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**From Ubuntu to
Neocolonialism:
Unraveling Zambia's
Social Contract
Dynamics**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the evolution of Zambia's social contract from the indigenous philosophy of Ubuntu to the impacts of neocolonialism, framed within Minouche Shafik's vision for a new social contract. It begins by examining Ubuntu's communal values and ethical principles, which historically shaped Zambia's social dynamics. The analysis then transitions to the disruption caused by colonial and neocolonial influences, highlighting how these forces have introduced dependency dynamics and cultural disparities. By applying Shafik's framework, which emphasizes economic security, social protection, and equal opportunities, the study proposes a renewed social contract tailored to Zambia's unique socio-political context. The thesis aims to provide a nuanced understanding of Zambia's journey and offers practical insights for constructing a more equitable and sustainable social contract that honors indigenous values while addressing contemporary challenges.

KEY WORDS

Ubuntu, Social Contract, Neocolonialism, Zambia, Economic Security, Social Protection, Equal Opportunities, Indigenous Philosophy, International Cooperation, Post-colonialism, Sustainability

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1. INTRODUCTION

“Sometimes we feel that what we do is just a drop in the sea, but the sea would be less if it lacked a drop,” remarked Mother Teresa of Calcutta. This sentiment resonates deeply with my experience last summer when I traveled to Zambia as an international volunteer with a Spanish NGO. Driven by an insatiable curiosity to experience a different reality and an intense desire to make a meaningful social impact, I embarked on this journey with minimal expectations. However, the month I spent in Livingstone, Zambia, profoundly challenged my perceptions and understanding of international aid and cooperation.

During my time in Zambia, I was confronted with questions about the true purpose and impact of volunteering. Despite the noble intentions and diligent efforts of the NGO, to employ local workers and respect local demands, I found myself grappling with a sense of discomfort and unease. Rather than feeling fulfilled by helping others, I felt a sense of shame and guilt about the implicit imposition of Western norms and practices. This internal conflict was not due to any failure on the part of the NGO but stemmed from a broader reflection on the dynamics of dependency, neocolonial influences, and cultural disparities often overlooked in international aid.

These experiences led me to critically examine the role of NGOs and international cooperation. I began to question whether our efforts, despite being well-intentioned, might inadvertently perpetuate a sense of superiority and dependency. This introspection sparked a profound curiosity to delve deeper into Zambia’s history and ethical frameworks. I realized that to understand the complexities of North-South relations and the true impact of international aid, it was essential to explore the philosophical and historical context of Zambia’s social contract, from the indigenous philosophy of Ubuntu to the influences of neocolonialism.

The relevance of examining Zambia’s social contract extends beyond personal experiences and touches upon critical issues in international relations, ethics, and development. Zambia, like many post-colonial African states, navigates a complex socio-political landscape marked by historical injustices and contemporary global pressures. Understanding the evolution of Zambia’s social contract – from the indigenous philosophy of Ubuntu to the modern influences of neocolonialism – is crucial for comprehending the broader dynamics at play in post-colonial states striving for true sovereignty and sustainable development.

Ubuntu, with its emphasis on communal relationships and mutual care, offers a

compelling counter-narrative to the individualistic and often exploitative frameworks imposed during colonial rule. However, the persistence of neocolonial practices continues to undermine these indigenous values, perpetuating economic dependency and social inequalities. This thesis aims to unravel these complexities and examine how Zambia can forge a renewed social contract that honors its indigenous heritage while addressing contemporary challenges.

This thesis undertakes a comprehensive analysis of Zambia's social contract, incorporating historical, ethical, and theoretical perspectives. The first section delves into the origins, history, and definition of Ubuntu, exploring its core aspects such as communal character, sense of humanness, interconnectedness, and moral motivation. The analysis then transitions to the impact of colonialism and neocolonialism, highlighting how these forces have disrupted the indigenous social contract and introduced new dynamics of dependency and inequality.

Subsequently, the thesis applies Minouche Shafik's framework for a new social contract, which emphasizes economic security, social protection, and equal opportunities. By integrating Shafik's principles with the core values of Ubuntu, this study proposes a renewed social contract tailored to Zambia's unique socio-political context. The recommendations focus on inclusive governance, economic empowerment, comprehensive social protection, environmental sustainability, and social justice.

Ultimately, this thesis aims to provide a nuanced understanding of Zambia's journey from Ubuntu to neocolonialism and offer practical insights for constructing a more equitable and sustainable social contract. This exploration is not just an academic exercise but a call to action for rethinking international cooperation and development practices, ensuring they are truly aligned with the needs and values of local communities.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: EXAMINING ZAMBIA'S SOCIAL CONTRACT DYNAMICS

State-society relations are often described by the understanding of the term "social contract". This concept was first defined by Grotius (1625), Hobbes (1651), Locke (1689) and Rousseau (1762) under a liberal state perspective. The existence of a social contract in a specific society or group was perceived as something good or even necessary to avoid the state of anarchy and ensure basic rights and freedoms. Distribution of power is understood from the equilibrium in the give-and-take between the mass society and those in power (Loewe, Zintl & Houdret, 2021).

Revising the classical liberal interpretations of the social contract, the article *The social*

contract as a tool of analysis...” (Loewe et al., 2021) underscores a shift from the foundational ideas proposed by the classic philosophers. Although focused on MENA region, the article from Loewe, Zintl and Houdret serves as an example of different perceptions of the social contract as a tool of analysis. Unlike classic philosophers who viewed the social contract as a consensual agreement among individuals to transcend the state of nature, contemporary analyses suggest that social contracts can be asymmetrical and reflect substantial power disparities within societies (Loewe et al., 2021).

These contracts are not inherently normative, and their value is not universally positive; instead, their efficacy and morality are contingent upon the societal and historical contexts in which they are embedded. This perspective broadens the traditional understanding by examining the dynamics between various societal groups and the government, highlighting how these relationships influence political stability and change (Loewe et al., 2021).

Taking the classical definition of the social contract as a frame of reference, it is understood that individuals should choose governments that advocate their interests, just as governments should choose measures that conform to individual interests, but that venerate good coexistence among citizens. This raises the question of why in Africa, as in other parts of the world, there are authoritarian governments elected by the people, but which deprive their inhabitants of rights and freedoms. Some questions such as “How and why did Africans commit themselves under a government?” or “How is the social contract violated in Africa?” are addressed by Moeketsi Kali in his article *Social Contract, Authoritarianism and the Dilemma of Africans* (Kali, 2020).

The question is not only how it is possible that citizens or even voters are committing to authoritarian governments, but also why are African leaders forgetting about the responsibility of protection and transfer of rights as elected representatives. It might be that responsibilities are now wider in scope than under the classical definition, questioning and expecting more in contemporary times than ever before. In this sense, David Hume offers a simplified metaphor to understand the origins of the social contract, likening it to two individuals rowing a boat. They may coordinate their actions with or without a formal agreement, without the necessity of making promises to one another. In contrast, contemporary social contracts, especially within democratic systems, are characterized by explicit agreements and promises. Governments are typically elected based on their commitments to fulfill certain objectives, which are often outlined in political parties’ manifestos and affirmed during inaugural ceremonies. Consequently, modern governance is not founded on classical contractarianism or Locke’s voluntarism, but rather on a

framework of contractualism (Kali, 2020).

Contractarianism, as proposed by Hobbes, argues that individuals in a state of nature consent to form a government to escape the chaos and insecurity of anarchy. This social contract is based on the rational self-interest of individuals seeking protection and order. Locke's voluntarism, on the other hand, posits that political authority is justified through the voluntary consent of the governed, emphasizing the protection of natural rights and the notion that legitimate government arises from the explicit consent of the people. In contrast, contractualism in modern governance focuses on the obligations and mutual agreements within a structured society, aiming for a fair and just system that addresses contemporary societal complexities beyond the classical theories of social contracts (Kali, 2020).

To understand the functioning or not of the social contract it is also important to compare the differences between states. The social contract theory was first thought by Western philosophers and thus, adopted a convenient form for such states. Things might work differently in other states, such as African states, particularly in the case of Zambia. Social contracts in this continent seem to have been rearranged. Sticking to the basic definition of the social contract, we would be talking about a contract between two parties, individuals, and government. However, in the case of African countries, a third actor always comes into play, which can be any international actor that exercises some kind of control over the state, usually with development aid motives, but which usually has economic and political interests attached to it (Knudsen Ochieng, 2010).

Devin Knudsen Ochieng's analysis sheds light on how the redefinition of the social contract in African states has been significantly influenced by external actors, initially through colonization and subsequently through the pervasive impact of development aid. Ochieng posits that while the historical imposition of colonial rule delayed the natural progression of indigenous social contracts, the contemporary challenges largely derive from the intrusion of the aid industry into state-society dynamics. This external intervention has fundamentally altered the traditional exchange mechanisms between African states and their citizens. Instead of relying on internal resources such as tax revenues and conscription, governments have become dependent on foreign aid, which not only substitutes for domestic fiscal efforts but also usurps the role of governments in providing social services (Knudsen Ochieng, 2010).

This shift has profound implications for the social contract in Africa. With governments less reliant on citizens for revenue through taxation and more dependent on external aid,

the accountability mechanisms inherent in a functioning social contract weaken. The direct relationship between state provisions and citizen contributions – crucial for mutual accountability and state legitimacy – is disrupted. Consequently, citizens’ expectations of their governments transform; they lose both the ability and the incentive to hold their leaders accountable, as the immediate benefits of aid overshadow the long-term necessity for robust state structures and self-sufficiency (Knudsen Ochieng, 2010).

Furthermore, the presence of aid often fails to enforce good governance practices among recipient governments, as donors themselves do not sufficiently hold these governments to account, exacerbating governance issues. Ochieng’s critique reflects a broader call for African states and their citizenries to recognize the detrimental long-term impacts of aid-dependent policies and to advocate for a retraction from these external dependencies. This shift is essential not only for the reestablishment of a functional social contract but also for the broader project of state-building and sustainable development in the African context.

The financial vulnerabilities and dependencies created by global economic structures significantly limit Zambia’s policy space. International financial institutions and donor conditions not only shape but also constrain the government’s ability to formulate and execute policies according to local needs. This external imposition affects the types of social policies that can be adopted, often favoring those that align with global neoliberal agendas. The article *Everyday Sense Making, and the Discursive Delineation of Social Policy Space in Zambia* by Anna Wolkenhauer discusses how social contracts in Zambia are being redefined through daily interactions between state agents and citizens. These interactions are influenced by the pervasive external economic pressures and the internal negotiations about what constitutes legitimate social policy. This redefinition occurs within a constrained policy space where fiscal limitations necessitate rigorous targeting of social programs like the Social Cash Transfer. Local perceptions and discursive practices play crucial roles in shaping the implementation and legitimacy of social policies (Wolkenhauer, 2023).

The acceptance of these policies by local communities and their integration into the existing social fabric are essential for their success. However, these perceptions are often shaped by the limited resources available to the state, leading to a focus on the most vulnerable populations and fostering a discourse of self-responsibility among beneficiaries. There is a notable shift in responsibility from the state to individuals, where citizens are expected to utilize social assistance not just for immediate relief but as a steppingstone

towards self-sufficiency. This shift is framed within the discourse of self-responsibility, influenced heavily by the financial and policy constraints imposed externally. The reconfiguration of the social contract through externally influenced social policies can have long-term implications for state-society relations. As the traditional roles of the state in providing social welfare are modified, the intrinsic expectations between the state and its citizens evolve, potentially altering the foundational dynamics of societal cohesion and governance in Zambia (Wolkenhauer, 2023).

The expansion of social protection in Zambia is complexly tied to the concept of the social contract between the state and its citizens. According to Harland, social protection initiatives are often advocated by international development agencies as a means to foster social justice and equity. However, the effectiveness of these policies in transforming social relations and reducing marginalization is debatable. Social protection is ideally about enhancing public welfare and is grounded in human rights, but the real impact is often diluted by the persistence of neopatrimonial practices where state resources are leveraged for elite consolidation rather than public good. The relationship between state-led social protection efforts and the genuine empowerment of marginalized communities is complex, often impeded by entrenched power dynamics that favor elite interests over equitable social development (Harland, 2011).

The dynamics of neopatrimonialism¹ and clientelism² in Zambia profoundly affect the distribution of resources and the efficacy of social policies. Harland describes how these systems are characterized by personal loyalty rather than legal-rational authority, where resources are distributed based on personal fidelity to powerful patrons. This mode of governance undermines the principles of fairness and equality essential to a robust social contract and instead perpetuates a cycle of dependency and marginalization. The entrenched neopatrimonial networks ensure that any social protection measures are likely appropriated to serve the interests of those in power, thus hindering genuine social transformation and maintaining the status quo (Harland, 2011).

