processes. Thus, the objectives are as follow: to raise the availability and widen the distribution of life-sustaining goods to all members of the society; to raise the level of living, which includes the provision of more jobs, good education, attending to cultural and human values, other aspects of human endeavours that enhance material well-being and also greater individual and societal self-esteem; and to expand the ranges of economic and social choice to individuals and societies by freeing them from servitude and dependency not only in relation to other people and societies but also to the forces of ignorance and human history.

Until recently, development was equated with economic growth, but it is now widely acknowledged that this is a very inadequate characterisation. The idea of progress in modern history is in a straight line related to economics, in view of the fact that the enhancing of poor societies was thus seen from the beginning as depending on plenty of goods/capital to improve infrastructure, industrialisation, and over-all modernisation of society. The faith in science and technology, in this sense, became an imperative feature for those who were interested in the understanding and explaining of the idea of progress. Consequently, science and technology were encouraged by the dominant Western society's transition to industrial capitalism. To this end, Haldane posits that the principal concerns of Renaissance writers were philosophy of nature (embracing science, occultism, and metaphysics), psychology (including theory of

knowledge), and moral and political philosophy – one of the main contributions to which was the employment of fables of golden ages, past and future, in order to retrieve and refashion personal and social virtues associated with antiquity (Haldane, 1995: 768). That is, during the Renaissance, a pre-occupation with mathematics and natural sciences began, which was concerned with the elaboration of systems of thought originating in the classical period. Development was considered during this period with the utmost intention of solving multifarious problems encountered by man.

In the Enlightenment era, attention was turned to the nature of the human mind and its abilities to master the natural world. The thrust then was to examine all phenomena in relation to either rationalist or empirical approaches. Hence, development was based on the phenomena in the human society. It should be stated that the discourse of development is seen and grounded upon the lopsidedness of what the term progress is all about since Renaissance period. Progress is in fact, the necessary condition of material development as against non-material (intangible/moral) development. Here, the scientific mind reduces the concept of development to its technical and economic aspects, which became the ideal of the materially civilised life. The term was a controversial concept among scholars of different traditions – empiricists and rationalists – and others who were not members of the two like Smith, Hegel and Marx among others. While Hegel examines the discourse from the development of the Spirit – the struggles and processes of self-determination; Smith and Marx look at the market forces where economics dictates the pace of growth in human society.

The Enlightenment project embodied tremendous intellectual and social advancements especially in the improvement of human lives through the emerging and improved science and technology. It was a dramatic shift toward a world-view based on reason and manifested as the right to question received authority and re-define the moral and political realms of philosophy historically relegated only to the Church hierarchies. The Enlightenment then can be understood as the extension of the same principles of reason - where the Renaissance was the rebirth of reason, the Enlightenment was its maturity. Dalfovo is of the opinion that development became a supreme objective motivating the policies of individuals and nations; production, which meant industrialisation and later modernisation, became the means of development. The assumption of a world divided between the developed and the not developed set off on a race with a few nations at immediate advantage in the lead and the rest of the world behind (Dalfovo, 1999: 11). This shows that the concept of development is a mental idea that has set the world apart: one, developed and the other, under-developed. Kothari and Minogue (2002: 12) opine that development is an idea, an objective and an activity. These are all interrelated. Ziai examines the concept of development from four assumptions, namely: existential, normative, practical and methodological assumptions respectively that these assumptions are, however, quite abstract. They determine that there are developed and less developed countries. They determine that ‘development’ should be achieved, but not what it looks like and how this can be done (Ziai, 2011: 3-4).

In this analysis of the concept of development from an unfolding one, Galtung examines development from the aspect and process of overcoming structural violence in any human society. He writes about development as unfolding of the potentials in the

nature, human, social and world spaces; and that development as unfolding accommodates development as freedom (Galtung, 2000: 16). Stiglitz and Charlton see development from market forces and how trade could promote development. In *Fair Trade for All*, they aver that trade liberalisation is, in general, welfare-enhancing; stating that the problems of poverty, inequality, incomplete risk and capital markets cause the experience of liberalisation to vary across societies depending on individual characteristics (Stiglitz and Charlton, 2005: 6). While they opine on trade towards achieving development especially among the developing societies, they equally theorise on market forces, which will lead to emancipatory development. It is on these market forces that Stiglitz says, are shaped by political processes. According to him, markets are shaped by laws, regulations and institutions saying that:

Every law, every regulation, every institutional arrangement has distributive consequences – and the way we have been shaping America’s market economy works to the advantage of those at the top and to the disadvantage of the rest. Indeed, politics, to a large extent, reflects and amplifies societal norms. In many societies, those at the bottom consist disproportionately of groups that suffer, in one way or another, from discrimination. The extent of such discrimination is a matter of societal norms (Stiglitz, 2012: 52-53).

