SAMIR AMIN'S THEORIES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE CULTURAL ASPECT OF DEVELOPMENT

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is a record of my own research work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree at any other University. All quotations and sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of references.

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CERTIFICATION

This thesis entitled *Samir Amin's Theories of Development: A Critical Review of The Cultural Aspect of Development* meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Master of Science in Sociology of Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a critical review of the works of Samir Amin on the cultural dimensions of development. It investigates the importance of the cultural aspects of development programs and how neglecting the cultural aspects of development hinders development programs. Around 1990, Amin, without abandoning the theories of development he had earlier described as the world system outlook, added and concentrated on the cultural aspects of development which he felt are more important. Amin was one of the first to assert that culture could have a positive role in development, when earlier economists had assumed that development required adopting the norms and values of western societies. This work considers the various definitions of culture, and Amin's model of cultural dimensions of development as described in his three works *Accumulation On a World Scale* (1974), *Unequal Development* (1976) and *Maldevelopment* (1990). It also investigates other areas that Samir Amin left out or discussed only briefly, examining his position and criticisms that others have made of his work. There are many people in the third world who agree with Amin that the cultural aspects are important, but not all agree on which aspects of culture are most important to development. Some reject all influences of western culture, others see that one must select the good from the bad in any culture. As Amin states, taking culture into consideration is vitally important for development planning. His role in criticizing the neglect of culture in development is significant. However, there are areas of culture that has impact on development that Amin has neglected: an adequate definition of the role

of democracy in development, the role of law in development, and gender and development. Amin's proposal of delinking as a way for countries to develop should not be interpreted as servering all political, economic and cultural ties with the West, for instance, for that is unrealistic and impracticable. The author therefore concludes and recommends that planned development should take the cultural dimensions and other social issues into consideration for effective execution.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	Africa, Caribbean and Pacific countries
EEC	European Economic Community
e.g.	for example
et al	and others
etc.	and so forth
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut (Algeria)
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
i.e.	that is
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KJV	King James Version
MNC	Multi-national Corporations
n.d.	non-dated
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
U.N.	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
U.S.A.	United States of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION : CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

1.1 Background of the Study

This study arose from the desire to review some works of Samir Amin on culture and development. The issues of development in the part of this century have received a particular attention from various intellectuals, thinkers and planners. Although their ideas differ on what constitute development, they all agree that an economic crisis exists and that some societies are more developed than others. That is why we now have the north and south divisions of the world. There is the first world, the second and the third world as crudely grouped by these thinkers (Webster, 1984). Each year the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme come up with figures showing which countries are doing well and which are doing badly, and at the same time they suggest improvements to those doing badly.

To understand the recent problems in development, it is necessary that one should go back to history in order to see the background of why some people are lacking almost everything while others have more than enough to live on. What brought about these disparities in the world? What is the relationship between the rich and the poor nations? What are the causes and consequences of underdevelopment? What are the best ways of checking the negative effects?

To answer any of these questions, it should be known that the present state of the poorer countries in the world can be best understood by examining their place in the global system of social and economic relationships. To say that the first world is industrial capitalist, the second world is industrial socialist and the third world less developed, poor and primarily rural, creates the impression that parts of the planet are culturally and economically separated.

This, of course, is far from being the case due to the interdependence of societies especially in modern times. The poverty of the third world is very much related to the wealth of the world capitalist nations, but the impact of industrialization on the world is uneven, both culturally and economically.

It is obvious that some societies are more industrialized than others and that it is more important to study particular features of a society that affect its development. A crucial aim of this chapter is to show how the relationships between cultural and economic processes influence social development. In addition to that awareness of specific cultural and economic features of the third world is vital to understanding how the neglect of cultural norms affects development.

Amin's thinking was influenced by both modernization and dependency theories, and these theories came out of the works of Durkheim (1964), Weber (1976) and Marx (1974). These theories arose from attempts to explain the industrial revolution which

began in Britain in the 18th century and became important in Europe in the 19th century.

Changes in technology and new sources of energy gave impetus to the production of goods and services and stimulated the thought of intellectuals of the time too. Marx (1818-83), Durkheim (1858-1917), and Weber (1864-1920) studied and produced various theories of the characteristic features of past and present societies. It is believed that two main schools of thought dominated in this century. The modernization school is from 1950-60, it stems out of the theories of Durkheim (1964) and Weber (1976). The second school is called the dependency theory from 1960-70. It drew its ideas from the theories of Marx (1974) about economic capitalism. For Durkheim the crucial question was how do people combine in stable groups to form cohesive societies, and what are their relationships to one another as society grows and becomes more complex. For Durkheim two forms of societies are noticeable, traditional and modern. Mechanical forms of solidarity exist in traditional society whereby people are not dependent on each other for the basic means of survival but in organic solidarity, there is much interdependency among the members of society.

Some key features of Durkheim's specific arguments that can be isolated are, first, a system of morality and norms as a foundation stone of social integration whether mechanical or organic in form. Secondly, although Durkheim regards modernity as progress, in as much as modern societies allow more individual expression, it is also clear that its flexibility could also be a source of frustration and unhappiness to individuals

(Durkheim,1964). Durkheim is criticized for saying that population growth is the only cause of changes, and that these changes are descriptive rather than historical.

For Weber (1976), his main argument is rationalization, a cultural aspect of society. To him, the rational organization of factories and investments, the protestant ethic and competition are the essential ingredients for development. Weber, unlike Durkheim, supports his arguments with historical evidence.

A number of scholars developed modernization theory in America in the 1950s and 60s, notably Parsons (1953) during and after independence of most third world nations when rivalry between west and east was in full swing. This theory assumed that there are traditional and modern societies. The traditional society needs to change its norms, values, attitudes and aptitudes to more modern ones if it is to develop. Weber's identification of development with the protestant ethic as the principal factor is weak because there are non-protestant societies that have achieved some degree of development, China and the former Soviet Union for instance. On the other hand Amin (1990) believes that the principal cause of failure in the third world is due to the neglect of the cultural dimensions in development.

1.2 The Research Problems

The modernization theory states that the third world is underdeveloped because it has not modernized by adopting western cultural values. Amin (1990:95) states that the

third world is underdeveloped because its culture has been ignored in the development process. This study is designed to identify what Amin considers to be the roles of culture in development, as well as considering aspects of culture and development that Amin himself neglected.

If, as Amin (1990) states, the principal causes of failure in development are neglect of the cultural dimension and the assumption that culture will adapt automatically to economic plans, then what is culture? Can development occur in any culture, as Amin believes, or can development occur only in western cultures, as modernization theorists believe? Is it possible to identify different types of cultures and their various dimensions? In what ways does culture relate to society, state, ideology and technology? These issues will be discussed in subsequent chapters of this work.

CULTURE. The word *culture* was taken from the Latin verb *colere* which means to cultivate. In this context it means man's ability to change, to reshape and improve his environment. Tylor defines culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1924:1) . This is our accepted definition of *culture*. After having said so much about culture, the obvious question is what has culture to do with development? Udeafor (1994:21) was right when he said: "the westerners, be they missionaries or politicians, have often, especially in the past, made the mistake of attempting to transform the non-westerners completely from so-called primitive cultures

to their civilized western culture, which is for them the right measure and standard for any cultural contact" . In fact, any economic or social planning that does not take cultural dimensions into consideration is bound to fail. This justifies our choice of Samir Amin's work on culture as our subject of investigation. Another theory that looked at the issues of development is that of dependency. The cause of lack of development in the third world is seen in its relationship with the developed western world that arrests the development of the peripheral countries during and after colonialism. This is also Samir Amin's position.

1.3 The Objectives

The major aim of the study is to examine critically the influence of culture on development and Amin's views of the effects of neglecting culture in development, as presented in his books *Accumulation On a World Scale* (1974), *Unequal Development* (1976) and *Maldevelopment* (1990). This study will also look at areas of culture that Amin has overlooked that influence development, and will seek to make some personal recommendations and suggestions at the end.

1.4 The Significance of the Study

The significance of this research lies in the fact that despite different theories of development, in the recent four decades, third world countries are still suffering from poverty, lack of education, technology and dependency on the center for almost everything. The significance of the proposed research lies in its intellectual contribution

to the knowledge on cultural dimensions in development, but also in the practical recommendations on how to deal with various consequences of underdevelopment.

1.5 The Scope of the Study

This study covers a period from 1950 to 1990 when most of Amin's theories were written.

1.6 Methodology

Our method is analytical in nature. We are going to use both primary and secondary data. These include some books of Amin, some other people's books, articles, journals articles and seminar papers. The primary data will be Amin's works under our investigation and the works of other people in the areas he left out. This will analyse the various issues of cultural dimension of development to see Amin's position on issues of culture and development. The secondary data consists of books, journals, articles and seminars of Amin's critics. The secondary data will be used for the purpose of comparing, contrasting and criticizing Amin's position. Three works of Amin have been carefully selected so as to obtain maximum information without having to exhaust his writings. We have selected two books from his earlier works which Barone (1985) considers the backbone of his earlier writings. These are *Accumulation On a World Scale* (Vols. 1 and 2) and *Unequal Development*. We will also examine his work, *Maldevelopment: Anatomy of Global Failure* (1990). These will be examined along with the writings of his critics.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Because a thesis has to be written within a specific period, it is impossible to have even a glance into all the immense work of Samir Amin within the time available. Many important books and articles that may be vital to this study will be necessarily left out. More over, many issues about development in these books we have selected will also be either only slightly discussed or left out completely.

Another limitation is that Amin wrote many books in the Arabic language and French. These may be significant for this study but due to the fact that we cannot understand these languages we cannot have the benefit of investigating them.

Finally, due to the fact that Amin lives far away, it is not possible to have Amin's own fresh opinions on some of the issues in this ever-changing world.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the definitions given for the key concepts of *culture* and *development*, and then goes on to review the modernization and underdevelopment theories, the two contending schools of thought on development at the beginning of Amin's career. Amin's thought on culture and development is then reviewed.

2.1 The Concept of Culture

There is no end to the definitions of *culture*.Despite our preference for Tylor's definition, different people defined it according to how they understand it. According to Kroeber and Kluckhohn (Kroeber and Kluckhohn In: Worsley, 1984), there are at least 164 definitions of culture which they reduced into six types: descriptive lists, like Tylor's; historical; normative; psychological; structural; and genetic; according to the various conceptions of the sources of the content of culture held by various theorists. These types were further reduced by Bauman (Bauman In: Worsley, 1984:45) into three types: the hierarchical, binary distinction between high and low cultures; the differential conception of cultures; plural differences between societies or between communities within the same society; and the universalistic or generic concept of culture, singular, as that which separates human society from everything else. In his words, 'the boundaries of human and the human'.

How do we conceptualize culture? According to Worsley (1984), there are four ideal types of conceptualizing culture: the elitist, the holistic, the hegemonic, and the pluralist. In the first, culture implies superior values reserved for the dominant few. In this view, the majority lacks culture. In the second type, culture implies a whole way of life. In the third type, culture is a set of behaviors imposed on the majority by those who rule them. The last type, a realistic view, recognizes that various communities in the society have distinctive codes of behavior and different value systems which may even be opposed to each other. It should be noted that each of these concepts emerged at different points in history and expresses changing attitudes of the largely upper-class thinkers towards the masses.

It should be noted that culture is multidimensional, embracing the grand total of all the objects, ideas, knowledge, ways of doing things, habits, values, and attitudes of a group of people in all its dimension. Therefore, culture is the totality of people's life in response to the exigencies and circumstances of their existential situation and transmitted from one generation to another. It could be likened to an organism with parts that have different functions within the complex totality. A healthy culture is essentially dynamic, whereby it is critically open to external influences for improvement (Udeafor, 1994).