¹ Neopatrimonialism is a governance system where state officials merge public and private resources, treating their official positions as opportunities to distribute personal favors and privileges. This approach often leads to corruption, inefficiency, and a lack of accountability, as public resources are diverted for personal benefit rather than the public good. Neopatrimonialism is typically marked by patron-client relationships, where political leaders dispense resources and protection in exchange for loyalty and political support.

² Clientelism describes a political system where goods or services are traded for political support. It involves a reciprocal relationship between patrons (typically politicians) and clients (voters or subordinate politicians), where patrons offer resources, jobs, or other benefits in return for electoral support or loyalty. This practice undermines democratic processes and institutional integrity by prioritizing personal loyalty over merit and broad-based policy implementation.

The influence of external actors, particularly China, as discussed in the analysis of Lee's work by Sishuwa, introduces another layer of complexity in the social and economic landscape of Zambia. While Chinese investments in Zambia are often touted as beneficial for economic development, they can also reinforce neocolonial patterns of exploitation and dependency. This relationship potentially complicates the social contract by prioritizing foreign interests and economic gains over local welfare and autonomy. The portrayal of Chinese involvement as either a form of neocolonialism or a mutually beneficial partnership varies, but the underlying power imbalances and their implications for Zambia's sovereignty and its citizens' rights remain a critical concern (Sishuwa, Cheyeka, & Atanasova, n. d.).

The impact of foreign and state policies on local livelihoods and economic opportunities is discussed by both, Harland and Sishuwa's reviews. The emphasis on large-scale investments and external aid, as highlighted by Harland and reflected in China's engagements in Zambia, often overlooks the needs and potential of local economies to foster self-sustaining development. Such approaches can exacerbate economic disparities and undermine the development of a social contract that genuinely supports the needs and aspirations of all Zambians, particularly the marginalized and impoverished communities.

Ubuntu has emerged as a pivotal theoretical framework in African social work, addressing the over-reliance on Western models and theories. The African Journal of Social Work (AJSW) emphasizes that Ubuntu represents a collection of values and practices recognized across various African cultures as essential to human authenticity. Despite variations across ethnic groups, these values universally advocate for a person's integration into a larger relational, communal, societal, environmental, and spiritual world. This holistic approach contrasts sharply with the often individualistic underpinnings of Western theories, which have historically dominated social work practices in Africa (Mugumbate & Chereni, 2020).

Further elaborating on the application of Ubuntu, the AJSW special issue introduces articles that demonstrate Ubuntu's practical integration into social work. These articles prioritize visual models and examples that illustrate Ubuntu's application, highlighting its adaptability and relevance in modern social work practices. This initiative is part of a broader effort to decolonize social work in Africa by replacing outdated Western paradigms with approaches that are more congruent with African societal values and realities (Mugumbate & Chereni, 2020).

Ubuntu's widespread relevance is evidenced by its various expressions across the

continent, from “gimuntu” in Angola to “ubuntu” in Zambia, reflecting a common understanding despite linguistic differences. This shared concept underscores the intrinsic value of communal and relational understandings in African societies, which are critical to developing social policies and practices that genuinely reflect and enhance the lives of the community members (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

In her insightful work, *What We Owe Each Other*, Minouche Shafik presents a contemporary perspective on the concept of the social contract, emphasizing the need for a reevaluation in light of modern societal challenges. Shafik argues that the traditional social contract – conceived primarily through the prism of individual obligations to the state and vice versa – requires an update to address the realities of a globalized world, marked by profound technological, demographic, and economic changes. Central to her thesis is the notion that societies must evolve towards social contracts that not only encompass traditional economic and political engagements but also respond adaptively to new global pressures and inequalities (Shafik, 2021).

Her book will serve as a critical framework for examining the implementation and implications of social contracts in Zambia, particularly in how external influences, like foreign aid and global economic policies, have shaped local social, political, and economic dynamics. Shafik’s exploration offers a lens through which to assess whether current models effectively support societal well-being or perpetuate dependency and inequality. This perspective is particularly relevant in analyzing how Zambian policies align with or deviate from the ideals of a beneficial social contract in fostering a just society that genuinely supports its citizens.

3. ZAMBIA UNVEILED: AN HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE

To effectively analyze the social contract in Zambia, it is essential to first comprehend the country’s rich cultural, social, and historical context. Utilizing Scott D. Taylor’s *Culture and Customs of Zambia* (2006), this examination will dig into the most pertinent aspects of Zambian life. A thorough understanding of these elements is crucial not only for positioning Zambia within a global context but also for exploring the dynamics of the social contract, the influence of Ubuntu philosophy, and the impacts of neocolonialism.

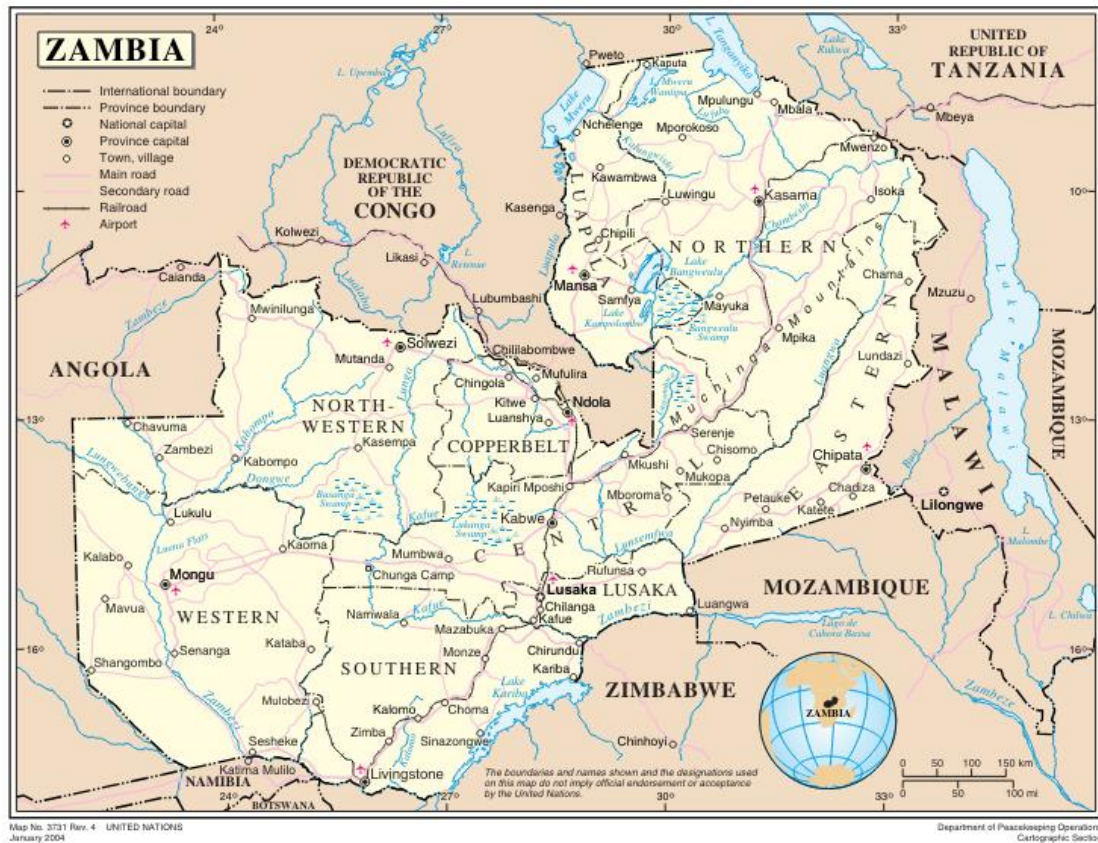
Zambia is celebrated for its long-standing peace and stability, which starkly contrasts with the tumultuous histories of many African nations. This peace is deeply embedded in Zambia’s national identity and is exemplified in its national anthem, which calls for “pride

and freedom” under the motto “One Zambia, One Nation.” Such national symbols reflect the country’s historical narrative as a shield against colonial domination and its role during the anti-apartheid movement. Zambia’s abundant land and resources have historically mitigated conflict over scarce resources, contributing to its reputation as a peaceful nation and influencing its social and political structures today (Taylor, 2006).

As one of the most urbanized nations in sub-Saharan Africa, Zambia presents a unique case of ethnic and cultural fusion, primarily centered in its booming urban areas like the Copperbelt. This urbanization began during the colonial era and has led to increased interactions among Zambia’s diverse ethnolinguistic groups. The convergence of traditional and modern influences is evident in everyday life, where internet cafes and global music blend with local customs and practices. This interplay between tradition and modernity provides a dynamic backdrop for examining how Zambia navigates its post-colonial identity and challenges, making it a subject of interest for scholars studying its development and the broader implications for Africa (Taylor, 2006).

These insights into Zambia’s geographical blessings, peaceful foundation, and cultural dynamics set the stage for a deeper exploration of how these factors contribute to the shaping of its social contract, the manifestation of Ubuntu philosophy, and the ongoing dialogue with neocolonial influences.

3.1. EXPLORING CULTURE, GEOGRAPHY, AND SOCIETY



Source: United Nations Geospatial Sites (2004)³

Zambia, a landlocked nation nestled in the heart of southern Africa, is a country rich in diversity, both geographically and culturally. With a population of 19.6 million, 752,617 sq km (BBC News, 2023), it is bordered by eight neighboring countries: the Democratic Republic of Congo to the north; Tanzania to the northeast; Malawi to the east; Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Namibia to the south; and Angola to the west. Lusaka, with a population of approximately 1.8 million, serves as both the administrative and economic hub, strategically located in the south-central region of the country. Key border towns include Kasumbaleza, marking the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo with a length of 2,332 kilometers; Chipata, bordering Malawi with a length of 847 kilometers; Chirundu, adjacent to Zimbabwe with a length of 797 kilometers; Kazungula, linking with Namibia with a length of 244 kilometers; and Nakonde, connecting with Tanzania with a length of 353 kilometers (*Country Profile: Republic of Zambia*, n.d.).

This diversity is mirrored in its complex social structures and the historical tapestry

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https://www.un.org/geospatial/sites/www.un.org.geospatial/files/files/documents/2020/Apr/zambia_3731_r4_jan04.pdf

that has shaped its contemporary societal norms and policies. Zambia is characterized by a sprawling landscape that ranges from massive lakes and rich river systems to extensive savannahs and forested regions. This geographical diversity has a profound impact on the local climates, which vary from tropical in the north to subtropical in the south, influencing agricultural practices and lifestyles across regions (Taylor, 2006). The Zambezi River, not only a vital source of water but also a pivotal cultural landmark, features prominently in the local lore and economy, most notably exemplified by the Victoria Falls, one of the world's largest and most famous waterfalls.

The Zambian society is a mosaic of over 70 ethnic groups, with the Bemba, Tonga, Ngoni, and Lozi being the most prominent. Each group brings its own language and cultural customs to the national identity, contributing to a rich tapestry of community life that emphasizes extended familial networks and communal living as societal norms (Taylor, 2006). The population is predominantly rural, although urbanization is rapidly changing social dynamics, particularly in major cities such as Lusaka, the nation's capital, and Ndola in the Copperbelt province.

Zambian culture is deeply rooted in a synergy of traditional beliefs and modern influences. Traditional music, dance, and art remain integral to communal celebrations and rituals, reflecting the nation's rich artistic heritage. Yet, contemporary influences, particularly through media and technology, have woven a complex fabric of modernity into these traditional forms. Religion plays a significant role, with Christianity being the predominant faith, influencing social values and community practices. The culinary traditions, centered around maize, play a central role in daily life and festivals, symbolizing the agricultural basis of the economy (Taylor, 2006).

Zambia's economy has historically been heavily reliant on the mining industry, particularly copper mining, which has dictated much of its economic fortunes. However, agriculture also plays a crucial role in supporting the livelihoods of the majority of Zambians. In recent years, there has been a push towards diversifying the economy to reduce dependency on copper, with tourism becoming increasingly significant, thanks in part to Zambia's rich natural heritage (Taylor, 2006).

The political landscape in Zambia has been shaped by its journey from colonial rule to a modern multi-party democracy. However, the remnants of colonial administrative structures still influence governance and political interactions. Issues such as neopatrimonialism and clientelism are prevalent, affecting the equitable distribution of resources and the transparency of governance. These challenges are compounded by

external influences, including foreign aid and investment, particularly from countries like China, which have significant implications for Zambia's sovereignty and social contract with its citizens (Taylor, 2006).