Stiglitz offers a viable position in the discourse of development examining the issue from inequality, stating that it is on inequality that there seems to be an endangered future, which is anchored on a divided society.

While Stiglitz and Charlton offer opinions from market forces and inequality as the banes towards development, Sachs’ intent about development is that there is the need for a new paradigm about development, which ought to include global, inclusive, co-operative, environmentally aware, and science-based arrangements that will salvage the emerging realities of the world today. Hence, Sachs avers that our global society will flourish or perish according to our ability to find common ground across the world on a set of shared objectives and on the practical means to achieving them . . . A clash of civilisations could well result from the rising tensions, and it could truly be our last and utterly devastating clash (Sachs, 2008: 4). In this argument, the alternative to the seemingly problematic issues is a series of threats to global well-being, all of which are solvable but potentially disastrous if left unattended. Prosperity must be maintained through new strategies for development that complement market forces, spread technologies, stabilise the global population and enable the billion poorest people to escape from the trap of extreme poverty. He also postulates in the process of escaping from the trap of extreme and emerging poverty a science for development because many of the core break-throughs in long-term economic developments have been new technologies recognising that the poor are, therefore, likely to be ignored . . . it is critical to identify the priority needs for scientific research in relation to the poor, and then to mobilise the requisite donor assistance to spur research and development (Sachs, 2005: 282).

Diagne directs his attention on development through the concept of time that what is essential to the very notion of development is time understood as duration, that is, the political culture of temporality (2004: 57). The issue at stake is the essence of time towards promoting development. This means that there is no way the issue of

development would be examined without considering time factor as the future is embedded in the present.

In Sen's *Development as Freedom*, greater attention is paid to the analysis of development and the freedom of individuals when he says that:

There are two distinct reasons for the crucial importance of individual freedom in the concept of development, related respectively to *evaluation* and *effectiveness*. First, in the normative approach used here, substantive individual freedoms are taken to be critical. The success of a society is to be evaluated, in this view, primarily by the substantive freedoms that the members of that society enjoy . . . The second reason for taking substantive freedom to be so crucial is that freedom is not only the basis of the evaluation of success and failure, but it is also a principal determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness (Sen, 1999: 18).

The argument, for Sen, is that freedom is the principal goal and purpose of development. He examines the intrinsic, constitutive and instrumental roles of freedom towards attaining development. The “agency-aspect” – one who brings positive change is the intrinsic role of freedom. In constitutive role, it relates to the importance of substantive freedom in enriching human life. In this aspect, Sen puts more emphasis on what he calls the freedom of choice, which translates to the discourse of self-esteem, sustenance and freedom from slavery of all kinds in an effort to understand the concept of human well-being. Here, he writes:

The concept of “functionings,” which has distinctly Aristotelian roots, reflects the various things a person may value doing or being. The valued functionings may vary from elementary ones, such as being adequately nourished and being free from avoidable diseases, to very complex activities or personal states, such as being able to take part in the life of the community and having self-respect (Sen, 1999: 75).

Development, in this view, is the process of expanding human freedoms, and the assessment of development has to be informed by this consideration (Sen, 1999: 36). This, he examines as different from the instrumental importance of freedom, which includes political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security. He avers that:

The instrumental role of freedom concerns the way different kinds of rights, opportunities, and entitlements contribute to the expansion of human freedom in general, and thus to promoting development. This relates not merely to the obvious connection that expansion of freedom of each kind must contribute to development since development itself can be seen as a process of enlargement of human freedom in general (Sen, 1999: 37).