According to Udeafor (1994),there are also several levels of culture which differ from the heart of culture itself. The heart of culture is a foundation source from which

all other levels or aspects of culture originate. According to him these levels are:

1. FORMAL LEVEL: This is the outermost aspect of the framework of culture. It is the form or appearance evident in the cultural symbols of the people, the details of conduct and the actions of a particular group of people. This level of culture can be misleading because of how it continuously changes e.g. the manner of dress in a particular group or culture. External influences strongly affect the manner of dress of many culture groups.

2. VALUE LEVEL: This is the area of what is good and beneficial. It also states why people do what they do. Every human society has certain things it considers very valuable. The values and their degrees of importance, however, vary across societies.

3. MYTHICAL LEVEL: This is the level with most of the accepted, even if unsubstantiated, beliefs of a religious nature. Various aspects of this level, such as customs, pass down to generations, often with little or no explanation.

4. ESSENTIAL LEVEL: This level is the 'heart' of culture. It makes cultural identity possible. It is the level that gives meaning to life's problems. It bears the basic thinking and characteristics of a particular group of people. It is the level that gives direction to other aspects of culture. It manifests the continuous questioning and reflection on the nature of things. It is not easy to describe because it is the realm of the `intangible'. It is also the level that enables one to identify oneself with any particular cultural group.

This is the level at which society does not readily change, while the symbols of the formal level may readily change. Worth noticing is that only the essential level is not easily penetrable.

2.2 Concept of Development

Development means different things to different people in various times or places. People also disagree on who should define development, whether the specialist, the political leader, or the common person (Hulme and Turner, 1989:5). Despite the fact that people have various ideas about this issue some have attempted a definition of the term as they understand it. George Lamin, the famous Barbadian novelist, defines development as follows:'Development is the capacity to define and redefine our reality with all levels of society sharing in that definition. Development is the capacity to see what are the collective needs of a society and apply intellect, and imagination to address those needs within the limit of our resources' (Lamin, In: McAfee, 1991:204). Development should not be looked at as having more than the next person or even the next territory. Though people do not agree on what constitutes development, they all agree that some societies are more developed than others and that the effects of development are not equally felt by all societies or even members of the same society. According to George Lamin, a materially prosperous society may be more underdeveloped than one which is materially poor. For instance, large areas of the U.S.A. where people have no means of participating in their development, or no way to define their reality except by consuming are examples of underdevelopment.

A genuine development is that which permits a spectrum of political and economic action options, and also experiments. Experience through the ages shows that there is no single blueprint for development. This is the major problem facing many governments in the south, with widely differing ideologies who have faced tremendous difficulties in their development plans. Third world countries, following some inadequate development strategies, have found themselves facing problems of indebtedness, inflation, declining food production and social dislocations. At the root of many of these problems is the continuation of systems which perpetuate the withdrawal of resources from the south, and which concentrate the power over global economic structures, institutions and cooperation in the north. Consequently there is no easy way for any southern country to break out of this pattern of disempowerment and dependency. For development to occur, a country should have the freedom to look at various development options, both individually and in cooperation with other countries. Instead of encouraging this, the U.S.A. and other northern governments, commercial banks, and multinational lenders are imposing a single strict and stringent development strategy on the nations of the south. This strategy which includes global free trade, privatization and deregulation, primarily serve the interest of the wealthy and powerful nations of the north and has failed to develop the southern countries. The U.S.A. and other aid donors and lenders discourage an alternative range of policy options including: land reforms and redistribution, except the so-called version of land reform based on privatization and market mechanisms.

These and many other things make it rather impossible for the third world

countries to face the challenges of this time. According to Lamin (1988) however, problems afflict countries with rapidly rising per capita income as well as those of the stagnant economies. In fact many people, like Seers (1972) believe that economic growth may merely fail to solve social and political problems, but certain types of growth might aggravate them. This is the case with countries where the growth is benefiting only a minority of the population.

The universally accepted aim of development is the realization of the potentials of human personality, because below a certain level of nutrition a man lacks not only bodily energy and good health, but much that is interesting beside. He cannot rise significantly above an animal existence. Recent studies (Postel, 1992:4-5) proved that under-nourishment of children leads to permanent impairment of both their physical and mental capabilities. A different study shows that food is one of the biggest challenges to the third world countries in recent years. Not only do people in these countries lack good food, they also lack enough food to eat. In fact one out of every three children in the world today is malnourished. Some 1.2 billion lack safe water to drink. Nearly 1 million children die annually of diseases that could be averted by simple immunization (Postel, 1992). One million women die each year from preventable reproductive health problems. About 1 billion adults cannot read or write and more than 100 million children of school age are not in primary schools as they are supposed to be. More over, despite the fact that the majority of the human race live in the third world countries, most of the highly nutritious food is produced in the developed countries. For example they produce 61%

of the meat, 55% of the eggs and 72% of the milk (Postel, 1992).

Another basic necessity for development of good personality is a 'job'. A job does not have the same meaning as employment. A job can include studying, working on a family field, or even keeping a house. To have none of these acceptable roles, to be chronically unemployed and depending on other people for sustenance is not compatible with self respect. It is true that both poverty and unemployment are associated in various ways with per capita income. In a country where per capita income is falling, absolute poverty cannot be reduced, neither can unemployment. The absolute poor are those people who live on something less than a dollar a day. According to a 1991 estimate over a billion people live in absolute poverty, and most of these people are from the third world countries (Postel, 1992). These are also countries with highest levels of unemployment, even when the per capita income of some of them are rising. The example of the petroleum exporting countries is instructive here which shows that to achieve either of these objective rising per capita income is not always enough. In fact in some cases it is accompanied by growing unemployment. The important direct link between per capita income and poverty is income distribution. It is a fact that poverty will be eliminated much more quickly if a given rate of economic growth is accompanied by a declining concentration of income. A just and fair distribution is necessary for equality among citizens. The problem of inequality in the world is so great that, according to Postel,'85% of the world income goes to 23% of its people' (Postel, 1992). These inequalities in the distribution of income are found both in the developed and developing societies, although

it is more pronounced in the developing countries. In Brazil for instance only 5% of the population control most of the national income leaving the rest of the population in absolute poverty. This is also the case in Saudi Arabia where a few thousand princes control the whole national income of the country and use it like a personal property.

According to Seers (1972), the obvious questions to ask about a country's development are the following: What has been happening to poverty, what has been happening to unemployment, and what has been happening to inequality? According to him if all of these are declining then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. But if one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, then it would be strange to call the result development, even if the per capita income were doubling.

Another set of problems about development is that of measurement. What is the appropriate method of measuring development since the use of per capita income has proved defective? Although it is true that a big increase in the national income will at least in the future make it easier to achieve a reduction in poverty if the appropriate policies are adopted, the major problem is that the national income figures provided for most developing countries have little, if any meaning at all. This is because they lack data, and often provide inaccurate information due to incompleteness. There is lack of data on issues like poverty, unemployment and inequality to mention but a few. Economic planning requires the planners to have sufficient information about all aspects

of society, such as the supplementary income and the age and sex composition, but the major problem is that it is hard to measure unemployment in many third world countries. Where such records exist, they mostly cover only part of the labor force in big cities, while the countryside is left out completely. These and many other problems make measurement either impossible or unreliable. For development to be underwritten a better and more efficient method needs to be adopted.

2.2.1 The Internal Consistencies of the Development Process

The internal consistencies of development is fundamental in development issues and pose a challenge to the scientists, politicians and the administrators of this time and in the future. The major task is to find a sustainable development path which enables progress to be made continuously on various criteria. Since no country can say that it has attained a state of perfect development, the need is not merely to accelerate economic growth. The real need is to change the development process in which case the major question is which criteria are mutually consistent. It is a fact that development is one of the criteria that brings about reduction in poverty and social inequality. But for any third world country to reduce unemployment, it will have first of all to find a technique which is labor intensive with the least damage to expansion in production. Some people like Seers (1972) argued that some forms of inequality are necessary to generate savings which is an incentive to promoting economic growth. According to him this is an indicator of development. The propensity to save in countries with low levels of income and high distribution of wealth is low. On the other hand the industrialized countries with

less concentrations of income have much higher savings propensities. People's ability to save is affected by the absolute level of income, but this is also affected by the high level of consumption by the rich. It should be noted here that the rich in most countries tend to have an extremely high propensity not merely to spend, but to spend on goods and services with high foreign exchange content thus worsening the situation of those countries suffering already with foreign exchange problems (Seers, 1972). This in itself is a great hindrance to development. In any case, there is no way to prevent the personal savings in the third world countries from flowing abroad or being used in things like luxuries, housing and other investments of low priority to development. The argument that only inequality can provide the incentive to development is invalid, especially in a country where there are various races and classes.

Another major factor for development is the need of talented entrepreneurs who organize production. Progressive farmers who increase production are also a vital factor but where these are not rewarded they will reduce their effort to zero. All effort needs some kind of incentive, especially of the financial type. Envisaging other non-financial rewards cannot take its place. No social system could be developed to a point where people will make efforts with little or no individual rewards. This is the reason why there is the problem of brain drain from the third world. It is difficult to keep people who are professional in a country where they can earn only a small fraction of what they can earn elsewhere, though preventing them from leaving is not very beneficial since in most cases they do not have the appropriate means for doing their best.

Another problem to look at is whether the government obtains the cooperation of the population in wage restraints, and in many other ways that are necessary for development. If there is visible evidence of great wealth for a few which is being transmitted from generation to generation, will the wage earner not protest to see his children and grand children doomed indefinitely to a subordinate position? Is it possible for the government to mobilize the energy of the total population, and break down social customs which obstruct development, especially in rural areas? All these are complex questions which are difficult to answer, nevertheless they need some kind of attention. More over, economic and political objectives are linked closely together. It is obvious that an economic system with large numbers of under-nourished and unemployed people at the bottom of a long social ladder, especially if they are racially distinguishable can never provide a firm basis for political rights or specific order. The privileged few will not try much to better the lot of the unprivileged, but will make sure that the system remains in place. On the other hand those without jobs or adequate income will sooner or later try to obtain them through regimes which are dictatorial. Where there is inequality it will not coexist with political liberty.

For a country to be able to reduce inequality it must enjoy a degree of freedom from other countries. In fact, reduction of inequality is very hard, so long as a country is dependent on a major foreign power, and shows the influence of its consumption, taste and salary levels. That is also the case with the reduction in unemployment because one of the marks of dependence is reliance on the technology of the country which plays a

dominant role in the national life. More over, a country that leaves its social problems unsolved is unlikely to be strong enough to achieve genuine independence.

2.2.2 Development and Democracy

In all cultures people aspire for freedom. In this case a genuine development should be that which liberates the country's poor majority and in so doing build a basis for genuine democracy. Edrin Frezer defined democracy as:

> the opportunity for individuals and the community to have a significant degree of control over decisions about the allocations of resources. Such a form of democracy depends upon a guarantee of civil liberties, and of the freedom to form organizations without harassment, and to act in an organized manner to effect a political policy and change economic conditions. It requires freedom from governments or military repressions and from the actuality or threat of overt or covert intervention from foreign political powers (Frezer In: McAfee, 1991:208-9).

Genuine democracy can therefore thrive only in the absence of coercion and the constraints resulting from hunger, poverty, illiteracy and lack of information. In fact, no person whose immediate concern is where the next meal will come from can be an active responsible citizen of a democracy. That is the reason why equitable development and liberty of the poor is vital to the creation of real democracy. According to Frezer liberty connotes here, the creation of the capacity by groups and individuals, particularly the poor and disenfranchised, to survive and understand their relations to neutral, cultural, economic and political forces that affect them (Frezer ,1987).

Truly democratic development seeks activities to protect the interests of the poor,

improve their situation at the local level, and to enhance their ability to effect changes on a regional, national and international level.

2.2.3 Ends and Means for Development

When political liberty is considered as an end, it is important, though secondary, so long as a substantial proportion of the people are under-nourished and unemployed. But it appears in quite a different light as a means. Societies that have no open opposition have shown themselves extremely rigid in meeting the challenges of changing circumstances.