The interplay between Zambia's rich cultural heritage and the forces of modernization and globalization presents both challenges and opportunities. As Zambia continues to navigate its post-colonial identity and development trajectory, understanding these dynamics is crucial for anyone looking to engage with or study this vibrant nation. The insights provided by Scott D. Taylor's comprehensive examination of Zambian culture and customs offer a valuable framework for analyzing how traditional values and contemporary pressures shape the nation's social, economic, and political landscape.

With regard to Zambia's current situation on the international scene, using data from global Edge, a global information source of the International Business Center of the University of Michigan, a series of aspects can be highlighted. Zambia presents a multifaceted economic landscape. As of 2022, Zambia's GDP per capita, measured by purchasing power parity (PPP), stands at \$3,894. This figure reflects the economic output per individual when adjusted for price level differences across countries, indicating moderate economic performance in a global context. The nation's population totals approximately 20,017,675, highlighting a significant market size in the Southern African region (globalEDGE, n.d.).

The ease of doing business in Zambia is moderately positioned, with the country ranking 84th out of 189 countries by the 2020 World Bank assessment. This ranking is based on a composite score of 66.9, which evaluates regulatory environments conducive to business operations. Despite these strengths, Zambia's Index of Economic Freedom score is relatively low at 47.8 out of 100, suggesting substantial government intervention in economic activities and a limited degree of economic autonomy. The country risk rating for Zambia, classified as "D" by Coface in 2022, underscores significant political and economic challenges. This rating reflects a high probability of corporate default and a challenging business environment, driven by political instability and economic vulnerabilities (globalEDGE, n.d.).

Zambia's government operates as a republic, established by the constitution formed in 1991. The constitution delineates the rights of citizens and the powers of various branches of government, ensuring a structured approach to governance. The Republic of Zambia is characterized by a multiparty political system, promoting democratic principles and individual liberties. The nation is an active member of regional trade blocs such as the

Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). These affiliations facilitate regional economic integration and cooperation, providing Zambia with broader market access and economic collaboration opportunities (globalEDGE, n.d.).

Zambia’s economy is diversified yet faces substantial challenges. The country is rich in natural resources, particularly copper, which forms the backbone of its export economy. However, dependency on copper exports makes Zambia vulnerable to global commodity price fluctuations, impacting economic stability and growth. The economic landscape is further complicated by high levels of debt and reliance on external financing. This financial strain affects infrastructure development and social services, posing a risk to sustainable economic growth. Additionally, structural issues such as corruption, inefficiencies in public administration, and limited industrial diversification hinder economic progress (globalEDGE, n.d.).

3.2. HISTORY OF ZAMBIA

Figure: Chronology of Zambian History

1100 bc	Bantu migration displaces indigenous San peoples.
1200	Tonga and Ila peoples migrate from the east.
1500s–1750	Fragments of the Luba and Lunda empires in Congo migrate to Zambia, forming new kingdoms; the Bemba, Bisa, Lovale, Kaonde, Lamba, Lunda, and Lozi emerge.
1851	First visit to area by the Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone.
1889–90	British South Africa Company (BSA) establishes control over Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) as a British protectorate.
1924	BSA cedes control over Northern Rhodesia to British Colonial Office, switching from a company administration type to a more conventional colonial governance structure.

1953–63	Federation is established between colonial territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyassaland.
1962	Civil disobedience accelerates moves toward independence.
1964, October 24	Independence.
1972, December	One Party Declaration is enacted.
1980s	Copper prices plunge: debt increases.
1985	Zambia adopts comprehensive economic adjustment program with International Monetary Fund and World Bank.
1986–87	Food riots.
1987, May	The Structural Adjustment Program SAP is abandoned unilaterally by Zambia.
1989, June	New SAP is initiated; abolishes price controls, except on staples.
1990, June	Food riots.
1990, June	Reports of an attempted coup against Kaunda precipitate widespread public celebration.
1990, July	Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) coalition is established.
1990, December	Parliament approves multiparty option.
1991, June	Reintroduction of price controls by the United National Independence Party (UNIP) weakens SAP.
1991, September	Adjustment program is suspended again.

1991, October 31	MMD wins, and Frederick Chiluba is elected president.
1992, January	Structural Adjustment Program is reinstated.
1992–93	Worst drought in a century hits southern Africa.
1993, March	A state of emergency is declared in response to an alleged plot to overthrow the government (state of emergency lasts three months).
1994–95	Severe drought again hits the region.
1996, May–June	UNIP opposition leaders are arrested for alleged involvement in a plot called Black Mamba. Charges are eventually dropped.
1996, June	Former President Kenneth Kaunda is barred from standing for reelection.
1996, November	Controversial second elections are held. UNIP and several other opposition parties boycott. Chiluba wins 73 percent of the vote; MMD wins 131 seats; Independents win 10 seats; other parties win 9 seats.
1997, October	Coup attempt by a disgruntled army captain. Despite no evidence of their involvement, Kenneth Kaunda and other opposition leaders are arrested and charged with conspiracy and treason.
1998	Treason trial. Kaunda is released without charge in March.
1998	Government agrees to sell most of the mining industry to Anglo American Corporation.
1998, November	Former Finance Minister Ronald Penza is assassinated.

1998, December	Former business executive Anderson Mazoka launches the United Party for National Development.
2001, February	Acting under a body called the Oasis Forum, civic groups mobilize against a prospective third-term bid by President Chiluba.
2001, April	MMD Party Congress alters party constitution to allow a third term for the president.
2001, May	Chiluba abandons his bid after pressure from the Oasis Forum, wider civil society, and former cabinet members.
2001, August	Chiluba names lawyer and one-time vice president Levy Mwanawasa as the MMD presidential candidate and his putative successor.
2001, December	Mwanawasa defeats Mazoka by 28.7 percent to 26.7 percent in the presidential election.
2002 January	Opposition parties file a legal challenge with the High Court contesting the Mwanawasa/MMD victory.
2002, July	Parliament removes former President Chiluba's immunity from prosecution.
2003, February	Chiluba arrested and charged on 59 counts, including abuse of office.
2003, August	Chiluba charged with the theft of more than \$30 million during his term in office.
2003	Severe drought puts up to three million people at risk. Facing enormous criticism from donors and others, President

	Mwanawasa refuses the offer of genetically modified (GMO) food aid on the grounds that it may be harmful.
2003, December	Chiluba's trial on corruption charges begins.
2005, February	The Supreme Court rules against the 2002 challenge to Mwanawasa's election.
2005, April	World Bank approves \$3.8 billion debt relief package which will write off more than 50% of Zambia's debt.
2005	Zambia is again hit by severe drought.
2006, September	President Mwanawasa wins a second term. Announcement of oil discovery in the west.
2007, January	Government launches economic recovery plan which envisages encouraging foreign investment.
2007, February	Chinese President Hu Jintao inaugurates a huge mining investment zone at the end of a two-day visit. His itinerary is cut short due to planned protests against the alleged exploitation of local workers by Chinese firms.
2007, May	The High Court in Britain rules that former president Frederick Chiluba and four of his aides conspired to rob Zambia of about \$46 million.
2008, November	Vice-President Rupiah Banda sworn in as president after a narrow election win over the main opposition candidate, Michael Sata, who alleged fraud.
2009, August	Ex-President Chiluba is cleared of corruption after a six-year trial. The head of the anti-corruption task force is sacked after initiating an appeal against Chiluba's acquittal.

2010, February	<p>Zambia and China sign mining cooperation agreement and deal to set up joint economic zone.</p> <p>Zambia, China agree to build a second hydroelectric power plant on the Kafue River.</p> <p>Chinese mine managers charged with attempted murder following a multiple shooting at a mine where workers were demonstrating against conditions.</p>
2010, November	<p>UN updates its Human Development Index, which suggests Zambia is now worse off than in 1970, partly due to AIDS.</p>
2011, September	<p>Michael Sata becomes president.</p>
2013, February	<p>The government takes over the Chinese-owned Collum Coal mine after revoking its licence because of safety lapses.</p>
2013, March	<p>Former president Rupiah Banda is charged with abuse of power shortly after being stripped of immunity.</p>
2015, January	<p>Edgar Lungu becomes president after winning election.</p>
2016, April	<p>Rioting and looting following accusations that Rwandans who have fled to Zambia have been involved in ritual killings.</p> <p>President Lungu speaks of his country's collective shame over mob attacks on foreigners.</p>
2016, August	<p>President Edgar Lungu is re-elected.</p>
2017, April	<p>Opposition leader Hakainde Hichilema is detained and charged with treason, after his convoy failed to stop for that of President Lungu.</p>
2017, June	<p>Forty-eight opposition MPs are suspended from parliament for boycotting an address by President Lungu. They they do not</p>

accept Mr Lungu as the legitimate winner of last year's election.

- 2017, July President Lungu declares a state of emergency after a market blaze which he describes as sabotage. Critics fear a slide towards authoritarianism.
- 2017, August President Lungu says he wants to introduce compulsory HIV testing to make Zambia free of the disease by 2030.
- 2021 Opposition leader Hakainde Hilichema wins landslide in presidential election.

Source: Culture and Customs. Scott D. Taylor, 2006. BBC News, 2018. BBC News, 2023.

Zambia's history is marked by a series of migrations, colonial conquests, and post-independence developments that have shaped its current socio-political and economic landscape. Initially inhabited by the San people, the region saw a significant demographic shift with the Bantu migrations around the 11th century. The Tonga and Ila peoples migrated from the east in the 12th century, and between the 16th and 18th centuries, fragments of the Luba and Lunda empires from Congo migrated into Zambia. This influx of diverse groups led to the formation of new kingdoms, such as the Bemba, Bisa, Lovale, Kaonde, Lamba, Lunda, and Lozi, establishing complex social and political structures that persisted for centuries (Taylor, 2006).

The advent of European explorers, most notably David Livingstone in 1851, heralded a new era for Zambia. His journeys paved the way for increased European interest and eventual colonization. By the late 19th century, the British South Africa Company (BSA), under Cecil Rhodes, established control over the region, which became known as Northern Rhodesia in 1890. This control was later transferred to the British Colonial Office in 1924, solidifying Zambia's status as a British colony (Taylor, 2006).

During the colonial period, Zambia's economy was heavily influenced by the mining sector, particularly copper mining in the Copperbelt region. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, established in 1953, aimed to strengthen economic ties between Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Nyasaland (Malawi), but also faced significant opposition from local populations. This opposition fueled the nationalist movements that led to increased civil disobedience in the early 1960s (Taylor,

2006).

Zambia achieved independence on October 24, 1964, with Kenneth Kaunda as its first president. Kaunda's leadership was marked by efforts to maintain national unity and economic stability, but his declaration of a one-party state in 1972 aimed at consolidating power led to political repression and economic challenges. The country's reliance on copper exports made it vulnerable to global price fluctuations, which, coupled with rising debt, resulted in economic instability during the 1980s (Taylor, 2006).

During Kaunda's era, Zambia's political ideology was significantly influenced by leftist and socialist principles, which were common across many African nations during the post-independence period. Kaunda himself was a proponent of what he termed "Zambian Humanism," a philosophy that combined traditional African values of communalism and solidarity with socialist principles. This ideology aimed to reduce inequalities, promote social welfare, and foster a sense of national unity. However, the practical implementation of these socialist policies faced numerous challenges, particularly in terms of economic management and political governance (Taylor, 2006).

The reintroduction of multiparty politics in the early 1990s marked a significant shift in Zambia's political landscape. The Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) emerged as a dominant force, with Frederick Chiluba elected president in 1991. Chiluba's administration focused on economic reforms and liberalization, but also faced accusations of corruption and political manipulation. The subsequent leaders, including Levy Mwanawasa, Rupiah Banda, and Michael Sata, each faced their own sets of challenges and controversies, particularly related to corruption and governance (Taylor, 2006).

In recent years, Zambia has continued to navigate its complex political and economic terrain. Edgar Lungu, who served as president from 2015 to 2021, faced significant criticism for his handling of political opposition and human rights issues. The 2021 election saw the rise of Hakainde Hichilema, a long-time opposition leader, who won a landslide victory. Hichilema's presidency is viewed as a pivotal moment for Zambia, offering hope for economic recovery and democratic consolidation amid persistent challenges (BBC News, 2023).