This idea was emphasised in *Inequality Reexamined* (Sen, 1992: 31-32) that some well-known approaches to the evaluation of individual advantage and to the assessment of good social orders have been concerned directly with achievement only, treating the importance of the freedom to achieve as being entirely instrumental – as means to actual achievements.

Keita in his review of Sen's *Development as Freedom* posits clearly that the crucial aspect of ‘development as freedom’ for Sen is the increased agency and

opportunities for a better life that accrue to women and society as a whole as societal freedoms increase (Keita, 2004: 187). This means that for meaningful development in any society, the women's factor is a prerequisite, as major societies all over the world have not allowed the roles of the women's folk to be a reality. The freedoms that Sen examines include the rights and freedoms of women as causal factors towards development. He avers that development requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over-activity of repressive states (Sen, 1999: 5). In the analysis of freedom towards development, he opines that freedom is valuable for at least two different reasons. First, more freedom gives more *opportunity* to pursue our objectives – those things that we value. Second, we may attach importance to the process of choice itself. The distinction between the 'opportunity aspect' and the 'process aspect' of freedom can be both significant and quite far-reaching (Sen, 2009: 228).

Post-development theorists like Rist, Escobar, Rahnema, Bawtree, Kothari, and Minogue among others based their discourse on the critical analysis of development. While earlier theories like dependency and modernisation were usually focusing on inadequacies that prevented its achievement among societies in the South, the post-development theory rejected the totality of entire paradigm and denounced it as a myth. They argue that development has been seen essentially from non-Western societies into their diverse deficiencies, portraying them as regions in need of modernising along the Western models. Matthews avers that the problem, from the perspective of post-development theorists, is not that the project of development was poorly implemented and that it is necessary to find a better way to bring it about, but that the assumptions and ideas that are core to development are problematic and so improved implementation is not the answer (Matthews, 2004: 375).

While Escobar is of the opinion that development was – and continues to be for the most part – a top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach that treats people and cultures as abstract concepts, statistical figures to be moved up and down in the charts of 'progress.' . . . It comes as no surprise that development became a force so destructive to Third World cultures, ironically in the name of people's interests" (Escobar, 1999: 382). Kothari and Minogue (2002: 1) aver that development is riddled with paradoxes. While it appears on the face of things to be very much characterised by a set of highly practical concerns, few subjects are more bedeviled by contested theories. Development undoubtedly takes place in some place, as measured by shifts in economic growth; relative poverty and inequality have also increased. And the more precisely we try to identify coherent theories and measure practical changes, the less confidence we have in the predictability of future events, particularly on a global scale.

The modernists' approach to the discourse of development stemmed from the fact that industrialisation and urbanisation were seen as the inevitable and necessarily progressive routes. It is a total transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organisation, which characterise the advanced economically prosperous and politically stable societies of the Western world. To them, it is only through material advancement *cum* social, cultural, and political progress that development can be achieved and thus leading to the acceptance that

capital investment is *sine qua non* in the quest for economic growth and development especially among the less-developed societies. Escobar avers in his argument against the modernists that the advance of poor countries was thus seen from the outset as depending on ample supplies of capital to provide for infrastructure, industrialisation, and the over-all modernisation of society . . . and because these countries were seen as trapped in a “vicious circle” of poverty and lack of capital, much of that capital would have to come from abroad (Escobar, 1999: 383). The underlying factor in modernists’ intervention is still a form of imperialism, where the Global South is attached to the aprons of the Global North.

Post-development theory is suggesting that we allow societies at the local level to pursue their own development path as they perceive it without the influences of global capital or other modern choices and forces. The problem with this kind of model is that it disregards the dialectics of modernity and a possible return to ethnic chauvinism and primordial ties. This negates the idea of borrowing no matter how little from other backgrounds as no society can stand on its own without the support of others. In this constitutive perspective, development involves expansion of these and other basic freedoms. Siemiatycki in *Post-Development at a Crossroad: Towards a ‘Real’ Development* quotes Maiava’s analysis that what to term as a real development will involve . . . indigenous people determining their own future, confident, not intimidated, but free people determining what they want to do and doing it for themselves, exercising agency, actively moving forward to create better lives and improve their well-being according to their own priorities and criteria as they have done for millennia (Siemiatycki, 2005: 58).