Higher educational level is another end in itself, though education is also a means. Economists have seen education as a source of development. Unfortunately they treated it as a factor in the growth of national income, relating growth in manpower with certain qualifications, a university degree for instance, to national income level. The development of education is not just or even mainly about an increase in the national income. It goes beyond that. McAfee (1991) states that the important thing is not only what is taught, but who is selected to be taught. Inequality can be reduced and also economic efficiencies increased, if secondary and higher education are made truly available to those with the lowest income belonging to minority races where they exist. This implies that a special selection method must be adopted. More over by easing shortages of high level manpower, education can reduce the need for high salaries for those with scarce professional skills. In this case, however, the structure of education needs a careful

reconsideration. In fact, education cannot fulfill this function if it produces a few distinguished academic scholars as was the case in Britain, and as is also the case in Africa now, where the educated think of themselves as superior to the rest of the population.

McAfee (1991) describes another function of education, which also applies to adult education in the content of the media (radio and television programs), to prepare professional classes conscious of the realities of development, both internal and external realities, with enough understanding of their historical origins that they see what needs to be done and voluntarily accept the sacrifices implied. Attention should be paid to the countryside. Many of the obstacles to policies which would reduce poverty and unemployment have their origin in attitude to manual work, especially in the countryside, and in attitude towards consumer goods and foreign technology.

Another no less important area is the area of population. Conventionally population growth is seen simply as a subtraction from the increase in the national income. However, many, for instance Seers (1972), doubt the validity of the argument because it assumes that population and income are independent of each other. But the real case in active population policy is simply that as the labor force is growing rapidly, it is almost impossible to relieve unemployment and poverty. This is because the abundant supply of the labor keeps the unskilled near a mere subsistence level. More over, the growing pressure of population on the budget makes it very difficult to expand education

and other social services. The growing population pressure increases the need for foreign aid which postpones the attainment of genuine independence. As it is well known to everyone that independence is necessary for development to take place, it is not just a means but an end.

2.3 The Modernization Theory

As the issue of development was catching the attention of many thinkers an idea called the modernization theory became very vital in the years 1950-60. This theory rose out of the theories of Durkheim and Weber, and was later developed by Parson (1953) in America, and Eisenstadt (1970), Bauer (1976), to mention but a few. Maybe the first thing to be noted about modernization theory is its emphasis on tradition versus modernity. It says that non-western societies need to change their values, norms, attitudes and aptitudes to more modern ones in order to develop. Bauer (1976:41) for example argued that: 'economic achievement and progress depend largely on human aptitudes and attitudes on social and political institutions, and arrangements which drive this on a historical experience and to a lesser extent on external contact, market opportunities, and on natural resources'. He then identified some features of traditional societies:

1. The value tradition itself is dominant, that is people are oriented to the past, and lack the cultural ability to adjust to new circumstances.
2. The kinship system is the decisive reference point for all social practice, being the primary means through which economic, political and legal relationships are controlled. Status is not earned, but is ascribed by one's position in the kinship

system.

3. The traditional societies have a superstitious and fatalistic approach to the world, believing that what is going to be will be.

In contrast modern societies, according to this theory, have the following characteristics:

(a) people may have traditions, but they are not enslaved to them. They may change any aspect that seems unnecessary.

(b) kinship plays a limited role in the society because of regional, geographical and social mobility which weaken family ties. More over, one's position in the economy or party is earned through hard work, achievements and motivation, and not by kinship.

(c) that members of modern societies are not fatalistic but forward-looking and innovative, ready to overcome obstacles that they find on their way.

Rostow (1960:4) identified stages for development which according to him all states must pass through. "It is possible to identify all societies in their economic dimensions as lying in one of five categories. (1) The traditional society, (2) The precondition for take off, (3) The take off stage, (4) The drive to maturity, and (5) The age of high mass consumption". According to him, the takeoff stage is the decisive one, and these stages could be repeated elsewhere in the world.

Some of the most important points of the modernization theory are the following:

(i) That there are clear mixtures of social, psychological and economic features to modernization theory, including, for example, references to values, systems, individual motivation and capital accumulation.

(ii) Most accounts give great priority to roles played by values, norms and beliefs of the people in determining the types of society, traditional or modern, that they create. And thus value changes are the most important for social changes.

(iii) The history of the development of industrialization in the west is no longer as unique as Rostow thought, but a blueprint for development throughout the world. Eisenstadt (1966:1) claims, historically modernization is a process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that developed in western Europe and north America, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

(iv) Evolution of society occurs as the traditional behavior pattern gives way under the pressure of modernization. While these pressures build up gradually within western societies, the developing countries of the third world can be exposed to them from outside, that is they can be helped to learn their way to modernity with the assistance of the developed countries. Ideas and technology can be diffused throughout the poor countries.

(v) This process of modernization by diffusion should encourage a number of features of development in the third world. These include urbanization based on nuclear family households, education, growth of literacy, and training and the

development of the mass media to disseminate ideas, and encourage increased awareness about society and heightened political tensions, and participation in democratic systems. Also modernization should produce increased business opportunities through providing capital for investments, and the replacement of patterns of authority based on kinship loyalties, such as monarchies and local chiefdoms, with the rational system of law with representatives of the national government.

Different societies at different stages of development may be less successful in introducing the features highlighted in the above five points. The question is what implications do these points have on the understanding of development? Modernization theory asserts that:

(1) lack of development is a condition prior to development. That is to say the present day third world countries are gradually moving towards modernity. This may seem self-evident. However, it should be seen that lack of development may not reflect obstacles apparent in the entire history of these countries, but be instead the result of relationships they have had over the past few centuries with the developed countries.

(2) lack of development is the fault of the third world countries' socio-economic systems that create obstacles to modernization, and encourage little ambition or incentives among the individuals, particularly in their work. They tend to have little interest in their commercial production and rationally planned long time

enterprises, being contented to work only as long as they need to satisfy their immediate limited demand.

(3) development is presented as a relatively straight forward process of efficient social adaptation to a period of strain, for example, one brought about by increase in population. There is little debate about possibilities of fundamental conflict in social groups.

(4) development occurs not only along western lines for the third world societies, but also for those countries which are now socialist states for instance the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. Their future path, because of the forces of industrialization, will converge with the road blazed by the pioneers in the west.

(5) the western economies will continue to grow and develop so that, in Rostow's term, 'they enjoy the period of high mass consumption'. There is no thought given to a possible steady decline, or collapse in the fortunes of the economies of the developed countries. Proponents of this theory worked in the U.S.A., implementing these ideas. However, this theory had many criticisms. Some of these are: first, the principal terms of the theory, traditional and modern, are much too vague to be useful for classifications of distinct societies. The two terms do justice to the great variety of societies that have existed and do exist. The traditional label is a blanket term to cover all pre-industrialized societies which had different social settings, socio-economic and political structures, such as feudal, tribal or bureaucratic empires. A much more careful analysis is required

of these distinct pre-industrial forms in order to have any hope of understanding the subsequent process of social change they underwent. Eisenstadt a proponent of modernization agrees with the first two points above, thus he writes: `the process of modernization may take off from a tribal group, from a caste society, from different types of peasant societies, and from societies of different degrees and types of prior orientation. These groups may vary greatly in the extent to which they have resources and abilities necessary for modernization' (Eisenstadt 1970:25).

Although the theory is supposed to be about the way societies develop, there is little explanation of these processes. A serious weakness in the theory is that apart from the reference to the need for forward looking attitudes and healthy economic motivations, we have no idea which mechanisms bring about the process of social differentiation.

Even if for the sake of discussion one can accept the terms traditional and modern societies, is it the case that they are mutually exclusive? In some cases modern technology enhances tradition, for example Moslems travelling to Mecca, New Guineans craving for ritual activities. Japan has an ascriptive wage system but nevertheless is developed. In addition to that, one should question the proposition that as industrialization and its attendant urbanization developed, the wider kinship system is weakened as people became primarily concerned with their own nuclear family. It was noted that some kinship ties not only survive, but function positively to help in

mobilizing capital for investment. Another factor is that kinship relations are also the sources of family support. People may be able to use their traditional roles and kinship relations as resources that could be drawn upon to serve their material needs.

Modernization theory besides lacks two essential ingredients: an adequate historical input, and a structural perspective. However, despite its weakness, modernization theory is able to focus our attention on values, attitudes, aptitudes, norms and people's beliefs (Webster, 1984).

2.4 The Theories of Underdevelopment

The foundation of the theory of underdevelopment is found in the work of Marx. However, there are some disagreements about the future of industrialization in the third world. For example Frank (1978) believes that the third world development is unlikely, while others like Waren (1980) argue that large scale capitalistic industrial development is possible. However, development is not easy as seen in the definition of dependency by Dos Santos who defined it as: 'a situation in which a certain group of countries have defined their economies conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected' (Dos Santos In: Preston, 1982:66). When we consider the above definition in the light of some of the basic propositions made by Marx on the social and economic divisions of labor in the third world, we will see that development is indeed not easy. We also look at these propositions and how they were incorporated into under-development theory.

The Marxist theory of capitalism and class conflicts is well known. According to Webster (1984) and Naanen (1984), while the modernization theorist might ask, 'is there any entrepreneur who invests surplus capital?' Marx would ask, 'who produces this surplus capital in the first place?' For Marx labor produces surplus value and labor is a commodity to be sold in the labor market. It is sold by workers who cannot live without selling their labor. Monetary resources from the landowners, merchant profits from trading, usurious capital from lending of money for profit - all these eventually lead to capitalist development. The free workers are organized in one of the following ways:

(i) They assemble in one workshop or factory where a variety of trades are brought to produce one product, a car for instance.

(ii) They assemble in one factory where each worker uses the same skill to produce identical items from the start to finish, or in order to meet the increasing demand for that product the task is divided among the workers. The worker loses control of the labor and the product of his labor. This division of labor deskills the worker. This theory gave a detailed discussion of the exploitation of the third world during the mercantilist era, the colonial era and the neo-colonial period which is found in the writings of many third world theorists.

Another person who explained this theory is V.I. Lenin (1965) whose explanation of underdevelopment was based on imperialism which, according to him, is a phase in capitalism, in which a crisis appeared in the capitalist world and that the outcome of this was imperialism. Such imperialism would, according to him, allow:

1. control over global market,
2. access to cheap foreign labor, and
3. a cheap supply of raw material.

Lenin shows the relationship between imperialism in terms of four related propositions:

1. To maintain profitability the capitalist countries exported capital to colonies, assisted by the political and military might of the home country.
2. This made it possible to obtain on very favorable terms raw materials in the colonies.
3. This also meant that capital was needed in the colonies to build railways, roads, and port services to facilitate capitalist penetration, and
4. This development leads to concentration and centralization of capital by large trans-national monopoly firms.

Lenin, however, was criticized by a number of people among whom was Rosparow (1969) who raised a number of observations:

(1) Lenin portrays colonialism as the inevitable result of the appearance of monopoly capitalism. However, today colonialism has gone away yet monopoly capitalism thrives. This means either that Lenin's basic explanation of the emergence of colonialism is wrong, or more likely the social monopoly corporation of the present is radically different from that of Lenin's time, at the beginning of the century.

(2) Empirically Lenin's theory has a number of weaknesses especially the fact that large amounts of capital did not go to the new colonies of Africa and Asia but to areas where white settlers had established themselves in New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. Some still believe that, contrary to Lenin's theory, capitalism will have positive effects on third world economies, by industrialization, education, commercialization and communication (Rasparow, 1969:55-57).

Frank (1978) argued that the third world depends so much on the center for almost everything. For him the only hope of progress is by breaking the chains of this dependency. This idea of breaking away is also found in the writing of Samir Amin (1990). He called it 'delinking'.