3.3. ANCESTRAL PHILOSOPHY: AN APPROACH TO UBUNTU

This review aims to explore the philosophy of Ubuntu within the context of Zambia, tracing its origins, history, and significance. The intent is not to argue that Ubuntu is universally embraced among the Zambian population or to advocate for its adoption over

Western ethical frameworks. Instead, the goal is to examine pre-colonial Zambian philosophy to establish the ethical foundations of the country, understand its roots, and consider its possible presence within current frameworks, even if only in a latent form (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

The origin of Ubuntu comes from pre-colonial era but gained relevance among scholars in the post-apartheid South Africa. Present in most south African countries, it is not common for the whole continent's philosophy. This means that Ubuntu is not necessarily something believed among the continent or even among all citizens, but a philosophy that is contrasted to exist. In the opposite way, Ubuntu values and ways of interpreting society are neither exclusive from Africa since other societies might recognize similar ideas. The key point is that Ubuntu philosophy is originally from Africa, not having integrated these behaviors from any other continent, but not exclusive to it in terms of social frameworks (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

Origins, history and definition

Ubuntu, derived from the Nguni Bantu languages of Southern Africa, embodies a philosophy centered on the principles of communal relationships, shared humanity, and mutual care. The term translates to “I am because we are” or “a person is a person through other persons,” encapsulating the essence of interconnectedness that characterizes many African cultures (Mangena, 2016). Ubuntu emphasizes cooperation, compassion, mutual respect, and the prioritization of community well-being over individualism.

The historical origins of Ubuntu date back to the pre-colonial era, although it gained significant scholarly attention during the post-apartheid period in South Africa. Its principles are not confined to Southern Africa but have equivalents across the continent, such as “Unhu” in Shona (Zimbabwe), “Botho” in Sotho (Lesotho), “Umnthu” in Chewa/Nyanja (Malawi and Zambia), and “Obuntu” in Luganda (Uganda ; Chimbi & Jita, 2022). This widespread acknowledgment highlights its importance as a guiding principle for social interactions and community building across diverse African societies.

At the heart of Ubuntu is its communal character, which prioritizes the collective over the individual. This principle is evident in the maxim “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu,” meaning “a person is a person through other persons.” This axiom underscores the belief that one's identity and sense of belonging are derived from being part of a community. In African societies, communal living is not merely a lifestyle but a necessity for survival and well-being. The community acts as a support system where members share resources, responsibilities, and care for one another (Mangena, 2016).

The communal nature of Ubuntu is reflected in various social practices and rituals that promote unity and cooperation. For instance, the concept of “*nhimbe*” or communal work in Shona culture involves members of a community coming together to assist one another in farming activities. This practice fosters a sense of solidarity and mutual assistance, reinforcing the communal bonds that are central to Ubuntu (Mangena, 2016). The communal aspect of Ubuntu contrasts sharply with the individualistic tendencies of Western societies, where personal success and autonomy are often prioritized over collective well-being (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

Ubuntu’s sense of humanness or personhood is intrinsically linked to the idea of being inherently interconnected with others. It posits that one’s humanity is affirmed through the recognition and respect of the humanity of others. This perspective emphasizes that individuals are not isolated entities but are defined by their relationships and interactions with the community. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1999) famously stated, “My humanity is bound up in yours, for we can only be human together” (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

This concept of personhood extends beyond mere social interactions to include moral and ethical dimensions. In Ubuntu, to be truly human is to embody virtues such as compassion, empathy, and respect for others. It is through these virtues that individuals affirm their own humanity and that of others. This understanding of personhood challenges Western notions of individualism by suggesting that true fulfillment and identity are found in the context of community and relationships (Mangena, 2016 ; Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

Interconnectedness and interdependence are core principles of Ubuntu, highlighting the intricate web of relationships that bind individuals within a community. This interconnectedness is not just social but also spiritual, encompassing relationships with ancestors and the natural world. Ubuntu teaches that every action has repercussions within the community, and therefore, individuals must consider the impact of their behavior on others (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

This principle of interdependence is vividly illustrated in the African practice of communal child-rearing, where children are considered the responsibility of the entire community. This collective approach ensures that every child receives care and guidance from multiple sources, reinforcing the interconnectedness of the community. The notion of interdependence in Ubuntu also extends to economic activities, where communal ownership and resource sharing are prevalent, further solidifying the community’s cohesion and mutual support (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

Ubuntu serves as a profound source of moral motivation, providing a framework for

ethical behavior grounded in communal values. Unlike Western ethical systems that often rely on codified rules and principles, Ubuntu's moral guidance is derived from the community's collective wisdom and shared values. This communal ethic is encapsulated in the Common Moral Position (CMP), which acts as a moral compass for individuals within the community (Mangena, 2016).

The CMP emphasizes relational and dialogical processes in establishing moral norms. It involves consultation with the spirit world, ancestors, and the community, ensuring that moral decisions reflect the collective conscience. This approach to morality is both horizontal and vertical, encompassing relationships among living beings and between the living and the spiritual realm. By fostering a deep sense of responsibility and accountability to others, Ubuntu motivates individuals to act with integrity and compassion, reinforcing the social fabric of the community (Mangena, 2016).

The CMP in Ubuntu philosophy represents a moral imperative rooted in the communal and spiritual life of the community. Unlike Western moral imperatives that are often codified and individualistic, the CMP is dialogical, consensual, and spiritual. It involves a three-way dialogue between the living, the ancestors, and the Creator, ensuring that moral decisions are holistic and reflective of the community's values (Mangena, 2016).

The CMP is not merely a set of rules but a way of life that is ingrained from a young age. Children in African communities are socialized to understand and internalize the values of Ubuntu through practices such as communal storytelling, rituals, and participation in communal activities. This continuous engagement with communal values ensures that the CMP is deeply embedded in the consciousness of individuals, guiding their behavior throughout their lives (Mangena, 2016).

Some scholars suggest that Ubuntu can be related to postmodernism. Postmodernism, as a philosophical movement, challenges the universality and objectivity claimed by modernist ideologies. It emphasizes the importance of power relationships, personalization, and discourse in constructing truth. Postmodernism deconstructs meta-narratives, favoring multiple, subjective narratives that reflect diverse perspectives. Mangena (2016), for instance, explores this idea, suggesting that Ubuntu's emphasis on communal relationships and shared humanity resonates with postmodernist critiques of modernist assumptions. However, this connection remains a topic of discussion and is presented here as a potential perspective rather than a conclusive assertion.

Ubuntu aligns with postmodernist thought by presenting a competing narrative to Western ethical frameworks. It rejects the idea that ethics must be universal and instead

posits that moral values are deeply rooted in cultural and communal contexts. By emphasizing relationality, spirituality, and communal well-being, Ubuntu offers an alternative to the individualistic and rationalist approaches of Western ethics. This alignment with postmodernism provides a robust defense of Ubuntu against critiques that seek to undermine its legitimacy by comparing it to Western ethical systems (Mangena, 2016).

The interpretation of Ubuntu varies among different scholars and communities, reflecting its rich and multifaceted nature. Some view Ubuntu primarily as a social and ethical philosophy that emphasizes communal living and moral responsibility. Others interpret it as a political philosophy that can inform governance and social justice efforts (Chimbi & Jita, 2022).

For instance, in the context of education, Ubuntu has been proposed as a guiding principle for curriculum reform in post-colonial African societies. This approach seeks to decolonize education by integrating indigenous knowledge systems and promoting values of cooperation and mutual respect. In social work, Ubuntu provides a framework for community-based interventions that prioritize collective well-being and support (Chimbi & Jita, 2022).

Notable actors in the promotion and interpretation of Ubuntu include scholars, political leaders, and community elders who have emphasized its relevance in contemporary African society. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for example, has been a prominent advocate of Ubuntu, highlighting its potential to foster reconciliation and healing in post-apartheid South Africa. Similarly, scholars like Mogobe Ramose and Michael Eze have contributed to the philosophical discourse on Ubuntu, exploring its implications for ethics, politics, and social theory (Mangena, 2016).

Ubuntu and Social Contract Theory

Ubuntu provides a distinctive framework that contrasts with classical Western social contract theories proposed by philosophers like Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau. Traditional social contract theories emphasize individual rights and the establishment of governmental authority through mutual consent. In contrast, Ubuntu centers on the inherent interconnectedness of individuals within a community, promoting collective responsibility and the idea that individual well-being is intrinsically linked to the well-being of others (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

One fundamental difference between Ubuntu and traditional social contract theories is their approach to individual and community rights. Ubuntu does not view individuals as

isolated entities but as integral parts of a broader social fabric. This perspective fosters an environment where the community's needs and responsibilities take precedence, creating a more integrated and holistic approach to governance and social cohesion (Mangena, 2016).

Ubuntu challenges the individualistic ethos prevalent in Western societies by emphasizing that one's humanity is affirmed through the recognition and affirmation of the humanity of others. This principle is encapsulated in the Zulu maxim "Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu," meaning "a person is a person through other persons". (Chimbi & Jita, 2022) Such a perspective offers a compelling alternative to the Western notion of the social contract, which often isolates individual rights from communal responsibilities.

A critical concept to understand when comparing Ubuntu with Western social contract theories is the distinction between conditional and unconditional commitments, as explored by Ariel James (2023). In traditional social contract theories, the obligations and rights are conditional, meaning they are dependent on the agreements made by the individuals involved. These agreements are based on mutual consent and the understanding that each party will uphold their end of the bargain. This creates a framework where rights and duties are contingent upon the existence and maintenance of the social contract.

Conversely, Ubuntu embodies an unconditional approach to social obligations. Unconditional commitments in Ubuntu are not contingent upon agreements or the actions of others but are inherent to the individual's existence within the community. This means that the responsibilities and duties one holds towards others are not based on any reciprocal arrangement but are fundamentally ingrained in the very nature of being human. Ubuntu's ethos asserts that one's duty to others exists regardless of whether others fulfill their obligations, emphasizing a more profound, intrinsic moral commitment (James, 2023).

The distinction between conditional and unconditional frameworks highlights a significant divergence in how social cohesion and moral responsibilities are conceptualized. In a conditional framework, such as those proposed by Western social contract theories, the social order is maintained through mutual agreements and the conditional adherence to these agreements. In contrast, the unconditional framework of Ubuntu maintains social cohesion through intrinsic moral duties that each individual holds towards the community, independent of external agreements or conditions.

This distinction is crucial in understanding why Ubuntu provides a more encompassing and inherently stable social framework. While the conditional agreements of Western social contract theories can be subject to renegotiation and breakdown, the unconditional

commitments of Ubuntu provide a resilient foundation for social harmony and collective well-being.

Importance of Ubuntu

The importance of Ubuntu lies in its potential to foster social harmony, resilience, and inclusivity. By promoting values such as empathy, solidarity, and mutual aid, Ubuntu helps build strong, supportive communities. This philosophy has been instrumental in various social and political reforms across Africa, advocating for human dignity, social justice, and the reduction of inequalities (Mangena, 2016).

Ubuntu's emphasis on communal support and shared humanity provides a framework for addressing social issues from an indigenous perspective. This challenges the dominance of Western individualistic approaches and aligns with the lived experiences and cultural practices of African communities. In the realm of social work, for instance, Ubuntu advocates for addressing social issues through communal efforts and collective responsibility, rather than through isolated, individual actions (Chimbi & Jita, 2022).

The philosophy of Ubuntu has been particularly significant in post-colonial African societies, where it has been used to promote social cohesion and reconciliation. For example, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, established after the end of apartheid, drew heavily on Ubuntu principles to foster forgiveness and healing among the previously divided population (Ewuso & Hall, 2019).

Ubuntu in the Zambian Context

In Zambia, Ubuntu (referred to as "Umnthu") plays a crucial role in shaping social norms and practices. The philosophy is deeply embedded in Zambian culture and is reflected in community-based initiatives aimed at addressing social issues such as poverty, health disparities, and education. For instance, the concept of Ubuntu is central to community-based rehabilitation programs for persons with disabilities, promoting inclusion and support within the community (Handongwe, 2017).

Moreover, the Zambian government has integrated Ubuntu principles into national policies and development plans. The Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP) emphasizes infrastructure development, economic diversification, and rural investment, all aimed at enhancing communal well-being and reducing poverty through collective efforts. (Handongwe, 2017) This integration demonstrates the government's commitment to fostering a sense of communal responsibility and collective action in addressing national challenges.

Ubuntu's influence in Zambia extends to various sectors, including education,

healthcare, and social welfare. For example, community health initiatives often rely on the principles of Ubuntu to mobilize local resources and encourage communal participation in health promotion activities. Similarly, educational programs that emphasize community involvement and collective responsibility reflect the values of Ubuntu (Handongwe, 2017).

Contemporary Relevance and Critiques

While Ubuntu offers a robust framework for fostering social cohesion and community resilience, it is not without its critiques. Some scholars argue that the idealization of pre-colonial African societies under Ubuntu can overlook historical inequalities and social hierarchies that existed within these communities. Additionally, there is a concern about the practicality of implementing Ubuntu principles in modern, complex societies where individualistic values and economic competition are prevalent (Chimbi & Jita, 2022).

Critics also highlight the romanticization of Ubuntu, suggesting that it may not fully address the complexities of contemporary social and political life. For instance, the emphasis on communalism and consensus may be challenging to maintain in urbanized and economically competitive environments. Furthermore, some argue that the focus on communal well-being can sometimes overshadow individual rights and freedoms, leading to potential conflicts in modern democratic societies (Chimbi & Jita, 2022).