## The Notion of Justice

The discourse about justice in any society is unquestioned, and interpreting this in the context of other influences and isolating the significance of justice towards development is challenging. Justice has been accepted as one of the fundamentals of democracy whether in its old form from the Athenian city-states to the new waves in its representative form. Examining justice as being sacred to human society is important in the sacredness of human dignity. Here, this paper will argue and thematise that the discourse of justice and its significance is a sacred issue in the governance of human societies towards enduring development. If the dignity of man is sacred in itself, so also the discourse of justice can never be under-valued. Hence, the sacredness of social justice will be examined, and argued for in the quest for survival and sustenance of Africa.

Justice is an important aspect in the society, which is so crucial to the running of a particular society where there will be equality and freedom on the same basis and or level without putting some individuals into high pedestals. Aristotle’s analysis of justice is the key to its meaning at the level of the particular act or decision. Justice, he said, consists in treating equals equally and unequals unequally but in proportion to their relevant differences (Benn, 1967: 298-299).

A democratic polity without the issue of social justice could not be said to be one. The question of justice has been a continuous point to ponder in the society. The question about justice is closely linked to the idea of impartiality of persons in the society. The “Golden Rule” of Kant presupposes a kind of social justice in its application to those in such society. Kant’s categorical imperative deals with the notion that justice (and equality) ought to be given and granted justly to all and sundry; his moral reciprocity of doing to others as one would have them to do oneself is closely related to the idea of not doing evil to others and doing things at the expense of others in the community. Stanley Benn writes, “From this follow ideas such as a fair wage, a just price, and a fair exchange (what Aristotle called “commutative justice”), as opposed to exploitation and profiteering (Benn, 1967: 299). And so, the question and conceptualisation of justice would be discussed and interrogated from the ideas and theories of John Rawls and Iris Marion Young.

Rawls rejected the idea of classical utilitarianism as a basis for justice because it does not offer any principle of justice beyond the basic view that everyone’s happiness counts equally. This situation explained the enthusiasm accorded to Rawls’ *A Theory of Justice*, which offers an alternative on justice to utilitarianism. The system of getting it is called “justice as fairness” because he seeks a contract on whose fairness all parties would agree. In Rawls’ book, he examines the two principles of justice: liberty and wealth. On liberty, each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all; wealth, social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principle and attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity. In this, Rawls asserts that if people had to choose principle of justice from behind “a veil of ignorance” – it is understood as a purely hypothetical situation characterised so as to lead to a certain conception of justice - that restricted what they could know of their own position in society, they would not seek to maximise utility. Rather, they would safeguard themselves against the worst possible outcomes. Irele (1998: 103-104) writes that in this position, individuals are deprived of certain knowledge about their personal circumstances . . . this construct is to make the individuals decide impartially on some principles that will govern mutual interaction in the society.

Examining the issue of justice in the society, he opines that there are duties and obligations every participant owes the community. They are explained as follow, there is the need for individual to support just institutions (Irele, 1998: 334). In this sense, only the just institutional arrangements according to him need to be respected and the unjust ones are not to be respected. For one another if the absolute happiness is going to be derived from the society because it is on liberal egalitarianism. And in the spirit of those natural duties and obligations, civil disobedience is needed in an unjust community. It is an act responding to injustices internal to a given society and appealing to a public conception of justice in which he explains justifications for civil disobedience in any community of men (Irele, 1998: 372-373).

Taking justice at a glance, Young thinks about justice not as a set of debts we owe ourselves but as a set of relations between social groups. She investigates the



rhetoric power that underlies old ways of discussing justice in terms of distribution, denying justice is a finite community-oriented justice that revolves not around the interlocking and often villages but around the interlocking and often messy communities that exist side by side. To her, justice means the elimination of institutionalised domination and oppression. Any aspect of social organisation and practice relevant to domination and oppression is a principle subject to evaluation by ideals of justice. The concepts of domination and oppression rather than the concept of distribution should be the starting point for a conceptual analysis of what social justice should mean. She is of the opinion that many discussions on social justice not only ignore the institutional contexts within which distributions occur, but often presuppose specific institutional structures whose justice they fail to bring under evaluation (Young, 1990: 22). This means individual culture is important to the notion of social justice and not individual persons.