However, Frank's critics believe that there are weaknesses in his theoretical model:

(1) The concept of dependency is much too vague to be used, failing to clarify what are the metropolitan centers. All countries depend on each other, for example the U.S.A. on oil-producing states and vice-versa.

(2) In describing the character of the third world under-development Frank (Frank In: Webster, 1984) in his earlier works seems to argue that third world countries are static, that is, no indigenous development is possible. However, given the recent level of development in some countries like Brazil, Argentina and east Asian countries one has to think about this theory again .

As seen above Frank spent too much time measuring under-development in terms

of exchange and transfer of the surplus from the satellites to the metropolis.

(3) One important neo-Marxist, Warren (1980), like the criticism mentioned in the preceding remarks, challenges Frank for failing to analyze production relations properly. However, unlike them, he does not believe the underdevelopment of the third world will persist even if it is true that at the moment the production system is a complex mixture of capitalist and non-capitalist activities. Warren said: 'the distribution of world economic power is less concentrated and more dispersed, and the countries of Asia and Latin America are playing more independent roles both economically and politically' (Warren, 1980:170). He argued that the volume of trade between the developed countries is far greater than that between the third world and the developed countries. Underdevelopment theory left a number of questions unanswered:

i. If cultural values and attitudes do not have a priority in shaping a pattern of social change, how do they influence the process of capitalist penetrations? Lacalau (1977) argued that there was exploitation in the third world even before the advent of capitalism.

ii. The theory clearly assumed that development equals industrialization, as does modernization theory. It makes no attempt to consider alternatives based on a self reliant economy and ecologically desirable small scale production. From the classical Marxist as well as the modernization theorist position such a path will not progress as it will deliberately ruin the productive forces of society. Nevertheless, it could serve people's basic needs.

iii. It is clearly the case that if underdevelopment theory in all its forms is correct, one needs to have some analysis of the prospects of some revolutionary changes which claim to be the only way of removing third world poverty. Marxists state that the workers are being oppressed, but there are some disagreement whether to locate the sources of opposition to capitalism in the rural peasantry or in the new working class being formed in the industrial sector of the third world. According to the same idea, there is little attention given in dependency theory, to the position of the eastern bloc of the former socialist states of the world economy as industrialized states engaged in trade with the third world, for example the former Soviet Union, trading with Cuba, China and India. Are they also imperialist states of surplus or not? Wallerstein believes that the socialist states of the north are actually subordinated economically to the world capitalist system, and play insignificant roles in determining the state and direction of the world economy. In fact, they are not free from capitalist exploitations (Wallerstein, 1979).

2.5 Contributions of Samir Amin to the Understanding of Development

Samir Amin, an Egyptian professor of economics was born on September 4, 1931 in Cairo, Egypt. He was educated in University of Paris (1947-57) where he obtained Diplome de Sciences Politiques in 1954, Diplome d'Ingenieur Statisticien in 1954, Doctorat d'Etat, Economie in 1957, Professeur Agrege de Sciences Economiques in 1966. He became senior economist, Economic Development Organization, Cairo between 1957-

60, technical adviser for Planning, Government of Mali between 1960-63, Professor of Economics, University of Poiters, France, Professor of Economics, University of Paris VIII, France, and Professor of Economics, University of Dakar, Senegal. He was appointed director, UN African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, Dakar, in 1970 (Africa Who's Who, 1996:132). He is one of the foremost writers on the third world in recent times. He is a prolific writer and a contributor to African, third world and world scholarship. Three main factors influenced Amin's writings: first, being from a third world country he looked at the issue of development to be as a result of colonialism; second, the place of Islam as a unifying ideology for the Arabs and African countries; and third the problem of Zionism as a means of separation of Arab countries by the west. In the words of a recently published biographical note, his main contributions have been classified under four major headings:

(i) A critique of the theories and experiences of development,

(ii) The alternative proposal for the analysis of the global system which he called 'really existing capitalism',

(iii) A re-reading of the history of social formations, and

(iv) A reinterpretation of what he described as 'post-capitalist' societies.

Samir Amin, like many of his colleagues from the third world who studied in Europe and America in the 50s and 60s, was influenced by two major issues:
First, the ideology of the socialist states of the east and their likely impact on third world countries that were gaining independence. Imbibed with the Marxist ideology, he believed

that sooner or later most of these countries will do away with capitalism and take up socialist ways of organizing their newly independent societies. This however, was not the case as the struggle between west and east ranged through the century until the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Second, what are the economic links that join the periphery to the center of the world capitalism? The problems of development of the developing countries, as many believe, are that these countries might not develop if they continue to have their economies controlled by the former colonial powers. Amin being an Arab, an Egyptian who witnessed most of the battles fought between the Arabs and the Jews, saw Zionism as an attempt from the west to subordinate the Arab oil rich countries under their control through the use of the Jewish state of Israel. This is mentioned quite often in his writings (Amin, 1990).

However, the most important ideology that influenced the life of Amin is the ideology of Marx. Samir Amin is a neo-Marxist as many believe. Among the examples of neo-Marxists are three African writers: Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon and Samir Amin. These three African writers employ Marxist categories of analysis. However, none of them, according to Folson (N.D), can be considered as belonging to the classical tradition of Marxism. Amin considered himself a neo-Marxist, for to him Marxism is synonymous with historical materialism, and that the latter is the heart of the former. For him, his work is nothing but an extended work on the analysis of historical materialism. Thus he

writes: 'historical materialism is the framework of the third world capitalist system' (Folson, N.D : 2). It should be noted that Amin has redefined the relationship between historical materialism and the class struggle, using the two terms interchangeably.

In addition, other ideas reside under historical materialism. From the point of view of neo-Marxism, two examples are of vital importance. Amin sharply distinguished what he named economic laws of capitalism from those of historical materialism. That is the reason for holding that the sphere of Marxism is not economic but historical materialism. Amin also denies that economic laws operate in society over and above the laws of historical materialism. In particular he denies that elements of productive forces determine the changes in the relations of production. For him the evidence of history is that it is rather the class struggle that alters the relations of production, and that the relations of production in their turn make possible the potential development of new productive forces. Amin also disagrees that the superstructure reflects the requirements of the economic base. Thus for him there are no economic laws independent of class struggle. Amin disagrees completely with any contrary view of 'vulgar Marxism' or 'pseudo-Marxism' or 'economistic' leading to bourgeois philology and religion. However, he accepts the fact that there is a relationship between the class struggle and the economic base. This relationship is dialectical but the economic base is pre-eminent. More over he established an opposition between the class struggle and the Marxist philosophy of history. Amin also repudiates many of the views of historical evolution. He believes that those views are Euro-centric in the sense that they assume the centrality

of capitalist modes of production in Europe to the historical process and the concomitant overriding role of a European proletariat. For Amin, Marx was incorrect in his analysis of the importance of the European capitalist proletariat. Amin also drew attention to the fact that with the rise of monopoly capitalism, a world capitalist system emerged and that this factor transferred the crisis of capitalism from the center of Europe to the periphery. This latter came to be known as the third world. Amin states that Marx's works should not be treated as a religious dogma, that there are facts which Marx did not and could not have known in his life time and that there were some points in which Marx was wrong. In other words Marx could not have known some facts about monopoly and capitalism because they have changed since his time. Amin believes that history is ever changing and because of that no one can claim complete knowledge of events, not even Marx himself.

It should be noted that Amin and many other third world thinkers disagree with the idea that capitalism would do to the periphery what it did to the capitalist centers concerning progress. The view point held by Amin and by all neo-Marxists and dependency theorists that the relationship between capitalism in Europe and north America on the one hand, and the peripheral dependent capitalism on the other is such that it is impossible for the former to help in the development of the latter. It should also be noted that the aspect of Marxist approach and methodology which he sees himself applying is the dialectical approach. By this he meant almost exclusively the determination of parts by the whole. His analysis of the world system is carried out by

this method. For instance, the cause of the phenomenon in the third world is to be found not in the third world itself, but within the dialectic of the world system as a whole (Folson, n.d). Consequently marginality, which he sees to be characteristic of the third world, is an effect within the periphery of the law of accumulation operating in a world system as a whole. Hence also, the reaction between the state and social classes in the periphery must be analyzed within the world context.

However, Amin's critics accused him of being inconsistent in his use of dialectical approaches to explain third world phenomenon. For instance, in explaining the peculiarity to Africa of the effect of growing capitalism, he resorts to specific causes internal to Africa and not to the general needs of the third world system, much less to its origin. Some of the causes he resorted to are the dynamism of the rural community in the right of its members to cultivate the soil in a relatively high initial density of population and so on (Amin, 1974). In the last analysis, Amin's account of the world system is the result of the operation of the class struggle at the level of the third world system as a whole, and hence a contradiction on world scale in relation between the center and the periphery rather than on the level of the individual social formations (Folson, n.d). In the more economic aspects of his analysis, he sees himself as adopting Marx to changed rules. In his analysis of the third world system, Amin says he had merely reformulated the question of the relations between the objective forces, that is the law of accumulation, and the subjective forces that is the class struggle at that level. In so doing he argued he was using the model used by Marx in Volume 2 of *Kapital*. Amin's critics believe that

he was not only concerned to prove his Marxist credentials, but also quoted Marx frequently both in support of his position and to criticize him. His major concern was to identify where he differs from Marx and contemporary Marxists on some substantive issues. The substantive theory which established Amin's credentials as one of the neo-Marxists, is the world system outlook which he first set out elaborately in *Accumulation On a World Scale*. Previously he had published two books which attempted to explain economic evolution in Ivory Coast in particular and West Africa in general, but which are not to be discussed here.

2.5.1 Amin's Model of Analysis: World System Outlook

The world system outlook was first described by Amin in his work *Accumulation On a World Scale*, in 1974. Before this time he had already published two other works, which did not discuss the world system outlook. It should be noted that it was not until 1974 that Amin made his claim that he had adopted the world system outlook as early as 1957 and that his thesis and the work on Ivory Coast in West Africa was based on that outlook. However, his critics like Folson warn us to take this with caution, the word 'Internationale', instead of 'Mondiale' in the title of his thesis *'Les Affaires Structurelles de Integration Internationale* suggests this caution. Many believe that Amin adopted this world system outlook only in 1965. This is made clear in the passage where he said: 'since my first critique in 1957, which was still economistic, of the economies of underdevelopment I have arrived, as from 1965, at what now seems to me a clear understanding of this fundamental question' (Amin, 1977:263). *Accumulation On a World*

Scale is suffused with such views from the beginning to end. Another book by Amin, *Unequal Development*, came out in 1976. This concentrates more on the periphery, analyzing the social formation through which the exploitation of the periphery by the metropole was made possible. *Maldevelopment: Anatomy of Global Failure* came out in its English version in 1990. This book, according to him, is a political analysis in which he also integrated the discussion of all economic, political, social and cultural problems. His stated intention is to fit them into a local framework that takes into account the interactions on a world scale.

According to Amin, social reality as a whole has three facets, economic, political and cultural. The first four chapters examine the various dimensions of the crisis of development, later chapters examine the various dimensions of development, while the last four chapters offer some solutions to these problems. Some of the most important issues raised by Amin in *Maldevelopment: Anatomy of Global Failure* is the complexity of international relations and the African vulnerability to external intervention. Modern international relations are becoming more complex and Africa is vulnerable politically, economically and socially to foreign intervention. Africa is subject to economic control from outside, the political manipulation which leads to social unrest in Africa and the third world. The vulnerability of African economics vis-a-vis the challenge of capitalism, and its new world wide expansion taking various forms and strategies to keep the third world under its control is a matter of concern. He also identifies specific aspects, or agents used in the integration of African economies into the third world system. Some

of these are: ACP-EEC associations and Euro-American mercantile conflicts. These organizations dominate world affairs.