Despite these challenges, Ubuntu remains a powerful tool for decolonizing social theories and practices. It provides an alternative narrative that emphasizes collective well-being and social justice, making it relevant for contemporary discussions on governance, development, and social equity. By offering a framework that prioritizes communal values and shared humanity, Ubuntu can contribute to addressing some of the pressing social and political issues facing modern African societies (Mugumbate & Chereni, 2020).

The exploration of Ubuntu within the context of Zambia reveals its deep historical roots, its contrast with Western social contract theories, and its significant role in contemporary social and political life. While acknowledging the critiques, Ubuntu remains a vital framework for promoting communal values and addressing social inequalities in modern African societies. Its principles of interconnectedness, mutual respect, and collective responsibility offer a compelling alternative to individualistic approaches, making it a valuable asset for fostering social harmony and resilience in Zambia and beyond.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

The concept of the social contract is pivotal in understanding the foundations of modern political and moral philosophy. Originating from the works of Hobbes, Locke, and Jean-Rousseau, social contract theory posits that individual's consent, either explicitly or implicitly, to surrender some of their freedoms and submit to the authority of a ruler or magistrate in exchange for protection of their remaining rights and maintenance of social order (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2024; Shea, 2023).

The implications of using the social contract as a framework for case studies are many. Primarily, it allows for the examination of the legitimacy of political authority and the moral foundations of societal structures. By analyzing Zambia through the lens of the social contract, one can explore how historical and contemporary governance models have evolved, and how they address the collective needs and rights of individuals (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2024; Shea, 2023). This theoretical framework is particularly useful for examining shifts from indigenous governance systems, such as those influenced by the philosophy of Ubuntu, to modern state structures shaped by colonial and post-colonial dynamics.

The analysis of political party ideologies in Zambia, particularly between the Patriotic Front (PF) and the United Party for National Development (UPND), which have been the main players in Zambian politics, provides valuable insights into the country's social contract and its evolution. According to the document *Political Party Ideology in Zambia: Comparing the PF and the UPND on Social Welfare Policies*, both parties articulate distinct normative ideas about social welfare, reflecting the socio-economic interests of specific regions (Hallink & Siachiwena, 2023).

The PF, which governed from 2011 to 2021, emerged with an anti-elitist and anti-neoliberal agenda. It opposed structural adjustment programs and privatization, favoring a return to post-independence statism and "Zambianisation" similar to the socialist policies of Kenneth Kaunda's era. This ideology resonated with urban voters in economically strategic provinces like Lusaka and the Copperbelt, as well as in the northern regions, where the economic interests were historically tied to the mining industry and labor migration (Hallink & Siachiwena, 2023).

On the other hand, the UPND, which has roots in the liberal economic policies of the earlier African National Congress, promotes a "ruralist liberalism". This ideology emphasizes individual economic achievement and self-reliance, drawing support from rural areas, particularly in the Southern and Central Provinces. The UPND's approach to

social welfare is focused on empowerment through education, healthcare, and agricultural subsidies, contrasting with the PF's more interventionist policies (Hallink & Siachiwena, 2023).

By utilizing social contract theory, one can critically assess how Zambia's government structures have managed social cohesion, economic distribution, and political stability. This approach highlights the tensions between traditional communal values and modern state imperatives, offering insights into the ongoing struggle to balance individual rights with collective responsibilities (Cloutier, Harborne, Isser, Santos & Watts, 2021).

4.1. CLASSIC SOCIAL CONTRACT: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

The classical conception of the social contract theory is foundational to Western political philosophy, primarily articulated by philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Each of these thinkers presented distinct visions of the state of nature, the conditions leading to the contract, and the resultant political society.

Thomas Hobbes, in his work *Leviathan* in 1651, posited that humans are naturally self-interested and equal in the state of nature, which he described as a brutish and violent reality where life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short". To escape this state, rational individuals would consent to surrender their natural freedoms to an absolute sovereign, who could ensure peace and security. This agreement forms the basis of Hobbes' social contract, which justifies political obligations and societal structures as mechanisms to protect individuals from the state of nature (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, n.d.).

John Locke offered a contrasting view in his *Two Treatises of Government* in 1689, where he saw the state of nature as a generally peaceful environment where individuals are free and equal but plagued by inconveniences like the lack of a common authority to resolve disputes. For Locke, the social contract is an agreement to form a government that has the consent of the governed and is responsible for protecting life, liberty, and property. This government can be reformed or overthrown if it fails to uphold these rights, highlighting a more democratic and rights-oriented version of the contract (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, n.d.).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in *The Social Contract* in 1762 argued that the contract is not merely an agreement to ensure mutual protection but a collective coming together to form a community governed by the "general will". This will reflect the common interests of all and binds the community in a more direct and egalitarian form of democracy. Rousseau's version emphasizes that genuine freedom is found in participation in the sovereign power,

which is collectively held and exercised by the people (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, n.d.).

Each of these classical formulations of the social contract lays a foundation for understanding political legitimacy and authority, serving as a departure point for further conceptualization in contemporary political philosophy. Modern interpretations often build on these ideas to address issues like economic inequality, environmental concerns, and global governance, suggesting that the social contract can evolve to meet the challenges of modern societies. (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, n.d.) These classical theories not only illuminate the origins of political society but also help frame contemporary discussions on the legitimacy of political power and the rights of individuals within a state. As such, the social contract remains a vital and dynamic concept not only classically but by contemporary political thought.

4.2. CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Contemporary theories of the social contract extend and refine the classical ideas to address the complexities of modern society. One such theory is John Rawls' concept of "justice as fairness" outlined in his seminal work *A Theory of Justice* (1971). Rawls reimagines the social contract through the original position and the veil of ignorance, where individuals, devoid of any knowledge about their own socio-economic status, agree on the principles of justice that would govern their society. This framework aims to ensure fairness and equality, addressing the distribution of wealth and opportunities within the society. Rawls' theory highlights the role of justice in legitimizing political authority and guiding the design of social institutions to promote fairness (Wenar, 2021).

Another significant contribution is found in the works of Jürgen Habermas, who introduces the concept of communicative action. In *The Theory of Communicative Action* (1981), Habermas argues that the legitimacy of political systems stems from the process of rational communication and consensus among free and equal individuals. This deliberative democracy framework emphasizes the importance of public discourse and participatory decision-making, suggesting that democratic legitimacy arises from the active engagement of citizens in the political process (Habermas, 1984).

The feminist critique of the social contract, as articulated by scholars such as Carole Pateman in *The Sexual Contract* (1988), challenges the traditional narratives by highlighting the gendered dimensions of social contracts. Pateman argues that classical social contract theories have historically excluded women, and that the contracts

themselves are based on patriarchal assumptions that perpetuate gender inequalities. This critique calls for a re-examination of social contracts to include considerations of gender justice and the inclusion of marginalized voices in the formation of political societies (Biesecker & Von Winterfeld, 2018).

Moreover, global perspectives on the social contract, such as those discussed by David Held in *Democracy and the Global Order* (1995), address the need for rethinking social contracts in the context of globalization. Held argues for cosmopolitan democracy, where global governance structures are necessary to address issues that transcend national borders, such as climate change, economic inequality, and human rights. This perspective suggests that the social contract must evolve to incorporate global justice and the responsibilities of states and individuals within an interconnected world (Dalhatu, 2018).

4.3. CRITIQUES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

While the social contract theory provides a foundational framework for understanding political legitimacy and authority, it is not free of critiques and limitations. Critics argue that the hypothetical nature of the social contract is problematic, as it relies on a theoretical agreement that may never have occurred in reality. This abstract nature raises questions about its applicability to contemporary political arrangements (Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, n.d.).

Additionally, the classical social contract theories often assume a homogeneous society of rational individuals, overlooking the complexities and diversities of modern societies. This can result in the marginalization of certain groups, such as women, minorities, and economically disadvantaged populations, whose experiences and needs may not be adequately addressed by a one-size-fits-all approach to governance (Shea, 2023).

Furthermore, the emphasis on individual consent in social contract theories can be critiqued for downplaying the role of historical and structural inequalities. Critics argue that social contracts often reflect and reinforce existing power dynamics, rather than challenging them. For instance, Charles Mills in *The Racial Contract* (1997) posits that social contracts have historically been structured to uphold white supremacy, and therefore, any contemporary application must critically examine and address these legacies of racial injustice (Mills, 1996).

In conclusion, while the classical and contemporary social contract theories offer valuable insights into the foundations of political authority and legitimacy, they must be continually reassessed and adapted to address the evolving challenges of modern societies.

Integrating critiques and expanding the theoretical framework to include diverse perspectives and global considerations can enhance the relevance and applicability of social contract theory in the 21st century.

5. MINOUCHE SHAFIK'S VERSION OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

“Things fall apart; the center cannot hold... Surely some revelation is at hand...” (Shafik, 2021) This is how Shafik starts the preface of her book. It is a concise start that reflects the need of reviewing an existing structure that is falling apart. Demotivation, lack of development and outdated frameworks are some of the characteristics of this falling apart that protagonists contemporary questioning of the social contract. The phrase “things fall apart” was quoted by W.B Yeats during WWI. Just as in the context of WWI or the covid pandemic there is a need of reorganizing societies because of a change in social dynamics, over these recent years things seem to have fallen apart for many reasons. Thus, the need of a new approach emerges from this change in the existing paradigm. Maybe the social structures that used to work before are not anymore capable of holding the contemporary situation full of changes (Shafik, 2021).

Minouche Shafik, an esteemed economist and the current Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), offers a transformative vision for the social contract in her book *What We Owe Each Other: A New Social Contract for a Better Society*. Shafik's distinguished career, encompassing roles at the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Bank of England, has provided her with profound insights into the mechanisms of international development and economic policy. Her work is grounded in the belief that contemporary socio-economic changes necessitate a reevaluation of the traditional social contract, making her contributions particularly relevant in today's rapidly evolving global landscape (Shafik, 2021).

Shafik identifies a critical need to redefine the social contract, arguing that the current frameworks are remnants of an earlier era, crafted during the Industrial Revolution and further solidified in the mid-20th century. These frameworks are increasingly obsolete, unable to adequately address the challenges posed by technological advancements, demographic shifts, and the widening chasm of economic inequality. The 2008 financial crisis and the COVID-19 pandemic have further underscored these deficiencies, exposing the fragility and inadequacies of existing social systems. Shafik asserts that the assumptions underpinning traditional social contracts – such as stable, lifelong employment and conventional family structures – no longer align with contemporary

realities. This misalignment calls for an urgent overhaul of the roles and responsibilities shared among the state, individuals, and communities (Shafik, 2021).

In her book, Shafik proposes a comprehensive reimagining of the social contract, one that emphasizes mutual obligations and balances responsibilities more equitably. Central to her vision is the idea that society must guarantee certain minimum standards to ensure a decent life for all. This includes access to quality education, healthcare, and social safety nets that protect individuals from the vicissitudes of modern economic life. Shafik's framework is built around several key components, each addressing a critical aspect of human development and social stability (Shafik, 2021).

Firstly, Shafik emphasizes the importance of investing in early childhood development. She advocates for systems that provide comprehensive support for children, ensuring access to healthcare, education, and nutrition from a young age. This foundational investment is crucial for leveling the playing field and enabling every child to realize their potential. By addressing disparities early, society can foster a more equitable and inclusive environment where all children, regardless of their background, have the opportunity to succeed (Shafik, 2021).

Education is another cornerstone of Shafik's new social contract. Recognizing the rapid pace of technological change and its impact on the labor market, she calls for educational systems that are adaptable and responsive. Lifelong learning opportunities are essential, allowing individuals to continuously upgrade their skills and remain competitive in the job market. Shafik's vision includes not only traditional academic education but also vocational training and retraining programs, ensuring that all citizens can navigate the shifting economic landscape successfully (Shafik, 2021).

Universal healthcare is a fundamental element of Shafik's proposed social contract. She argues that access to healthcare should not be determined by socio-economic status, as health disparities undermine social cohesion and economic productivity. Shafik advocates for healthcare systems that provide equitable services to all citizens, thereby ensuring that everyone has the opportunity to lead healthy, productive lives. This approach not only addresses immediate health needs but also fosters long-term societal well-being by reducing health-related economic disparities (Shafik, 2021).

In addressing the world of work, Shafik's new social contract includes robust support systems for workers. She emphasizes the importance of unemployment benefits, retraining programs, and protections for those in precarious employment, such as gig economy workers. These social safety nets are crucial for providing security during economic

transitions and disruptions, helping to create a more resilient and adaptable workforce. By ensuring that workers have the support they need during periods of change, Shafik's framework promotes economic stability and individual empowerment (Shafik, 2021).