In her arguments, she affirms that a distributive paradigm of justice corresponds to the primary formulation of public debates in societies. It is inherent from the views of Young that justice could be discussed extensively in a democratic state where participation in public discussions and decision-making is embedded. She says that democracy is a condition for public to arrive at decisions whose substantively just outcomes include distributive justice (Young, 1990: 92). This means that all differences, interests would be transcended to seek a common good. In order to put an end to all forms of oppressions and injustices, Young endorses the social movements that promote a notion of group solidarity against the individualism of liberal humanism. She argues that the idea of eliminating group differences in a just society is both unrealistic and undesirable. Instead, justice in a group-differentiated society demands social equality of groups, and mutual recognition and affirmation of group differences (Young, 1990: 192).

In her explanation, she brings out new insights to debates about welfare, affirmative action and disability. She offers a thought-provoking analysis of a communitarian society showing that the idea of self-sufficiency is unworkable. To have a just society, she holds that those interconnected yet distinct societies would show the way to not only survive but flourish in the contemporary society. To her, justice does not compete with differences either based on race, sex, and social, psychological but that it grows out of it. In the search for a just state, she explains oppression as forms of injustices where she states five categories of oppression in forms of exploitation, cultural imperialism, powerlessness, marginalisation and violence that must be rooted away from the society.

## **Conditions for Justice in the Quest for Enduring Development in Africa**

Whereas studying and researching into the issues of value-laden discourses especially that of social justice towards an enduring development in any society is certainly necessary and important; that is, focusing on conceptualisations and derivations that must be experienced and actualised towards attaining peace and development in democratising African states is also of particular interest and

importance. So, our intent in this paper aims at discussing the values and indispensability of justice in the quest for good governance in order to attain authentic development in African society. And central to the discourse of justice are issues of equality, equity, accountability, responsiveness, transparency, solidarity, option for the poor and subsidiarity. These characteristics of justice are so important in any society for the growth and development of a society in all its ramifications without leaving any facet of the society unattended to.

In the discourse of development, Ade-Ajayi reiterates that development is growth plus change. Change, in turn, is social and cultural as well as economic. The key concept must be improved quality of people's lives . . . we need to re-affirm the basic virtues of honesty, diligence and respect for the rights of others, as national virtues essential for our development (Ade-Ajayi, 1999: 15, 17). Kabila reiterates that:

Development is first and foremost a question of political vision, of managerial culture, of order, of discipline and of ethics. This being the case, to attain our objectives, we must do everything to resolutely engage a veritable morale revolution. We must banish and punish without complacency, the attack of life and human dignity, rape, tribalism, regionalism, favouritism, irresponsibility, theft, corruption, the embezzlement of state funds, scandalous enrichment and other vices (Muderhwa, 2012: 98).

This explains the fact that, "integral development is about the development of every person and of the whole person, especially of the poorest and most neglected in the community (Ecclesia in Africa, 1995: No. 68) because the question and place of man in development is inevitable. This is a resonation of the conceptualisation of attaining justice towards the quest for development as a society the ills mentioned by Kabila above cannot seek for any form of development not to talk of an enduring one.

In like manner, Oladipo is of the opinion that . . . development process is not an abstraction, the integrity of which can be measured simply in quantitative terms, . . . Rather, it is a process of social transformation, which involves the replacement of those factors that inhibit the capacity of the individual for self-direction and the promotion of social cooperation with those which promote these ideals. In short, it is a process whose essence concerns the quality of life (including the quality of social relations) of the people (Oladipo, 2009: 96-97). A plethora of significant issues concerning development is the factor of the major senses of development, which are the tangible and the intangible (moral) senses as Oladipo writes that:

The tangible aspect of development is concerned with material progress. It involves the control and exploitation of the physical environment through the application of the results of science and technology. The primary goal of this process, of course, is human well-being, which involves, among other things: the eradication of certain human-demeaning social phenomena, such as poverty, illiteracy, and low-life expectancy . . . (Oladipo, 2005: 95).