Amin also discussed conflict and national and regional security in Africa, especially middle east conflicts and the like. The problem that was in South Africa is one of the most important raised by Amin. However, there are many others throughout the continent, some take ethnic dimensions. In connection with these he highlighted the middle east conflict which he situated in the world perspective, how the region passed from the hands of the British and French into the hands of the two super powers (America and Russia) and how the west, according to him, used it as a means of domination and an arms testing ground (Amin, 1990). In the later part of the book he suggests some solutions to the problems outlined, such as an alternative development for Africa and the third world, which he believes needs rethinking, planning and self reliance. Amin also showed how income distribution varies in the center and the periphery itself. He then touches the alternative, national development, social and political democracy, and he reiterated the issue of delinking with the center. To this effect he pointed out some obstacles to popular national and autocentric and delinking development strategies (Amin, 1990).

Concerning the issue of delinking not everyone will agree with Amin, especially if it means severing of ties, including some people from the former Soviet Union. There are many who believe that their attempted delinking made them backward in some areas

of development. This is made clear when we observe a statement made by a former K.G.B. officer and an academic expert in international relations whose identity is kept secret by Kaiser (1991:217). This man is reported to have said:

> We had never lived a normal life or had a normal country. The time had come for the Soviet Union to become a full member of a community of nations. I don't think our country is worse than others, we have not been given any chance to do what they can do. We believe that it is impossible for any country to delink and develop in isolation as the world is becoming more and more linked up in many spheres of economic, political, social and cultural activities.

Coming back to his world system outlook we need to know that it is based on the assumption that all contemporary societies are integrated into the world system. Not a single country's social economic formation in our time can be understood except as a part of this world system (Amin, 1974). Thus he draws a distinction between a capitalist mode of production and a world capitalist system. According to him the first is just the start of a mode of production and it becomes a whole system only when it is able to establish its complete dominance over other modes of production. According to Amin, so far, this has been achieved only in the advanced capitalist societies (Amin, 1976). The world capitalist system is rather a single interdependent network of capitalist formations of the center and periphery. One of the significant things to note here is that, by the time Amin's *Accumulation On a World Scale* was published, Frank had already popularized the concept of center and periphery, and it is believed that Amin had borrowed, deepened and incorporated this into his system outlook. According to Amin, the main scope of his analysis is the relationship between the center and the periphery. For him the Communist world was or is a third part of the world system. In his view the communist world is not

truly part of the capitalist system, but only its market. For him, it has its own socialist system with its own laws (Amin, 1974). The center includes: North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Russia and Eastern Europe. However, Amin's critics like Barone believe that the way he categorized the communist world in relation to capitalist world is not satisfying, and it is further complicated by his convictions that the Soviet Union only possesses the characteristics of sub-imperialism and that there is a Soviet mode of production *sui-generis* (Amin, 1974). The periphery comprises the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The relation of these two parts of the world are fundamentally rooted in transfer of value from the periphery to the center, leading to an accumulation on a world scale. It should be also noted that whenever the capitalist mode of production enters into relation with the pre-capitalist mode of production it subjects this to itself.

2.5.2 Classes

Concerning the issue of classes, Folson (n.d) believes that traditional Marxist analysis sees that classes are coterminous with social formations. It is clear that the analysis of all class struggle should be on the level of individual society. Amin is not distant from this view, however. Central to the *World System Outlook* is the proposition that in the capitalist system, notably since the 19th century, individual societies have now converged into a single world society. For him he believed that the class struggle must now be viewed on the world stage. This does not imply that the class struggle has ceased to operate in the individual societies. For him as it continues to operate both in advanced

societies, i.e. in both capitalist and socialist societies, it is merged into and subordinated into the class struggle within the world capitalist system as a whole. In accordance with the orthodox view Amin believes that, there are basically two classes contending, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These are the first instances present in both the central formations and the peripheral. These are then linked hierarchically across the formations. According to Amin, the bourgeoisie of the peripheral formations are created in the image of the central bourgeoisie to which they are normally subordinated, and the peripheral bourgeoisie serves the interest of the central bourgeoisie, and for compensation gets the crumbs from the table of the central bourgeoisie. For Amin though, the interest of the two do clash. These occasional clashes of interest are not sufficient to deny the fact that there is in the world system only one bourgeoisie, that of the center, with a minor dependent bourgeoisie in the peripheral formations. To Amin, it is this central bourgeoisie whose interests are realized in the world system as a whole. Primitive accumulation, unequal exchange and other mechanisms by which surplus value is shifted from the periphery into the center are all means by which the central bourgeoisie exploits the proletariat and the proletarianised peasantry of the periphery (Amin, 1974).

2.5.3 Modes of Production

In concluding this chapter we have to look at some cultures discussed by Amin. These ancient cultures are presented as being associated with modes of production as identified by Amin are of vital importance to understand how things changed before and after the coming of the Europeans. Amin identified five modes of production. The first

is the communal mode of the primitive man. This is anterior to all others as described also by Marx and Engels. There is secondly the tribute-paying mode of production. This is imposed on the primitive communal mode for purposes of exploitation, and it is the wide spread form of pre-capitalist modes. Its early form can be distinguished from its developed form, according to Amin. Contrary to what Marx and Engels believe, Amin believes the feudal mode is not a major category in its own right, but a developed form of the tribute-paying mode, in which community has lost its eminent domain over land to the feudal lords, though the community remains a social entity. In the tribute-paying mode classes have already appeared. The peasantry is organized in communities with ruling classes. The tribute-paying mode, as Amin points out, is described by Marx as Asiatic. The third major category of the modes of production is the slave-owning mode. The simple-petty commodity mode is the fourth category. It practically never constitutes a dominant mode in any social formation. The last of these categories Amin distinguished, is the capitalist mode. He also identifies as a sixth the Soviet mode of production which he regarded as neither capitalist nor socialist.

CHAPTER 3

THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA AND THE THIRD WORLD: A SYNTHESIS OF AMIN'S PERCEPTION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together what Amin said about the cultural dimensions of development in Africa and the third world. It will examine Amin's view of ideologies, his view of culture and society, culture and the state, and his analysis of the crisis in the Arab world. The chapter constitutes what was referred to as primary data in the methodology section.

3.2 Synthesis.

Among all the books of Amin under investigation, it is only in *Maldevelopment:Anatomy of Global Failure* that we find his comprehensive treatment of the issue of cultures. Amin divided the whole world into two distinct cultures: that of the developed world, and that of Africa and the third world. This is evident from the title *The Cultural Dimension of Development for Africa and the Third World.* This, in our observation, is similar to the division of the world made by the Modernization and the Underdevelopment theorists of the 1960s and 1970s, discussed in chapter two. There is no doubt that both the Modernization theorists and Amin are aware of the diversity of cultures in societies and the world despite the fact that they divided the world into two cultures only in their approach to the issue. It is in our opinion that the thinking of Samir Amin has been influenced by the Modernization and the Underdevelopment theories

seeing that he maintained the same division made by those theorists. In fact, in our own opinion, the whole work of Samir Amin is a kind of dependency theory. Barone (1985) writes: 'Amin's works obviously had been influenced by Marxists, dependency theorists, and structuralists, although the intellectual heritage of this amalgam is not always clear' (Barone, 1985:134).

Another person who believes that Amin was strongly influenced by these theories is Brewer. According to Brewer, (1991:15) Amin's idea that accumulation at the centre is determined wholly by the condition at the centre while the periphery follows passively is clearly a form of dependency theory. In the same spirit Amin set out to investigate the cause of the failures of development policies in Africa and the rest of the third world. According to Amin, cultural issues in development and social changes have not been given the attention they deserve until just recently, and cultural issues that have been regarded as secondary are not catching the attention of many researchers as a possible explanation of the failures in development programmes in Africa and the rest of the world. This assertion of Amin should be taken with caution, because as we know a lot of work has been done already concerning people's culture and how it affects their development by anthropologists and even modernization theorists. However, Amin believes that whenever modernization theory treats the issue of culture it stresses only its negative characteristics as obstacles to development. According to Amin in recent times this approach has been challenged with vigor because its methodological premises prevent account being taken of the increasingly obvious involvement of culture with economics,

based on two observable intuitions warranting scientific elaboration. The first, according to him, is that culture in the broad sense deeply affects if not the character of the economic system then at least the logic of its operation. This impact, Amin believes, is greater than the influence of traditional values on the diffusion of attitudes of the capitalist kind in the teachings of the functionalist sociology of modernization. The second intuition according to Amin is that economic and social changes induce a change of culture. The relationship between culture and economics is dialectical rather than functionalistic or structural as functionalists would make us believe. For Amin an interest in the cultural aspect of development should not be limited to identifying an omission in the studying of cultural issues. After the study of the cultural aspect of economic changes an attempt should be made to clear up the interactions of the role of culture with economics at three distinct levels: These are ideology, society and the state (Amin, 1990).

3.3 Ideology

Ideology is defined by Marx and Engels as 'the manifestation of the vested interest or the programme of reaction'. (*A New Dictionary of Sociology*, 1968:101). At this level Amin identifies different types of ideologies in Africa after independence. Some of the ideologies identified by him are the following: Pan-Africanism, Sub-Saharan ideologies

of negritude, consciencianism, pan-Islamism, Nahda and pan-Arabism especially in the Maghreb. He referred to the Marxist and nationalist ideologies as the ideology of the minority in Africa. Coming back to the definition of the word 'ideology' it should be noted that the word itself means different things to different people. To some it signifies cognitive disorders or incoherence. To others it means the pure distortion of knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, by emotions and prejudices. Others believe that ideology is some thing that interferes with cognition, especially to those who go further and ask why irrational notions exist and continue, while 'truth' is either ignored or purely rejected in favor of falsehood. Some are driven to conclude that in asserting the truth or falsity of a proposition, their cognitive content are not their only relevant properties. People expouse or reject ideas because they lead to conclusions that are morally unacceptable to them, especially if the ideas are believed to lead to bad behaviors and conduct prejudicial to society and its institutions. People are then led to ask, as the Marxists do, 'whose interests are served by maintaining both these institutions and these ideas?', 'who is it that uses such ideas to legitimize, justify and rationalize their interest?' and 'how are alternative ideas prevented from taking root?' It is clear that such analysis then moves beyond pure cognition to normative and social issues. Questions of such kind inevitably led thinkers like Gramsci and Maria Tigue (Gramsci and Maria In: Worsley, 1984) beyond the term ideology to the conception of culture. Though these people retain the term ideology, it means much more to them than the logical systematization of ideas as sets of interrelated propositions. Though these people never developed an adequate theory of the concept, their works, whether that of Gramsci on intellectuals and on folk

knowledge, or that of Tigue on Inca or Catholic religion, is informed implicitly by an awareness that any society always contains residues from earlier epochs so that while some ideologies serve organically to uphold the contemporary social order, others are inorganic and do not. Indeed, they may even constitute an actual or potential basis for harm in the present order of things (Worsley, 1984).

In order to appreciate the adequacy and the validity of Amin's treatment of the term 'ideology' these and many other factors need to be taken into consideration. Amin is fully convinced that research into the cultural aspect of African development must begin with an analysis of these ideologies and their complex relation to social and economic practice. The most important matter is the relationship of these ideologies and the perception of development one should have with the corresponding formulation of economic and social strategies.

According to Amin (1990) nationalism and marxism should be looked at as explicit ideologies of state authorities, or as the ideologies of the ruling class in many African states after independence. That being the case Amin believes development programmes frequently failed because the ruling class was unable to mobilize the masses who did not share their ideology. Amilcar Cabral (1976) is of the opinion that people do not fight for ideas, but for material well being for themselves and their children.

According to Amin it is only in some countries, particularly those that experienced

an armed struggle for national liberation, that marxism had a strong impact. However, this impact has not been elaborated by Amin. Amin believes that nationalism and marxism have often been in competition before and since political independence, i.e for power and influence and also for recruitment and programme. It should be noted here that capitalism has been even a more serious competitor to those mentioned by Amin than the competition between them. Amin believes that only a few researchers have tried to consider the two ideologies from the point of view of their comparative bearing on dependence and under-development in Africa. Despite the fact that Amin stresses the fact that for more than a decade marxism had become a state ideology in very many African countries he did not elaborate on their successes and the shortcomings.