Shafik also addresses the needs of the elderly, advocating for comprehensive pension systems that ensure financial security in retirement. She underscores the importance of intergenerational fairness, emphasizing that the burden of supporting the elderly should not fall disproportionately on younger generations. Her vision includes sustainable pension schemes that provide adequate support without jeopardizing the financial stability of future generations. This approach seeks to balance the needs of different age groups, fostering a sense of solidarity and shared responsibility (Shafik, 2021).

Finally, Shafik highlights the need to balance the interests of different generations, particularly in the context of environmental sustainability. She calls for policies that promote the responsible use of resources and address the long-term impacts of climate change. By ensuring that future generations inherit a habitable planet, Shafik's new social contract emphasizes the importance of intergenerational justice and the need for sustainable development practices (Shafik, 2021).

Minouche Shafik's vision for a new social contract is a holistic framework designed to address the systemic inequalities and vulnerabilities exposed by recent global crises. Her approach calls for a reimagining of societal obligations, where the state, individuals, and communities work together to create a more inclusive and resilient society. By focusing on comprehensive support systems across all stages of life, Shafik's vision aims to build a foundation for a fairer and more equitable future. This new social contract, as outlined by Shafik, represents a bold and necessary step towards addressing the complex socio-economic challenges of the 21st century (Shafik, 2021).

5.1. FEATURES OF A SOCIAL CONTRACT IN ZAMBIA

Based on Minouche Shafik's insightful perspectives on the need for a new social contract, I will conduct an in-depth analysis of Zambia's social framework by exploring the key elements outlined by Shafik. Her focus on early childhood development, education, universal healthcare, work support systems, pension schemes, and intergenerational fairness provides a comprehensive framework to evaluate and understand the current social contract in Zambia. Utilizing Shafik's theoretical foundations, this analysis will delve into each of these topics to gain a broader perspective on the strengths and weaknesses of Zambia's social policies and practices. This approach will not only highlight the existing

gaps and challenges but also suggest potential pathways for creating a more resilient and equitable social contract in the Zambian context, ultimately fostering a society that can better support its citizens through various stages of life. By applying Shafik's principles, the analysis aims to offer actionable insights and recommendations tailored to the unique socio-economic landscape of Zambia.

5.2. BUILDING BLOCKS OF A RENEWED SOCIAL CONTRACT IN THE ZAMBIAN CONTEXT

Nurturing the Future: Early Childhood Development and Its Crucial Role in the Social Contract

Minouche Shafik, underscores the critical role of children in the social contract, advocating for substantial investments in their early development to foster a more equitable and prosperous society. Shafik's framework underscores that the early years of a child's life are crucial for cognitive, emotional, and physical development, which in turn significantly influence their future contributions to society. She champions comprehensive support systems that encompass healthcare, education, and nutrition, arguing that these investments are fundamental for creating a level playing field and enabling all children to reach their full potential (Shafik, 2021).

In the Zambian context, this emphasis on early childhood development resonates with both historical and contemporary concerns. The nation's commitment to child welfare is evident in its Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP), which prioritizes education and healthcare as key pillars for national development. The SNDP, launched in 2011, aimed to accelerate infrastructure development, promote rural investment, and enhance human development, with a particular focus on improving educational outcomes and reducing poverty. (Republic of Zambia, 2011) It can be seen how the SNDP already included the importance of investing in children, as Shafik suggests. However, the implementation of these policies faces challenges, including insufficient resources and infrastructural limitations. For instance, while there have been improvements in primary education enrollment rates, issues related to quality and completion rates continue to be significant concerns. The 2023 Country Office Annual Report (COAR) for Zambia reveals that 70.6% of children experience deprivation in two or more dimensions, underscoring the need for more robust and targeted interventions (World Bank, 2023).

Shafik's advocacy for early childhood education finds particular relevance in the Zambian context. Research indicates that early interventions, especially in nutrition and

cognitive stimulation, can have lasting positive impacts on a child's development and future economic prospects. The World Bank's Performance and Learning Review (PLR) for Zambia highlights the importance of addressing malnutrition and stunting, which affect a significant proportion of children under five and can hinder their cognitive abilities and future earning potential. (World Bank, 2023) For instance, the 2023 COAR for Zambia indicates that the country is off-track in achieving SDG targets on stunting and anemia reduction, despite being on track to achieve exclusive breastfeeding, wasting reduction, and halting overweight in children under five. The increase in poverty levels, exacerbated by climate-driven food insecurity, has left over 2 million people in need of humanitarian assistance in 2023/24, further threatening efforts to reduce wasting and stunting (UNICEF, 2023).

The PLR also emphasizes the need for a multi-sectoral approach to address the complex challenges facing children in Zambia. This approach aligns with Shafik's emphasis on integrated support systems, where health, education, and social protection sectors collaborate to provide comprehensive care for children. For instance, the Zambia Emergency Health Service Delivery Project, supported by the World Bank, aims to improve health service delivery, particularly in rural areas, with a focus on maternal, newborn, and child health and nutrition services. This project, along with other initiatives like the Girls' Education and Women's Empowerment and Livelihood (GEWEL) project, demonstrates a growing recognition of the interconnected nature of child well-being and the need for coordinated efforts across sectors. (World Bank, 2023) In the same way, the 2023 COAR for Zambia highlights UNICEF's support for the Ministry of Health in developing and finalizing the Ending Preventable Maternal Mortality and Every Newborn Action Plan (2023-2025) and the National Community Health Strategy (2022-2026). These plans outline strategic interventions to strengthen maternal and newborn care, aligning with the National Health Strategic Plan (2022-2026) and the broader goal of achieving Universal Health Coverage. UNICEF's support has been instrumental in maintaining the continuity of essential health services, with less than 3% disruption in Reproductive, Maternal, Newborn, Child, and Adolescent Health and Nutrition (RMNCAHN) services, despite the challenges posed by concurrent public health emergencies (UNICEF, 2023).

Moreover, Shafik's emphasis on the holistic development of children can be translated into policies that support not only academic success but also emotional well-being and social skills. Programs that promote family stability, provide mental health services, and encourage community engagement are integral to creating environments where children

can thrive. These initiatives align with Shafik’s broader vision of a social contract that is adaptive and responsive to the needs of all children, ensuring they are prepared to face future challenges and contribute positively to society. (Shafik, 2021) In this sense, the 2023 COAR for Zambia also highlights UNICEF’s efforts in child protection, supporting the government in finalizing statutory instruments to operationalize the Children’s Code Act (2022) and the Social Workers Association of Zambia Act (2022). These efforts aim to strengthen the legal framework for child protection and ensure that children’s rights are upheld. Additionally, UNICEF’s support for community dialogues on child marriage and adolescent pregnancy, reaching over 200,000 children and adults, demonstrates a commitment to addressing social issues that directly impact children’s well-being (UNICEF, 2023).

In conclusion, Minouche Shafik’s perspective on the importance of investing in children within the social contract framework offers critical insights for Zambia. By aligning national policies with Shafik’s recommendations, Zambia can enhance the well-being and potential of its children, thereby laying a stronger foundation for future societal development. This approach not only addresses immediate needs but also promotes long-term sustainability and equity, essential for a resilient and prosperous nation.

Lifelong Learning: Building an Inclusive and Adaptable Educational System

Minouche Shafik, in her exploration of the social contract, emphasizes the transformative power of education in shaping individuals and societies. She advocates for a lifelong learning approach, recognizing that the skills acquired in youth may not serve in a rapidly changing world. Shafik’s vision for education extends beyond traditional schooling, encompassing vocational training, reskilling programs, and continuous learning opportunities. This holistic approach aims to equip individuals with the adaptability and resilience needed to navigate the evolving economic landscape and contribute meaningfully to society (Shafik, 2021).

In the Zambian context, education has historically been recognized as a fundamental right and a key driver of national development. The Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP) underscores the importance of education in achieving the country’s long-term vision of becoming a prosperous middle-income nation. The plan outlines ambitious goals for increasing access to education at all levels, improving the quality of teaching and learning, and enhancing skills development to meet the demands of the labor market. (Republic of Zambia, 2011) These goals align with Shafik’s vision of education as a

catalyst for economic growth and social mobility. However, Zambia's educational landscape presents a complex picture of progress and persistent challenges.

Despite achieving near-universal primary education enrollment, Zambia struggles with issues of quality, completion rates, and gender disparities, particularly in rural areas. The World Bank's Performance and Learning Review (PLR) for Zambia notes that the country's education system faces significant constraints, including inadequate infrastructure, teacher shortages, and limited resources. These challenges hinder the provision of quality education and limit opportunities for many young Zambians. (World Bank, 2023) The issue of teacher supply has been a persistent challenge in Zambia's education system, as highlighted by Mweetwa (1997). The rapid expansion of education in the post-independence era led to a reliance on expatriate teachers, who were often young, inexperienced, and on short-term contracts. This situation not only affected the quality of education but also hindered the development of a robust local teaching workforce.

Shafik's emphasis on lifelong learning resonates with Zambia's evolving economic landscape. The PLR highlights the need for a skilled and adaptable workforce to drive economic diversification and growth. As Zambia seeks to reduce its reliance on copper mining and promote sectors like agriculture, tourism, and manufacturing, investing in education and skills development becomes paramount. The World Bank's support for projects like the Zambia Education Enhancement Project (ZEEP) reflects this recognition. ZEEP, aimed at improving the quality of teaching and learning in mathematics and science, and increasing access to secondary education, particularly for girls, is a significant step towards addressing the challenges identified in the PLR (World Bank, 2020).

The 2023 Country Office Annual Report (COAR) for Zambia further emphasizes the government's commitment to education reform. The "Education for All" policy, which aims to abolish school fees for secondary and early childhood education, is a significant step towards increasing access and equity. Additionally, the recruitment of 4,500 teachers in 2023 demonstrates a focus on addressing teacher shortages. However, the COAR also highlights the need for continued efforts to improve the quality of education, particularly foundational literacy and numeracy skills. (UNICEF, 2023) These efforts align with Shafik's call for investments in teacher training and curriculum development to enhance the quality of education.

Shafik's call for adaptable and responsive educational systems is particularly relevant in the context of technological advancements and automation. As routine tasks become increasingly automated, the demand for higher-order skills like critical thinking, problem-

solving, and creativity intensifies. Zambia's education system must adapt to equip students with these skills, ensuring they are prepared for the jobs of the future. The PLR suggests that the World Bank's support for digital skills development and vocational training programs aligns with this need for adaptability. (World Bank, 2023) This focus on skills development is echoed in the Education Reform of 1977, which aimed to diversify the secondary school curriculum by introducing practical subjects and establishing secondary technical schools (Masaiti, 2018).

In conclusion, Shafik's vision for a new social contract that prioritizes education as a lifelong endeavor offers valuable insights for Zambia. By addressing the challenges of access, quality, and relevance, and by embracing lifelong learning, Zambia can empower its citizens to participate fully in the economy and society. This approach not only aligns with the principles of Ubuntu, which emphasize the importance of knowledge and skills development for individual and communal well-being, but also contributes to the long-term sustainable development of the nation.

Wellness for All: Ensuring Comprehensive Healthcare Across Generations

Minouche Shafik emphasizes that health is a fundamental pillar of well-being and a cornerstone of any effective social contract. She advocates for universal healthcare, arguing that access to quality medical services should not be determined by socioeconomic status. Shafik highlights the dual challenges of aging populations and technological advancements, which are driving up healthcare costs globally. She proposes a multi-faceted approach to address these challenges, including investing in preventive care, promoting healthy behaviors, and leveraging digital technologies to enhance efficiency and accessibility (Shafik, 2021).

In the Zambian context, the prioritization of health within the social contract is evident in various national development plans and strategic frameworks. The Eighth National Development Plan (8NDP) recognizes the importance of human and social development, with a specific focus on improving health outcomes and reducing the burden of disease. The National Health Strategic Plan (NHSP) 2022-2026 further outlines a comprehensive strategy to achieve Universal Health Coverage (UHC) by 2030, emphasizing primary healthcare, disease prevention, and health promotion. (Republic of Zambia, 2022) These plans align with Shafik's vision of a social contract that guarantees a basic level of healthcare for all citizens, regardless of their economic status.

However, Zambia faces significant challenges in realizing this vision. The country

grapples with a high burden of disease, including communicable diseases like malaria, HIV/AIDS, and tuberculosis, as well as a rising prevalence of non-communicable diseases. The 2023 Country Office Annual Report (COAR) for Zambia reveals that the country is off-track in achieving several Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) targets related to health, including reducing maternal mortality, ending preventable deaths of newborns and children under 5, and combating communicable diseases. (UNICEF, 2023) These challenges are compounded by limited resources, inadequate infrastructure, and a shortage of healthcare workers, particularly in rural areas. The NHSP acknowledges these constraints and outlines strategies to address them, such as increasing investment in healthcare infrastructure, expanding the healthcare workforce, and strengthening disease prevention and control programs (Republic of Zambia-Ministry of Health, 2022).