This means that it involves, for instance, the reduction of social inequity, which globally is a major source of conflicts among people, and the promotion of positive social values such as freedom, justice, tolerance, compassion, cooperation, among others. Although the tangible aspect of development is the most visible, the intangible is very crucial. This is so because it is that which enhances the capacity of the individual

to actually shape his or her own life without being insensitive to the common good (Oladipo, 2005: 95). From the moral angle of development, it is a truism that no society or community could be said and acclaimed to be developed when it neglects the worse-offs. This is the case that there should be equal distribution of the societal wealth to the worse-offs, consistent with the just savings principle and attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity, which Rawls' *A Theory of Justice* has discussed.

The value added to development based on the people portrays that attention should be shifted to people and not on structures that are built on economic, political and social foundations. Here, Njoku considers the issue of holistic development as it requires peoples' participatory roles. He points out that in the conviction that development is to be weaved around people, one can propose a better platform for human flourishing in which people will not only participate in their development but also take control of it under the principles of sustainability and interdependency. After all, human development is at once person-and community-centred (Njoku, 2004: 231). This promotes the necessity of participatory roles of the people towards development as they would be able to make their choices for developmental paradigms in the society.

An aspect of justice, which is sacrosanct to development in Africa today, will be seen and examined from the realm of liberation from oppression and social discrimination, which must be a watch-word for all-round development discourse. Here, there is injustice at all fronts, which has denied humans in all spheres, from contributing their quota to the society. Here, Door avers thus:

Alongside the economic problem of the yawning gap between the rich and the poor, there is a more obviously political issue: some individuals, groups, classes, races and nations are oppressing others . . . Oppression takes place within nations as well as between them. The people of many countries today are crushed down by repressive governments. These make full use of heavily armed security forces; torture and intimidation are common; and the most sophisticated technology is used to spy on anybody suspected of being subversive (Door, 1991: 14).

It is only when there is liberation, which is built on justice that development could be noticed and enjoyed in any human society. Here, liberation from all forms - politics, social, culture, education, religion among others - will grant and give freedom to the people and raise their egos in the attainment of enduring development for the society. Elechi opines that inequality exists because, first, individuals are not equally gifted and, second, society often discriminates against some of its members on the basis of race, creed, ideology, class or sex . . . Inequality arising from discrimination dies very hard indeed. It exists in all countries of the world, and it is almost always decried (Elechi, 2005: 65).

Door emphasises on cultural oppression, which is seen as a set-back to development especially in Africa today. He writes that another form of oppression is cultural. Minority groups in many countries of the world are treated as second-class citizens. Their languages and traditions are ignored and despised. At times, this is a matter of official government policy. More commonly, it arises simply through the insensitivity of governments and of the dominant political groupings whom they

represent (Door, 1991: 16). Elechi adds his voice that the clamour for egalitarianism goes on unabated because much of the noise comes from underprivileged individuals and nations, who always outnumber the privileged by far (2005: 66). In this quest for development, cultural liberation should not be seen as *extra*. Rather, it must be at the heart of the struggle as a resolution of the development challenges confronting Africa demands an incorporation of cultural knowledge into development. By cultural knowledge, we mean the skills, experiences and insights of people, applied to maintain or improve their livelihood. It also means a body of knowledge (or bodies of knowledge) of a people of particular society or societies that they have survived on for a very long time. This proposition will enhance the interrogation of cultural knowledge of African conception, which conspicuously differs from the economic/scientific model of the Western spirit. This struggle will affirm that there is a viable alternative to the Western notion, which is based on indigenous thoughts and practices. This means that the search for a better approach or model to development should move from a predominantly economic/scientific understanding towards a more humane concern, which recognises man as its principal subject and supreme objective.

Another form of justice that will lead to the evolution of enduring development in Africa is that of justice for women from gender oppression. The call for affirmative action from the women angle is a fundamental condition towards the development of the society. A society that relegates the women-folk cannot and will never develop in all encompassing manner. Here, Door avers that the struggle against political oppression is a major item on the social justice agenda. But there is another liberation struggle going on in our world – a struggle to overcome discrimination and injustice based on gender (Door, 1991:22). An essential insight of feminism today is that society is dominated by and represented by men. The language of public discourses uses male references to speak for women. The laws of inheritance favour men; professional advancement was and still is different for women whose place was supposed to be in home.