Another point worth noticing according to him is that 'the recent evolution of African societies has enriched the gamut of ideology in three main directions' (Amin, 1990:97). The first of these is the religious revivalism in its various forms. These include syncretism and Islamic fundamentalism which have emerged everywhere in Africa. This is due to the fact that a certain acculturation by the capitalists occurred followed by subsequent failures and impasses in development strategies. In the Arab world fundamentalism appears as a reaction of the indigenous culture which has felt threatened

by accelerated westernization of the society. According to Amin, this truncated westernization lacks the support of cultural ideology, but is increasingly supported by the neoliberal ideology on a world scale. Amin cautioned that despite the fact that fundamentalism rose as a cultural combat against 'westernization' the contrast between fundamentalism and 'westernization' is not as clear-cut as might be thought from the discussions of the fundamentalists. It should be noted here that Amin is saying that the turbulence in the Arab and other moslem countries should be looked at as a kind of reaction against the failures of economic and development strategies in those countries.

By implication this is why today the Front Islamique du Salut (F.I.S) in Algeria is killing people, big and small, destroying schools, blowing up houses and bridges, etc. According to him they are reacting against the lack of economic progress and development which is to be blamed on capitalism. It is also a kind of reaction to protect the Arab culture against the western culture which is promoted by colonialism and neo-colonialism. In other words it seeks the preservation of the norms, values, attitudes, aptitudes and technology of the moslem Arab people. This fundamentalism exists in Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan, and to a lesser extent, in other moslem countries.

In fact, it is not only in recent years that Amin sees fundamentalism in this role. It was also the case in earlier times, especially during the time of the colonization of Africa. According to him, Islam became a useful tool for organizing the people of Africa to resist colonialism. Amin pointed out how in Senegal the Marabouts (moslem

priests) organized a resistance movement of the community aimed to put an end to the slave trade to the Americas and the Caribbean. However, this movement did not aim at ending the internal slave trade. From this it is clear that Islam had changed its character from being a religion of a minority caste of traders to a popular movement of resisting external force. The first war the Marabouts fought was from 1673 to 1677. However, they failed in their attempt to convert the people of the river region and to stop their slave trade. According to Amin, a hundred years later, in 1776, the Torodo revolution in the Toucoulor country overthrew a military aristocracy and ended the slave trade. A similar attempt failed in the Wolo kingdom because of its proximity to St. Louis. Prophet Dille was crushed by the French military intervention in 1830, with the support of the king of Wolo. Moreover, the study of the Wolo case is especially interesting because the slave trade took place alongside the trade in gum. The latter did not have the same impact on African societies. The export of goods instead of labor does not necessarily have a negative effect, but may on the other hand bring about progress (Amin, 1976).

Despite the fact that in both those instances Amin associated Islamic fundamentalism with the fight against colonialism, domination and acculturation, it is not clear that this fundamentalism does not have other reasons. How is one sure that the current struggle in Algeria and other moslem countries is not political struggle for power and prestige? In fact, the mass killing of women and children who themselves are moslem makes it even more difficult to know exactly what the F.I.S. movement is aiming

at in Algeria. Fundamentalism in religion is not only found in Islam. It is common to all major religions of the world. It should be noted that different religions at different epochs have experienced some kind of fundamentalism. Europe for instance had experienced some kinds of religious fundamentalism in the sixteenth century.

However, not everybody agrees with Amin that religious fundamentalism is a reaction to foreign domination or the preservation of indigenous culture against acculturation by foreigners. It may have other causes some of which may be political, economic, social and in most cases religious due to differences in the understanding of the religious holy book. Cairns (1981) is of this opinion. According to Cairns, France, a Catholic country, was alarmed at the rise of Protestant ideas in the 16th century, and decided to use force to stop the continuous spread of Protestant ideas. One of the points of divergence between Catholics and Protestants was the rejection, by the protestants, of the Vulgate-based Bible translation. Besides this, the Protestants also imbibed the ideas of Calvin, which were based on justification by faith as distinct from the confession and sacraments emphasized by Catholics. Eventually, a severe wave of persecution of Protestants by Catholics began in 1538. This continued throughout the century. Later, government officials, also of Catholic faith, utilized the state machinery to further persecute the Protestants. Many religious battles were fought particularly the terrible massacres in which about 2000 were killed on the nights of August 23 and 24, 1572 in Paris alone, and another 18000 were massacred in other parts of France. Invariably, their property was seized by the Roman Catholics. Four hundred thousand (400,000)

Huguenots fled France. Because they were the skilled artisans and professionals of the middle class, the loss of the Huguenots was a serious economic blow to France. The loss of these people thus helped to bring about the defeat of France by England in the struggle for colonies in the 18th century (Cairns, 1981).

There are many more examples given by Cairns . What he is trying to point out is that fundamentalism hinders progress. From the above arguments, we find that religious fundamentalism constitutes a hindrance to development. The form and nature which Islamic fundamentalism is taking in Algeria in recent times, could retard development severely. The mass killing of the intellectuals, the killing of foreign technical co-operation workers, the closure of schools and the blowing up of public edifices and bridges is a serious setback to development.

It is a well-known fact that the near-defeat of Iran by Iraq in their eight year long war was attributed to a large extent to what happened during the Ayatollah's revolution. During this revolution a lot of Iranian generals lost their lives, some fled and this weakened the Iranian military. Besides many intellectuals were killed or made to flee the country. Religious and tribal violence is a potential danger to any nation. The example of Rwanda and Burundi in recent years cautions us to this danger. Religion as an ideology is profitable only if it helps in the cohesion of a society for a meaningful development. But when it is divided into many conflicting sects, it is dangerous and an obstacle to development.

The final point concerning ideology as discussed by Amin is that in conjunction with the ideological dualism of fundamentalism and westernization, some new ideologies emerged as part of the process of constitution or consolidation of new nations. Where nations inherited from colonialism borders incorporating a highly heterogenous social space in ethnic, linguistic and or religious terms, governments tended to assert nationalist ideology to attempt to unite their nation.

According to Amin in either case specific characteristics and particularities were asserted to different degrees. For Amin, an analysis of these new ideological phenomenon of varying degrees of completeness and spread should be carried out with the aim to relate them to the economic and social changes that occurred in Africa in the 1970s-80s. In order for one to be able to relate these new ideologies to economic and social changes we will first of all have to find an example of these new ideologies that emerged after independence of the African countries. The one that readily comes to mind is Nyerere's ideology of African socialism. This example was never discussed in Amin's works to our knowledge. We will look at this example in chapter 4.

In Tanzania a form of ideology was introduced by Nyerere. Tanzania under the leadership of Nyerere adopted a populists social model of development which favoured rural control of industry over the big capitalist giants. Tanzania placed agriculture in the hands of the peasants, avoiding capital intensive forms of industrialization. People worked communally, shared produce, respected one another. Formal education was perceived as

a facilitator for this form of social organisation. People lived class-free in Ujamaa villages which numbered some 250 households on the average, having a central farm and a small farm for each family. Here a manager was placed at the head of each village. He coordinated production, education, marketing, planning and distribution of seeds, fertilizers, etc. There is no doubt that the efforts did not yield the expected result because the whole programme was a failure according to Webster (1984). The reasons were many: a fall in the prize of cocoa, bad harvests, increase in oil prices, bad organization and under-settlement. Another argument is that Nyerere's faith in resurrected African socialism is naive, because there is little evidence to show that it ever existed according to critics (Webster, 1984). The villagers did not see anything good in what Nyerere was trying to teach them. Thirdly, Nyerere's settlement scheme depended on a wide range of distributions of resources to meet the primary farming requirements of the villagers. Basic tools like spades, hoes, ploughs, cows, oxen, seeds and fertilizers were all needed for communal farming. However, these things were seriously lacking. Besides the people also lacked modern farming knowledge. Sharing on an equal basis was unacceptable to many people because some had refused to work.

Despite the above criticisms it should be noted that Nyerere was trying to plan Tanzanian society in order that their past and their culture would not be forgotten. He proved that Africans are not lacking ideas on how to organize society. Despite all the effort furnished by Nyerere to mobilize the Tanzanians around his African ideology for a continuous and meaningful development, he failed. Among all the various types of

ideologies experimented within Africa, such as socialism in Ghana, Mali, Ethiopia and other states, none continued for a very long time and none got the adherence of the majority of the people needed to effect meaningful development.

3.4 Relation Between Culture and Society

The second important point raised by Amin in his cultural model of development are the issues of culture at the level of society. According to him three key issues are identifiable here: the search for identity, the relationship between labor and technology and the roles of the intellectuals. Amin feels that some cultural changes and economic transformations have taken place due to interactions with the capitalist west. These changes to societies having precapitalist beliefs, attitudes and behaviors brought a crisis of values unprecedented in extent and ferocity. This created the problem for individuals and groups of whom to identify with. People in contact with the west were tempted to identify more with Europeans than with their own people, a tendency which Amin criticizes. The issue of identity is very vital and at the very heart of the cultural dimension of development.

In the West and Japan the material development had the support of internal transformations of social and human relations, which were achieved over a long period of time so that, according to Amin, 'there was no break, but a complex process of a selective repossession of formal cultural components within the context of technological and economic development' (Amin, 1990:98). In Africa the opposite is the case. The

historical circumstances of colonialist penetration and domination from the beginning had the effect of attempting to substitute western culture for traditional cultures. Economic development was imposed on local cultures and transformation of human relations was affected from outside often with ferocious violence. According to Amin, identity, instead of being gradually broken down and slowly rebuilt, was more or less ferociously destroyed without putting in place a compensatory process of new cultural components. That being the case these societies lack cultural components that could support effort towards accumulations and innovations for development. This crisis of values in African societies, according to Amin, had reached a pitch in recent times due to development of capitalism and the inadequacies of development. These inadequacies are accelerated urbanization, whereby many people leave their villages where they are useful and go to the towns in search of non-existing jobs. This swells up the cities with jobless people. Another inadequacy of this capitalist development is the spread of modern forms of production into the countryside resulting in unemployment and social differentiations all of which disrupt the traditional setting of the popular culture. Besides various western cultural influences also disrupt traditional culture.

In the West, according to Amin, the individual climbs out of the disaggregation of traditional collectives but in Africa and the third world climbs into an atmosphere of confusion. In the third world, the impact on social values was less of a gradual change and more a pure destruction of the former culture. Another problem is that the rapid change of social and economic structures fail to give rise to a coherent entity. The

diffusion of new reference systems instead of the old, new social criteria and new aspirations occur at the same time as a revaluation of traditional values. Amin has said :

> "this spontaneous repossession of values in a rapidly changing economic context is purely a holding operation despite its many facets ranging from a simple dullardness of a collective psychology to metaphysical reactivation against the disenchantment of seeing the real world in the 'icy waters of selfish calculations' " (Amin, 1990:99).

This crisis of values of the majority of the people is matched, according to Amin, by a profound cultural alienation of the social elites. Alienation is a situation in which people have the following feelings: meaninglessness, normlessness and powerlessness. The work that the individual is doing, or has to do, is meaningless to him. Also an alienated person feels powerlessness because he cannot change a situation in which he finds himself. There is also the feeling of normlessness when it appears there are no norms in a situation of alienation. Self-estrangement is another result of the situation of alienation. In other words, an alienated person finds it difficult to identify with his people. There is also the feeling of isolation, being cut off from his people. In this case the social elites, according to Amin, are culturally alienated from their societies and their people. All these things come back to the problem of the formation of the intelligentsia. This, in fact, is the essence of the cultural problem, because only the intelligentsia is capable of helping the society to become conscious of itself, and take on its own modernization and development. However, according to Amin, the effectiveness of direct political role of the intelligentsia in the successful modernization is open to discussion, though its role as social critic has always been crucial. Amin uses the terms 'elites',

'intelligentsia' and 'intellectuals' freely and interchangeably, without defining them. As we know it, much of the literature on the intellectuals centers around three often overlapping issues: the definition of the intellectuals, their role in the past and present, and the intellectuals' relationship to society. According to Bensman and Lilienfield the intellectuals have three self-selected tasks: first, to define and assign priority and to cultivate values; second, to criticise society as a means of achieving those values; third, to defend or attack bearers of values as adding to or detracting from the realization of ultimate values (Johnson, 1979).