Shafik's emphasis on preventive care and health promotion finds particular resonance in the Zambian context. The NHSP prioritizes health promotion and education, community health, and disease prevention as key strategies for improving health outcomes. The plan also highlights the importance of addressing social determinants of health, such as poverty, nutrition, and access to clean water and sanitation, which significantly impact the health status of the population. (Republic of Zambia-Ministry of Health, 2022) This multi-sectoral approach aligns with Shafik's vision of a social contract that extends beyond healthcare provision to encompass broader social and economic factors that influence health.

Shafik's advocacy for leveraging digital technologies in healthcare is also relevant for Zambia. The country has made strides in implementing digital health solutions, such as electronic health records and mobile health platforms, to improve service delivery and data management. The UNDP Country Programme Document for Zambia (2023-2027) highlights the potential of digitalization in enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of public service delivery, including healthcare. (UNDP, 2022) However, challenges remain in terms of infrastructure, connectivity, and digital literacy, which need to be addressed to fully harness the potential of digital health in Zambia.

In conclusion, Shafik's vision for a new social contract that prioritizes health as a fundamental right and a shared responsibility offers valuable insights for Zambia. By addressing the challenges of access, quality, and affordability, and by embracing preventive care and digital innovation, Zambia can move closer to achieving UHC and improving the health and well-being of its citizens.

Empowering the Workforce: Enhancing Security and Opportunities in Employment

Shafik emphasizes the need for economies to create jobs that not only provide income but also offer dignity and purpose. (Shafik, 2021) In Zambia, the challenge of job creation is multifaceted. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), Zambia's economy is heavily reliant on agriculture, which employs 71% of the workforce but is characterized by low productivity and vulnerability to climate shocks. The mining sector, although a significant driver of economic growth, has not translated this growth into proportional employment opportunities (ILO, 2024).

The Zambian government has recognized these challenges and incorporated them into the 8NDP, which aims to transform the economy through diversification and the promotion of sectors such as manufacturing and tourism. However, the implementation of these strategies requires substantial investment in infrastructure, education, and skills development to ensure that the workforce can transition into these new sectors (Republic of Zambia, 2022).

In line with Shafik's arguments, ensuring workers' rights is crucial for a fair and productive work environment. In Zambia, there are significant gaps in the enforcement of labor rights. Informal employment, which constitutes about 90% of the labor force, is marred by insecure employment conditions, lack of social security, and inadequate wages. This situation is exacerbated by the casualization of labor, where secure, long-term employment contracts are replaced with short-term, precarious work (Republic of Zambia-Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2021).

Legislation in Zambia has made some strides in protecting workers' rights, such as the implementation of the Decent Work Agenda. However, enforcement remains weak due to institutional constraints. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security has been underfunded, limiting its capacity to effectively monitor and enforce labor standards (Republic of Zambia-Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2021).

Shafik's emphasis on social protection as a means to provide a safety net for workers is particularly relevant in Zambia. The country's social protection system is limited, with the National Pension Scheme Authority (NAPSA) covering only a small fraction of the workforce, primarily those in the formal sector. This leaves the vast majority of workers in the informal sector without any form of social security (ILO, 2024).

The Zambian government has recognized this gap and is working towards expanding social protection through policies such as the Social Cash Transfer Scheme, which aims to support the most vulnerable populations. Additionally, the development of a non-

contributory pension system is underway to provide a broader safety net (ECOSOC, 2015).

Social dialogue, as highlighted by Shafik, is essential for harmonious industrial relations and the formulation of inclusive policies. In Zambia, the framework for social dialogue is underdeveloped. While there has been an increase in the membership of employers' organizations, trade union membership has declined, partly due to the rise of casual labor and restrictions on the formation of unions in certain sectors (ILO, 2024).

Efforts to strengthen social dialogue include the establishment of the Zambia Decent Work Country Programme, which aims to enhance the capacity of labor institutions and promote effective dialogue between employers, workers, and the government. These initiatives are critical for addressing disputes and ensuring that the voices of all stakeholders are heard in policy-making processes (Republic of Zambia, 2022; ILO, 2024).

Analyzing Minouche Shafik's Work section through the lens of Zambia's socio-economic context reveals significant challenges and opportunities. The alignment of job creation strategies with national development plans, the enforcement of labor rights, the expansion of social protection, and the strengthening of social dialogue are crucial for achieving inclusive and sustainable economic growth in Zambia. As Zambia continues to implement its 8NDP and other related policies, these areas will require ongoing attention and investment to realize the vision of a prosperous and equitable society.

Dignity in Retirement: Creating a Supportive Framework for the Elderly

Minouche Shafik's comprehensive vision for a new social contract, underscores the necessity of rethinking societal obligations to the elderly. Shafik asserts that as populations age, societies must implement robust systems to ensure that the elderly live with dignity and security. Her framework emphasizes the importance of universal pension schemes, accessible healthcare, and social inclusion initiatives, reflecting the changing demographics and economic realities of the modern world (Shafik, 2021).

Shafik highlights that traditional social contracts, which were formulated during the Industrial Revolution, are inadequate in the face of contemporary challenges. She argues for the establishment of comprehensive social safety nets to support the elderly. These include universal pension schemes that provide financial security regardless of an individual's employment history. Shafik posits that such pensions are crucial in preventing poverty among the elderly, ensuring they do not have to rely solely on family support, which may not always be available or sufficient (Shafik, 2021).

In addition to financial security, Shafik emphasizes the need for accessible healthcare

services tailored to the needs of older adults. This encompasses preventive care, treatment of chronic conditions, and palliative care. She advocates for healthcare systems that are easily accessible and affordable, ensuring that elderly individuals receive the necessary medical attention to maintain their health and well-being. Such services are especially critical in addressing the complex health issues that often accompany aging (Shafik, 2021).

Shafik's vision for the social contract also includes promoting the social inclusion of the elderly. She stresses the importance of creating opportunities for lifelong learning, community participation, and intergenerational solidarity. Respecting the autonomy and independence of older adults is paramount in her framework, with policies designed to support their ability to live independently for as long as possible. Shafik argues that by fostering environments where the elderly can remain active and engaged, societies can enhance their quality of life and overall well-being (Shafik, 2021).

Zambia faces substantial barriers in providing comprehensive support for its elderly population. High levels of poverty, inadequate healthcare infrastructure, and limited social protection mechanisms significantly impact the well-being of older adults. As reported by the Central Statistical Office (CSO), there were approximately 500,000 people aged 65 and above in Zambia as of the 2010 census, and this population is expected to grow significantly in the coming years (2010).

The Zambian government has recognized the importance of supporting its elderly population through various policies and initiatives. The National Ageing Policy of 2015 aims to address the needs of older adults by ensuring access to healthcare, promoting social inclusion, and providing financial support. Despite these efforts, implementation challenges persist, including insufficient funding, limited access to services in rural areas, and a lack of comprehensive data on the elderly population. These challenges highlight the need for a more integrated and well-funded approach to support the elderly in Zambia (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, 2015; Senior Citizens Association of Zambia).

Shafik's emphasis on universal pension schemes is particularly relevant to Zambia. Implementing such schemes could provide financial security to all elderly individuals, reducing their dependence on family support and ensuring a dignified old age. (Shafik, 2021) Currently, many elderly Zambians rely on family members for support, and the absence of a comprehensive pension system exacerbates their vulnerability to poverty. (Chirwa & Kalinda, 2016) Enhancing financial security for the elderly through universal pensions would be a significant step towards aligning Zambia's social policies with

Shafik's recommendations.

Expanding access to healthcare services for the elderly is another critical area where Zambia can benefit from Shafik's framework. This includes preventive care, treatment of chronic diseases, and palliative care. The government should ensure that healthcare services are available and affordable for elderly individuals, particularly in rural areas where access to medical facilities is often limited. Improving healthcare infrastructure and training healthcare providers to address the specific needs of the elderly can significantly enhance their quality of life (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, 2015).

Promoting social inclusion and autonomy for older adults is also crucial. Policies should encourage community-based programs that foster intergenerational interactions, lifelong learning opportunities, and support for independent living. Addressing social stigmas and discrimination against the elderly, particularly in rural areas, is essential for their integration into community life. Shafik's vision of respecting the autonomy and independence of older adults aligns with the goals of creating supportive environments where they can remain active and engaged (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, 2015; Chirwa & Kalinda, 2016).

Developing long-term care facilities and palliative care services is another important recommendation from Shafik's framework. Such facilities ensure that elderly individuals receive the necessary support when they can no longer live independently. The current lack of long-term care facilities in Zambia places a significant burden on families and limits the quality of life for many elderly individuals. Investing in these facilities would provide essential support for the elderly and their families (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, 2015; Chirwa & Kalinda, 2016).

In conclusion, Minouche Shafik's perspective on the importance of investing in the well-being of the elderly within the social contract framework offers critical insights for Zambia. By aligning national policies with Shafik's recommendations, Zambia can enhance the quality of life for its elderly population, ensuring they live with dignity and security. This approach not only addresses immediate needs but also promotes long-term sustainability and equity, essential for a resilient and prosperous nation (Shafik, 2021).

Sustainable Progress: Balancing the Needs of Current and Future Generations

Minouche Shafik's vision for a renewed social contract places significant emphasis on intergenerational equity, arguing that a fair and sustainable society must ensure that each

generation can build upon the foundations laid by its predecessors. Shafik asserts that the traditional social contract, established during the Industrial Revolution, fails to address the complexities of modern society and the needs of future generations. She emphasizes the need for policies that promote sustainable development, intergenerational fairness, and resilience against socio-economic and environmental challenges. These policies involve investing in education, healthcare, and infrastructure, ensuring that these investments do not compromise the resources and opportunities available to future generations (Shafik, 2021).

Shafik argues for the creation of robust social safety nets and public services that support all age groups, from the young to the elderly. This includes comprehensive education systems that prepare young people for future challenges, healthcare systems that maintain a healthy workforce, and pension systems that provide security for the elderly. She stresses that these systems must be designed to be inclusive and equitable, ensuring that all segments of society benefit from collective progress. Shafik's framework emphasizes the importance of long-term thinking and planning to safeguard the interests of future generations while addressing the immediate needs of the current population (Shafik, 2021).

In Zambia, applying Shafik's framework involves examining the country's strategies for supporting its current and future generations. Zambia faces substantial challenges in achieving intergenerational equity, including high levels of poverty, limited access to quality education and healthcare, and a rapidly growing population. The Zambian government has recognized the importance of sustainable development and intergenerational equity through various policies and initiatives. For instance, the Vision 2030 plan aims to transform Zambia into a prosperous middle-income nation by 2030. This vision includes goals such as reducing poverty, improving education and healthcare systems, and promoting sustainable economic growth. (Vision 2030, 2006) However, achieving these goals requires addressing significant barriers, including inadequate infrastructure, limited financial resources, and socio-economic disparities.

Shafik's emphasis on investing in future generations provides a valuable framework for Zambia. The country could benefit from enhancing educational investments to prepare future generations for the challenges of a rapidly changing world. This includes improving educational infrastructure, training teachers, and ensuring that all children, particularly those in rural and underserved areas, have access to quality education. (Shafik, 2021) The Vision 2030 plan aims for universal access to quality education, which is essential for

fostering a knowledgeable and skilled workforce capable of driving sustainable development (Vision 2030, 2006).

Expanding access to healthcare services is another critical area where Zambia can align with Shafik's vision. This includes preventive care, treatment of chronic diseases, and maternal and child health services. The Zambian government's National Health Strategic Plan outlines goals for improving healthcare accessibility and quality, which aligns with Shafik's recommendations for a robust healthcare system that serves all generations. Ensuring healthcare services are available and affordable, particularly in rural areas where access is often limited, is vital for maintaining a healthy population that can contribute to national development (Vision 2030, 2006).

Promoting sustainable economic policies that do not compromise the resources available to future generations is also crucial. Zambia's National Green Growth Strategy (2024-2030) aims to integrate environmental sustainability into national development plans, addressing issues such as deforestation, land degradation, and climate change. By adopting green growth strategies, Zambia can ensure that economic development benefits both current and future generations. This approach not only supports economic growth but also protects the environment, ensuring that future generations inherit a healthy and sustainable planet (National Green Growth Strategy, 2024).