Generally, an average society is a male-oriented one. The problem of feminism is developing everyday is as a reaction to the way the society is grouped leaving women to the background. All things either leadership role, religion, politics, culture are patriarchal in nature. Patriarchy was viewed and still by the women's movement as an unjust system, which gives power to men at the expense of injustice for women. They see that the injustice is inherent in the structures of our society. In all fronts – family, language, labour, politics, culture, economics, religion and host of others - there is injustice against womanhood; Door emphasises that the issue of gender oppression is wider and deeper than that of overcoming overt sexual discrimination . . . oppression and injustice of all kinds stem from the way men have tried to dominate other people and the Earth (Door, 1991: 23). This rejection of gender influence will amount to a myriad of opportunities in the quest for authentic development for societies in the Global South particularly in African societies. In the quest for development in Africa, using the analysis of Ehusani, there is the utmost need for freedom from all forms of injustices that deny the people their right place in the society saying that: the men and women of our society aspire for freedom from all those forces that oppress them. They want to be set free from the unjust socio-political order, which condemns them to marginal existence. They want to be delivered of those customs and habits, those

attitudes and values or dis-values that generate, perpetuate or glorify oppression. They want to be free from grinding poverty, joblessness, homelessness, widespread violence, insecurity and disease (Ehusani, 1996: 28). The afore-mentioned issues resonate the idea and notion that justice in all aspects of human is valuable and cannot be dispensed with.

## **Conclusion**

It should be known and recognised that fighting for justice in the quest for stable development in Africa should be at the heart of all and even the task becomes more expedient from African scholars to set pace for the future of the continent. Here, great and fundamental issues were examined to interrogate the sacredness and indispensability of justice towards achieving authentic development, which are the reduction of social inequity, liberation from oppression, which is examined from cultural aspect and the women's struggle for a place in the discourse of development for Africa. I did examine that only an atmosphere of justice can provide the kind of social order in which the basic goods of human life can be attained. Also, only a combination of the moral order and respect can provide the kind of genuine social order that man requires in order to realise his full personal and social development in Africa.

## **Afrika'daki Kalkınma Arayışında Adaletin Değeri ve Vazgeçilmezliği**

### **Özet**

Bazı toplumlarda adalet hakkında sorgusuz sualsiz konuşulmakta ve başka faktörler bağlamında yorumlayarak onun kalkınmaya yönelik önemi görmezden gelinip doğruluğu tartışılmaktadır. Adalet, eski formu olan Atina şehir-devletlerinden, temsili biçimindeki yeni dalgalara kadar demokrasinin temellerinden biri olarak kabul görmektedir. İnsan toplumunun kutsalı olarak adaleti incelemek, insanlık onurunun kutsallığı açısından önemlidir. Fakat bugünkü sorun, yeni modern-zaman demokrasilerinin söyleme bakma eğiliminde olan liderlerine ve adaletin uygulanmasına ilişkindir. Adaletin ilkelerinin yerini başkaları arasındaki manipülasyon, rölativizm, müzakereler, eşitsizlik, güç yarışı ve uyulaşım almıştır.

Bu yazının amacı, sürekli kalkınmaya dönük toplumların yönetimindeki kutsal bir mesele olarak adaletin söylemini ve önemini tematize etmek olacaktır. Eğer insan onuru kendinde kutsal ise adalet söylemi de değersiz olamaz. Bu nedenle, burada sosyal adaletin doğasına ilişkin kutsallık incelenecek ve Afrika'nın varlığını sürdürmesi ve ayakta kalması arayışı tartışılacaktır.

Dolayısıyla, bu makale adaletin insan toplumunda bir zorunluluk olduğunu, onszu barış ve kalkınma olamayacağını ileri sürmektedir. Objektif olabilmek amacıyla bu yazı adaletin önemli kurallarını incelerken, deskriptif-analitik yöntemi kullanacaktır. Eğer abartılırsa, Afrika'daki kalkınmaya engel olacaktır. Bu bakımdan, bu yazıdan beklenen şey, Afrika'daki otantik kalkınmaya erişime yönelik adalet söyleminde bir platform oluşturmaktır.

### **Anahtar Sözcükler**

Adalet, Sosyal Adalet, Kalkınma, Otantik Kalkınma, Afrika Toplumu.

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