It is in the light of the above definition that we are going to examine Amin's treatment of the elites. Amin believes that in most African societies the intelligentsia has not been able to organize itself properly. That being the case, the growing number of graduates and intellectual workers with mainly technical duties is not enough to form an autonomous and critical corps of intellectuals, and so cannot carry out the function of criticizing society in the light of ultimate values. According to Amin the training of the elites in Africa encourages few to question the basic economic or administrative systems in place.

It is obvious that some questioning of basic systems does occur. Amin himself is an African intellectual who raises basic questions about culture and development. Frank, Wallerstein, and others also raise basic questions.

Amin also describes the remoteness of these elites which was induced by alienation from their people. This alienation had its root first from the privileged access to the goods and services of the modern economy. Besides it is more affected by the 'extraverted character' of the western educational system. Moreover, because of its inability to form a true intelligentsia, the intellectual elites have been unable to come up with an alternative cultural model to that of the west which they adopt and help to promote. This is made evident when we look at the scantiness of autonomous social study by Africans about their condition and future as a result of both cultural, scientific and technical dependency on the West.

For Amin, in one way the cultural alienation of the elites is an aspect of the crisis of values in society, just as the problems of collective identity are aggravated by the alienation of elites and the lack of an intelligentsia. Amin believes that an analysis of 'mass culture' must be tied to that of the 'elite culture'.

It should be noted that Amin is not the only person who believes that some kind of alienation of the elites or the ruling class exists in Africa. Nnoli (1981) is one of those who share this opinion. He believes that alienation is the cause of backwardness in Africa. His reasons are similar to those of Amin in some ways, but different in other ways. Nnoli identifies some thirteen causes of the Nigerian's alienation which we think are also applicable to other countries in Africa. Some of these are:

1. A divorce between local resources and those essentially foreign that go into the

production of the artifacts usually associated with development; as a result there is alienation from the bio-physical environment and consequently the inability to creatively transform it for benefit and progress.

2. A divorce between those development-oriented artifacts that are procured and created for the consumption of the Nigerians and the basic needs of the people. According to him, though these artifacts are luxuries they have taken precedence over the basic needs of food, water, housing materials, etc. The result of this is alienation from the production process which adversely affects the capacity of the people to be committed to the national task of mobilizing mass energy for development.

3. A system of export that is not based on the sale of surplus goods that are consumed first and foremost by the masses of the Nigerian people. In many cases the export sector has been developed first and foremost for external consumption with local consumption where it exists assuming a secondary interest.

Besides these Nnoli also comments on the problems of alienation of labor. Alienated labor loses its self-liberating and self-extending qualities. In most cases there are two aspects to the alienation of labor. The first is psychological and the other material. At the psychological level labor has a liberating impact because of the various effects arising from creative and disciplined realization of the mental picture of the end products of labor. Consequently labor alienation arises when the worker in his place of work is divorced from continuous contact with the mental image of the end product of

production at all stages in the production process. At the material level, adequate compensation for the creative effort of labor provides a good measure of satisfaction and makes it possible for man to improve his labor power. Materially therefore, the alienation of the labor stems out of the worker being denied an adequate material compensation for his contributions to the end product of production. These and many others are some of the factors that bring about alienation. In the light of Nnoli's comments, Amin's analysis of alienation appears inadequate. Nnoli describes alienation as not just impacting the elites but the entire working population.

Another significant issue raised by Amin is that of technology. Technology is defined as: 'any systematized practical knowledge based on experimentation and or scientific theory, which is embodied in productive skills, organization, machinery.' (Alan, *et al*, 1980:14). The issue of technology is very vital and, according to Amin (1990), is at the heart of the problem of identity. This is because creativity in all forms and technological creativity in particular is one of the main manifestations of people's identity. In all epochs, according to Amin, communities have stamped their own identity on their physical environment, even at the time when the level of development of forces of production was very low; for that reason technology is part of culture.

Contrary to what is happening in the third world, in the Western societies and Japan, technological innovation carries the imprints of attitudes, tastes and values which are appropriate to those societies. The kind of products made, the conception of forms,

including the working methods, the capitalist norms of consumption and production to a certain degree of diversity all reflect national culture. However, in Africa, the development of colonial and post-colonial capitalism has broken the unity between culture and technology, consequently inhibiting national creativity and at the same time imposing an alienating technology. Moreover, in Africa, culture has largely lost its former power of control over nature without managing to achieve a new technological creativity. According to Amin (1990), these are vital issues which deserve a more detailed treatment.

However, this issue of technology in recent years is a complex one. It should be noted here that it is not everyone that shares Amin's views. Western technology which, according to Amin, is alienating is the one that is cherished by many third world leaders and is imposed by the West as the best and the only way of achieving a meaningful development. Transfer of technology from the more advanced countries to less developed ones is believed to be possible both in the West and in the third world. First of all it is believed that third world countries should accept some conditions including those of the I.M.F. and I.B.R.D. in preparation for transfer of technology. Because technological development is central to industrialization, third world countries can learn the mastery of it from the more developed ones. In fact, according to the world development report (1992), the transfer of technology can come to the third world in a variety of forms: sometimes it is embodied in equipment, or imported capital goods; in other instances it is packaged along with equipment, finance and management, as in foreign direct investments; in another way, technology comes unbundled through technical assistance

or technical licenses. Moreover, except for a few processes, there are always several sources of technology available and firms in the third world may benefit by negotiating for the best terms. The report recommends policies to encourage competition, freedom of entry and exit, trade and direct foreign investments. Also, education of the labour force will facilitate its mastery of new technology (*World Development Report, 1992*).

Amin is too simplistic to consider western technology as inherently alienating. There should be ways, as seen in Japan and other Asian countries, that western technology can be introduced in culturally appropriate ways. We believe this is also possible in Africa.

3.5 The Relation Between Culture and State

The State is defined by Fried as 'a geographically delimited segment of human society united by common obedience to a single sovereign'. (*International Encyclopedia of the Social Science,* Vol. 2:150). At the state level, Amin identifies two significant issues. The first are the cultural policies implemented by the African state, and the second are the political conditions for cultural development. It should be noted that when Amin is talking about cultural policy he means 'cultural policies' that could usefully be subjected to a critical survey. These include policies on education, training and scientific research and those policies that encourage the use of national languages. This is because policies of education and training determine the level and character of educational service and its social catchment.

Great attention must be paid to the curriculum and the language of instruction. Amin states that a national language should be used instead of a foreign one, because people understand things better in their own language. Also worthy of attention is literacy, i.e mass education, as education is essential for development. Moreover, the role of the educational system should be looked at as an instrument of cultural, economic and technical development rather than as a means of social promotion and reproduction. The vitality of the national languages should be a subject of particular attention as the experience of encouraging the use of national languages to the north and south of the Sahara could be traced from history. In other words, Amin is saying, long before now both north and south of the Sahara, there was a national language, though he did not specify which languages he had in mind.

The second theme is the political condition for cultural development. This too is very vital because it has a bearing on democracy. According to William (Johnson, 1979) a democratic culture rests on two basic rights. These are the rights to transmit and to receive ideas, a characteristics of African culture. These rights should be very well protected. They should only be tampered with by majority decisions which have been arrived at after open and adequate public discussions. Moreover, in a democracy, the system of communication should be open, that is people should have free access to both transmitting and receiving of ideas. In the struggle for democracy in the 19th century, William (Johnson, 1979) claimed, the dissenting minority had a good access to places where opinions were formed; places like the cheap printing press, the hustings, the

soapbox, the chapels and the public courts.

Besides we know that it is the opinion of many people that the economic progress registered in the west is associated with democracy. Where people are free to elect representatives to parliaments, and trade unions were free to foster the interest of the workers, leaders were encouraged to pay attention to the interest of all parts of the society, not just the ruling class.

Amin made political democracy a pre-condition for the free expressions of cultural pluralism which is commonly found in Africa. However, in African countries the most commonly found situation is cultural pluralism which is founded on ethnic, linguistic and religious bases, which is suppressed by the state authorities out of the fear of imperilling the attempt to consolidate the nation. According to Amin such a repression has negative effects. It exacerbates cultural pluralism and the latter is expressed in clandestine forms which is even more hazardous for national unity. In Amin's opinion the democratization of political and social life fosters a dynamic cultural development in the field of discussions, and in addition, encourages scientific, technical, literary and artistic innovation. However, in many African countries, control over the media expressed in the censorship of literature, theatre, cinema and popular music works to sustain a cultural waste and encourages cultural dependence on the west (Amin, 1990).

In our opinion when Amin is talking about democracy he is really talking about

democracy of the western type. But as we know in Africa, it is the belief of many that the western type of democracy is unsuitable to African temperaments. The idea of a ruler and an opposition leader is unacceptable. Moreover, in a state where the dominant culture is Islamic, western type democracy is not ideal for an Islamic society which is supposed to be theocratic. It is God who chooses the rulers, gives the laws and not the people in Islamic principles. This is applicable to all theocratic states and not only to Islamic States. This is made evident when we read in the Bible, in the book of Joshua, `This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous and then thou shalt have good success'.(Joshua, Chapter 1, verse 8.(K.J.V)). In this verse prosperity and success are equated with development. In a theocratic state, leaders are appointed by God, and prosperity comes from obeying God's law. By contrast, in western state democracy, 'citizens possess a right, effectively enforced by judicial and administrative officials, to freedom of expression including criticism of and opposition to the leaders and party in office' (Scott and Garrison, 1995:178).

3.6 The Example of the Crisis in the Arab World Today

Amin raises a lot of issues concerning Egypt and the Arab world in their struggle for development before the coming of colonialism and after. The need of the *Nahda* in Egypt marked the beginning of a new era in the struggle for development and preservation of culture in Egypt. Arab *Nahda*, according to Amin, is 'a singular

ideological and cultural form of a plan for Egypt and the Arab world' (Amin, 1990:102). According to Amin, *Nahda's* time has passed because it suffers many shortcomings and there are many limitations confronting the region, the western powers' interest in oil and zionism, for instance. *Nahda* was an ideology of the 19th century and was first used by Jamal al-Din al-afghani at the end of the reign of Ali Bey al-Kabir. The aim was to build a modern bourgeois State, that is an objectively bourgeois state. It was therefore, a bourgeois national plan of development. Beside being a plan for development it was also a modernizing movement in language, culture, society and politics. Criticism of custom is found in Qassem Amin's writings on women's liberation, and in the codifications of administrative systems. Amin is of the opinion that it is because of *Nahda* that Egypt and Syria underwent a veritable revolution creating an effective instrument for the revival of Arab unity.

Nahda as on ideology faced a lot of problems, especially if we consider the issue of religion which reveals its historical limitations. The duality for which Mohammed Ali opted, the juxtaposition of modern ideas in the civil domain and a moderately conservative interpretation of Islam in the religious domain was not sufficient. These historical limitations explain, according to Amin, a gradual drift from reformist readings to the current anachronistic fundamentalism. *Nahda* did not decide between the different readings and did not route out the anachronistic nostalgia in which the authorities since Mohammed Ali opted for the duality between reformist and conservative Islam (Amin, 1990).

Another issue raised by Amin here is the opinion that African and Asian societies were incapable of capitalist development. The belief was that they were still too backward or were 'blocked' in the impasse of the notorious 'Asiatic' mode of production. He denied this and labelled it as a bizarre Western-centric reductionism.