Developing comprehensive social protection programs that support vulnerable populations, including children, the elderly, and those living in poverty, is essential for promoting intergenerational equity. This includes expanding pension schemes, child welfare programs, and community-based support initiatives. The 8NDP (2022-2026) includes strategies for enhancing social protection systems, which can help mitigate socio-economic disparities that hinder intergenerational equity. By providing a safety net for the most vulnerable, Zambia can ensure that all generations have the support they need to thrive (Republic of Zambia, 2022).

In conclusion, the insights provided by Minouche Shafik on the need for a renewed social contract that prioritizes intergenerational equity are profoundly relevant to Zambia's socio-economic landscape. By adopting Shafik's recommendations, Zambia can forge a path towards sustainable development that not only meets the needs of the present population but also safeguards the interests of future generations. This requires a multifaceted approach that includes substantial investments in education and healthcare, the promotion of sustainable economic practices, and the implementation of robust social protection systems. These measures, if effectively executed, can help mitigate socio-

economic disparities, enhance the quality of life for all citizens, and ensure that Zambia's growth is inclusive and resilient. By embedding the principles of intergenerational fairness into its national policies, Zambia can create a thriving society where each generation is empowered to build upon the successes of the past, ultimately achieving the vision of a prosperous and equitable future.

A New Social Contract

The concept of a social contract, traditionally articulated by philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, underscores an agreement between individuals and the state to ensure order, rights, and mutual protection. However, in the face of globalization, technological advancements, and demographic shifts, the classical social contract has become inadequate. This chapter delves into the evolution of Zambia's social contract from the indigenous philosophy of Ubuntu through the disruptive impacts of neocolonialism, and it proposes a renewed social contract grounded in Minouche Shafik's framework.

Minouche Shafik advocates for a reimagined social contract that addresses the multifaceted challenges of the contemporary world, arguing that traditional social contracts are outdated and fail to address issues brought on by rapid technological change, globalization, and increasing inequality (Shafik, 2021). Shafik's model emphasizes three core components: economic security, social protection, and equal opportunities.

Economic security involves ensuring stable income and job security amid market fluctuations and technological disruptions. Social protection encompasses comprehensive health care, education, and safety nets, aimed at safeguarding the vulnerable. Equal opportunities focus on policies that eliminate systemic inequalities, enabling all individuals to succeed regardless of their background.

In Zambia, the social contract has historically been shaped by the indigenous philosophy of Ubuntu, which emphasizes communal relationships, mutual care, and collective responsibility. (Mangena, 2016) Ubuntu posits that an individual's well-being is intrinsically linked to the well-being of the community, fostering a sense of collective responsibility and interdependence.

Colonial rule, however, imposed a hierarchical and exploitative governance system that prioritized the interests of the colonizers, disrupting the indigenous social contract. The colonial administration's policies marginalized local populations and entrenched socio-economic inequalities. Post-independence, Zambia has struggled with the enduring impacts of these colonial structures, which continue to influence its socio-political

landscape through mechanisms of neocolonialism (Knudsen Ochieng, 2010).

The transition from Ubuntu to a neocolonial framework in Zambia illustrates a profound shift in the social contract. Under Ubuntu, the social contract was rooted in communal reciprocity and shared responsibilities. Leaders were seen as custodians of the community's welfare, maintaining social harmony through mutual respect and collective effort (Mangena, 2016).

Colonialism, however, introduced exploitative systems that undermined these communal values. Post-colonial Zambia has had to navigate the remnants of these colonial systems, which have been perpetuated through neocolonial influences such as conditional aid and trade imbalances favoring developed nations. These dynamics have disrupted the traditional social contract, replacing it with a framework that often marginalizes local needs in favor of international interests (Knudsen Ochieng, 2010).

Neocolonialism in Zambia is marked by continued economic and political influence from former colonial powers and international financial institutions. This influence often manifests through conditional aid, structural adjustment programs, and trade policies that prioritize the interests of developed nations, undermining Zambia's sovereignty and its ability to establish an equitable social contract (Loewe et al., 2021).

Neocolonialism in Zambia is characterized by the continued dominance of former colonial powers and international financial institutions in shaping the country's economic and political landscape. These entities exert influence through mechanisms such as conditional aid, structural adjustment programs, and trade policies that often favor developed nations at the expense of local development. This external influence undermines Zambia's sovereignty and hinders its ability to forge an independent and equitable social contract (Loewe et al., 2021).

Neopatrimonialism further complicates the social contract in Zambia. This system, where state resources are distributed based on patron-client relationships rather than merit, fosters corruption and inefficiency, eroding public trust in government institutions and exacerbating social inequalities. Neopatrimonialism diverts resources away from public goods and services, undermining efforts to build a robust social contract based on the principles of equity and justice (Kali, 2020).

Drawing on Minouche Shafik's principles, a renewed social contract for Zambia must address the legacies of colonialism and neocolonialism while integrating the core values of Ubuntu. This new social contract should emphasize inclusive governance, economic empowerment, comprehensive social protection, environmental sustainability, and social

justice.

Inclusive governance involves establishing transparent and accountable governance structures that reflect the communal values of Ubuntu. This includes fostering participatory decision-making processes and ensuring that all voices, particularly those of marginalized groups, are heard and respected. Economic empowerment entails promoting policies that prioritize local development and reduce dependency on foreign aid, such as supporting small and medium-sized enterprises, investing in sustainable agriculture, and developing infrastructure that benefits local communities.

Comprehensive social protection requires implementing robust systems that provide health care, education, and social safety nets for all citizens. This aligns with Shafik's emphasis on social protection as a cornerstone of a new social contract (Shafik, 2021). Environmental sustainability must be integrated into economic and social policies to ensure long-term resilience, including adopting climate-smart agricultural practices, promoting renewable energy, and protecting natural resources.

Equity and justice involve addressing systemic inequalities through policies that promote equal opportunities and social justice. This includes tackling gender disparities, ensuring fair labor practices, and implementing measures to combat discrimination and social exclusion.

Implementing a new social contract in Zambia requires coordinated efforts from the government, civil society, and international partners. Key steps include enacting policy reforms, strengthening institutional capacities, engaging in international cooperation, and mobilizing public support.

Policy reforms should align with the principles of the new social contract, involving legislative changes that promote transparency, accountability, and inclusivity. Strengthening institutional capacities involves training public officials, enhancing data collection systems, and fostering community-based initiatives. International cooperation is crucial for securing technical and financial support, negotiating fair trade agreements, advocating for debt relief, and forming partnerships that promote sustainable development. Public engagement is essential for mobilizing support for the new social contract. Awareness campaigns and community engagement can educate citizens about their rights and responsibilities, encouraging active participation in governance processes and fostering a sense of collective ownership and accountability.

The evolution of Zambia's social contract from Ubuntu to neocolonialism underscores the need for a renewed framework that addresses contemporary challenges while honoring

indigenous values. Minouche Shafik's perspective provides a valuable foundation for reimagining a social contract that promotes economic security, social protection, and equal opportunities. By integrating these principles with the communal ethos of Ubuntu, Zambia can forge a path towards a more inclusive, equitable, and sustainable future.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

The examination of Zambia's social contract through the dual lenses of Ubuntu and neocolonialism reveals a dynamic interplay between indigenous philosophies and external influences. Traditionally, Zambia's social contract was deeply rooted in the principles of Ubuntu, which emphasize communal relationships, mutual care, and collective responsibility. This framework fostered social cohesion and resilience, ensuring that the well-being of the community and the individual were inextricably linked (Mangena, 2016).

However, the imposition of colonial rule and the persistence of neocolonial practices have profoundly disrupted this indigenous social contract. Colonial policies introduced exploitative governance systems that marginalized local populations and entrenched socio-economic inequalities. Post-independence, Zambia has continued to struggle with the residual impacts of these colonial structures. The neocolonial context, characterized by economic dependency on former colonial powers and international financial institutions, has further undermined Zambia's sovereignty and its capacity to forge a truly independent social contract. (Knudsen Ochieng, 2010; Loewe et al., 2021)

Minouche Shafik's framework for a new social contract offers a visionary and pragmatic approach to addressing these contemporary challenges. Shafik argues that traditional social contracts have become obsolete, failing to meet the needs of a rapidly changing world marked by technological advancements, globalization, and deepening inequalities. She advocates for a reimagined social contract that emphasizes economic security, comprehensive social protection, and equal opportunities for all (Shafik, 2021).

Economic security, as envisioned by Shafik, involves creating stable income sources and job security, which are crucial in the face of technological disruptions and global market shifts. Social protection includes providing universal access to health care, education, and social safety nets to safeguard the most vulnerable populations. Equal opportunities demand policies that eliminate systemic inequalities and ensure that everyone has a fair chance to succeed, regardless of their background.

The integration of Shafik's principles with the core values of Ubuntu offers a robust foundation for constructing a new social contract in Zambia. Such a contract must be

inclusive, equitable, and sustainable, addressing the historical injustices and contemporary challenges while honoring indigenous traditions and communal values.

To establish a renewed social contract in Zambia, it is necessary to focus on inclusive governance, economic empowerment, comprehensive social protection, environmental sustainability, and equity and justice. Inclusive governance requires the establishment of transparent and accountable structures that reflect the communal ethos of Ubuntu. This involves fostering participatory decision-making processes where all voices, especially those of marginalized groups, are heard and respected. Legislative reforms should be enacted to promote transparency, accountability, and inclusivity in governance.

Promoting economic empowerment is essential for reducing dependency on foreign aid and fostering local development. This involves supporting small and medium-sized enterprises, investing in sustainable agriculture, and developing infrastructure that benefits local communities. Economic diversification should focus on sectors such as manufacturing and tourism, reducing Zambia's reliance on copper mining and creating more resilient economic foundations (Knudsen Ochieng, 2010).

Implementing robust social protection systems is critical for ensuring that all citizens have access to essential services. This aligns with Shafik's emphasis on comprehensive social protection as a cornerstone of a new social contract. Investments in early childhood development, quality education, and universal healthcare are necessary to build a more equitable society. These efforts should be complemented by policies that ensure fair labor practices and combat discrimination and social exclusion (Shafik, 2021).

Environmental sustainability must be integrated into economic and social policies to ensure long-term resilience. Adopting climate-smart agricultural practices, promoting renewable energy, and protecting natural resources are crucial steps towards sustainable development. Environmental policies should be designed to balance the needs of current and future generations, ensuring that natural resources are preserved for the long term.

Addressing systemic inequalities through policies that promote equity and justice is essential for building a fairer society. This involves tackling gender disparities, ensuring fair labor practices, and dismantling neopatrimonial networks that foster corruption and inefficiency. Promoting a more equitable distribution of resources can help build public trust in government institutions and reinforce the social contract.

International cooperation is also vital for securing technical and financial support for the new social contract. Engaging with international partners to negotiate fair trade agreements, advocate for debt relief, and form partnerships that promote sustainable

development can support Zambia's efforts to build a resilient and equitable society (Loewe et al., 2021).

Public engagement is crucial for mobilizing support for the new social contract. Awareness campaigns and community engagement initiatives can educate citizens about their rights and responsibilities, encouraging active participation in governance processes. By fostering a sense of collective ownership and accountability, public engagement can help reinforce the communal values of Ubuntu and build solidarity among citizens.

A key concept in understanding the integration of Ubuntu and Shafik's framework is the distinction between conditional and unconditional commitments. Traditional social contract theories, as redefined by Shafik, involve conditional agreements based on mutual consent and reciprocity. These conditional commitments depend on the fulfillment of agreed-upon terms by all parties involved. In contrast, Ubuntu embodies an unconditional approach to social obligations. Unconditional commitments in Ubuntu are inherent to the individual's existence within the community and are not contingent on reciprocal actions. This means that responsibilities towards others are fundamentally ingrained in the nature of being human, independent of external agreements (James, 2023).

The unconditional nature of Ubuntu provides a superior moral framework that aligns with the ideal of a just and equitable society. While Shafik's model outlines the mechanisms to achieve economic security, social protection, and equal opportunities, the moral underpinnings of Ubuntu ensure that these goals are pursued with an unwavering commitment to the well-being of all members of society, particularly the most vulnerable, such as children and the elderly. Thus, the synthesis of Shafik's conditional rules with the unconditional moral imperatives of Ubuntu offers a comprehensive and ethically sound approach to constructing Zambia's new social contract.

In conclusion, the journey from Ubuntu to neocolonialism in Zambia highlights the need for a renewed social contract that addresses contemporary challenges while honoring indigenous values. By adopting Minouche Shafik's framework and integrating the core principles of Ubuntu, Zambia can forge a path towards a more inclusive, equitable, and sustainable future. This renewed social contract represents a bold and necessary step towards addressing the complex socio-economic challenges of the 21st century, fostering a society that supports the well-being and potential of all its citizens.

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