According to him, it is a well known fact that in some non-Western or non-European societies as advanced as Europe on the eve of capitalist expansion, the struggles underway were precisely over a possible passage to capitalism, but they were confronted by European expansion which went on to distort the development of these societies and peripheralized them. According to Amin, 18th century Egypt was flourishing, a bustling prelude to an imminent bourgeoisie capitalism. At that time, the Mamelukes were no longer the basic military cells of a tribute-paying organization, but had become a political aristocracy in close symbiosis with trade and manufacturing of Egypt close to the European mercantilist model. The expansions of the internal and external markets had the effects in the Delta of reinforcing private ownership of land, accentuating the differentiation between a (kulak) peasant bourgeoisie and poor and wage earning peasants just as it disrupted the urban populations and began the transition from craft to manufacture. According to Amin, all these violent social changes underlying the collapse of the old ideological, moral and religious order should be seen as a birth of a new culture in Egypt.

It should also be noted that at this time in Egypt there was a struggle between two unequally advanced mercantilist systems, that of France and that of Egypt. One sought the crystallization of an autonomous Egyptian capitalism and the other sought the peripheralization of Egypt. This struggle encouraged France's invasion of Egypt. The reasons for France's invasion were two-fold: the first, its anxiety to re-institute an empire after the losses of 1763, and another reason because of its shortfalls in cereals. France's agricultural backwardness was a handicap to overall capitalist development, as the famine on the eve of the French revolution shows. In fact, Marseille imported a lot of cereals from Egypt for the need of France's Midi. Besides this was the conflict for the control of the rapidly growing trade between French and Egyptian mercantilism.

According to Amin, the aim of Napoleon in Egypt was initially supported by the plebian bourgeoisie in order to destroy the Mameluke state, but when it put Egyptian trade under its tutelage by turning to Levantine Christians, it alienated and eventually lost that bourgeoisie. Mohammed Ali fell into the same mistake. He too relied on the big foreign traders and Levantine Christians as he sought to modernize his administration and army with the assistance of foreign technicians, relinquishing the broad alliance with the plebian bourgeoisie; consequently he destroyed their economic status. In the countryside he reintroduced the tribute-paying mode of production and through a trading monopoly established control over production and markets. In addition, in the towns he replaced enterprises of the bourgeoisie with state manufacture. His reason for all this is that he observed that a wide gap exists between Egypt and Europe and he felt modernization for

the army was a vital instrument to give Egypt autonomy.

In concluding this section we have noticed that a lot of efforts were made by various Egyptian leaders to develop in their own way, but the advent of colonialism demolished everything and finally drove Egypt into peripheralization and underdevelopment. The whole of the discussion about Egypt is summarized by Amin into three main points:

First, Islam is a social reality and like Christianity or any other ideology, is flexible and susceptible to various interpretations according to the evolution of social needs and the strategies of the social forces confronting various issues, taking into account the amorphous local class structures.

Second, Moslem societies in the past had accomplished a great cultural revolution, thanks to which Islam was able to adapt to the demand of the management of advanced societies of the orient.

Third, the cultural renovation and re-construction in the Arab nation had not been welded together before it was confronted with the advent of colonialism (Amin, 1990).

We have seen Amin's analysis of culture and ideology, where he rightly states that an ideology that goes against the cultural values of the majority is not a valid base for

development, however effective it may seem. He comments that fundamentalism can come out of the desire of the population to assert their culture in the face of change. But we have seen that fundamentalism is not merely a modern phenomenon.

At the level of culture and society, Amin describes the problems of identity and alienation, and the inadequacy of the elites in most third world countries. We have seen as well that alienation from one's own culture is not only a problem of the elites.

At the level of culture and the state, one could question whether Amin himself pays enough attention to culture. His discussion of national languages assumes that there is one single national language for each nation, which ignores the multilingual reality of many third world nations. In his discussions of democracy as well, he does not seem to consider whether there could be valid democracies other than the western type.

Despite the fact that Amin claims to deal with culture of the third world, his discussions are centered on Egypt and the Arab world. This is insufficient for the explanation of culture and development in other parts of the third world. It is also observed that Islam and Islamic fundamentalism dominate his discussions. No mention of other African countries' religion is made in his work. There is no gainsaying that other people's culture affect their development which Amin left out completely. These areas will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

A CRITIQUE OF AMIN'S IDEAS ON CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

4.1 Introduction

There are cultural issues that affect development that one would expect Amin to have discussed in his work under our investigation but to our knowledge he neglected or only briefly mentioned them. These issues include democracy, the media, the law, and gender. In recent years these are considered by many thinkers as essential to development. Amin also neglected to comment on one other weakness of modernization theory, which we will examine in the section on superstition.

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4.2 African Ideas of Democracy

Just as there are differences in people's cultures in the world so also there are differences in the meaning they give to the word 'democracy'. The meaning Africans assign to the word 'democracy' is quite different from the meaning the Europeans or the Asians give to the same word. Amin never discussed African concepts of democracy.

The origin of the word is traceable to ancient Greece but neither the Europeans, the Africans nor anybody else has the exclusive right to the term as a label for their own version of rule by the people or government in accordance with the will of the majority of the people. Many other parts of the world insist they have a genuine historical claim to the word 'democracy'. It is a well known fact that both the former eastern bloc

communist countries and many third world countries claimed that their systems of governments were democracies. This being the case, democracy need not be viewed only from the European perspective only. Consequently the examination of the history of other cultures will contribute greatly to our understanding of the meaning of democracy.

Amin in his treatment of the issue of democracy fails completely to point out that for modern Africans, democracy is completely different from that of Europeans. It is of vital importance to examine the influence of traditional African culture on the ideas of modern Africans regarding the concept of democracy. When we are talking about African concepts of democracy we realize that it means different things to different Africans, just as it does not mean the same thing to all Europeans. This is made obvious when we refer to the *New Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 3:458, which identifies four types of democracies: direct democracy, representative democracy, liberal or constitutional democracy and social or economic democracy. In Africa it means different things to different people as Aboyade notes:"democracy is a part of the traditions of our various people... it is rooted in our past" (Aboyade In: Salau, 1997:170).

One person that readily comes to mind concerning this issue is Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanzania (1961-1985), who believes that African societies were not only democratic but they practised democracy of the socialist kind. In the immediate post-colonial period Nyerere and other African leaders continued to argue that their political systems were democratic in nature in spite of the one-party system which was enveloping

Africa. These leaders always referred to traditional African societies as democratic to justify the practices of one party rule then prevalent in the continent. It should be noted that the multiparty system is of a recent development even in Europe. Julius Nyerere argued that traditional African democracy was closer to the original Greek meaning of the term than the Westminster model of the British. It should be noted that the essence of both traditional and modern democracy was 'talking until you agree'; that is free discussion among equals which would produce a people's decision. The lack of an organized opposition did not in any way hamper the democratic nature of villages where discussing the issues of state was done under a tree. In fact, aristocracy rather than the one party state was seen as the antithesis of democracy (Okello, 1997).

In Africa, just as in the Europeans' view, the idea of democracy was fundamentally opposed to government by force. Moreover, it is inconsistent with the rule of a hereditary clique, those who were considered to be the best by birth. Choice between candidates matters less than an emphasis of equality and freedom of discussions which was seen as the essential component of democracy. This is axiomatic when one turns to traditional African societies as a model for contemporary African politics. This is the reason why people like Nyerere wanted to avoid imitation of alien ideas and practices and look to African traditions and culture for inspirations and guidance. Nyerere believes that not only democracy, but socialism, had roots in Africa's precolonial past. To Africans both democracy and socialism were systems whereby the people shared equally in the decision-making processes, in the production of goods and services and, of course, the

distribution of the wealth of the nation.

People like Nyerere argued that traditionally, the Africans ruled themselves in the general interest of the collectivity as a whole and did not divide themselves into classes with opposing interests. This egalitarian ideal is what Nyerere called in Swahili (Ujamaa) (Okello, 1997).

Other African rulers like Leopold Sedar Senghor, Jomo Kenyata, and Kwame Nkrumah had similar views as Nyerere. For them a single party system was a manifestation of the people's choice and therefore, was democratic. It was through elections that their parties came to power. The result of these elections were seen as the expression of a unified genuine will of the people for independence and economic development. Moreover, it was generally argued that this unity of purpose reproduced the communalism of earlier African societies (Hendrickson, 1997).

4.2.1 The Means of Attaining African Socialism

In the West the major view held by the Marxists on how to attain a socialist state was through a violent revolution through which the proletariat overthrew the bourgeoisie by the force of arms. This is not the view held by some African socialists. Nyerere in 1968 argued that Africans should not see the use of violence as the only means available for creating a socialist society simply because Karl Marx had seen the use of violent revolution by the proletariat in Europe as the central impulse for creating socialism out

of fully developed capitalistic European economies. According to Nyerere, most intellectuals accept the broad historical reality that African economies are not like fully developed European capitalist economies, and African leaders should not be paralyzed from inventing new creative paths of development by indulging in the wishes that their economies should become what they are not. According to him this would amount to profound political irresponsibility; consequently he called for a revolution through the means of evolution. According to Okello (1997), Nyerere's views imply that the political bureau ought to under-take a return to those positive collective principles, values and ideals which over the centuries governed collective living within various communities in Africa. "In rejecting Marx's worship at the shrine of revolutionary violence, Nyerere sought to form his theoretical roots in those principles which have for centuries governed familyhood in Africa (Ujamaa)" (Okello, 1997:46).

However, the views presented above are not shared by all African political leaders. The idea of democracy in overwhelming unity expressed by many is not shared by some people like Busia (Hendrickson, 1997). He accepted the characterization of traditional African societies as democratic because he agreed that there were institutions for the choice and deposition of rulers, for the expressions of grievances, and for their settlement in some precolonial African societies as well as checks and balances to prevent arbitrary authoritarianism. However, he did not believe that the unity of African traditional societies, which was based on conformity, was possible or even desirable under present circumstances. Plurality instead of unity is the reality of modern African societies and this

necessitates tolerance of diversity if the society is to be democratic. Busia argued further that in traditional societies all members held the same religious beliefs, shared in the same rituals and held the same views about the universe. This last point in our opinion is questionable i.e., whether people in traditional societies did not have different religious beliefs and different opinions about the universe. This uniformity is, certainly, absent in modern nation states of Africa and had repercussions on modern ideas of democracy.

Busia believes that forcing a unity where one no longer exists is clearly a denial of the freedom of individuals to think and act differently from their neighbors. For him the test of democratic regimes in Africa does not depend on diversity of parties, but the freedom of the individuals. In the absence of opposition parties there was a greater need for the existence of intermediate organizations instead of a monolithic single party organization which claims to have a monopoly of the truth. For Busia, while African ideas of democracy certainly did exist, and Africans had the right to evolve institutions which fit them best in their historical and social contexts, he insisted that systems which do not allow individual freedom cannot be called democracies. His concern here is that of Henry Odera who has criticized using the adjective 'African' not to designate a particular variant of a general idea, but to express what is actually a negation of the general idea. No one wants what is really a dictatorship to be accepted as an example of African democracy (Odera, 1972).

4.2.2 Major Ancient Cultures and Democracy in Africa

There are classical cultures which had formed over the centuries and had either eventually flourished into empires and centralized monarchies or were institutionalized as horizontal societal organizations. Examples of the first group include the Songhai empire, and Bunyoro Kitara while the second group are represented by the Balante, Tiv and the Nuer. They are sometimes called segmentary or stateless by anthropologists. These classical cultures had their own set of elites who acted as managers and spokesmen. Samir Amin never discussed the democracy practised in these cultures. In order to understand the relationship of culture and democracy one needs to look back at the evolution of African societies over centuries. The literature on African classical political forms has primarily focussed on those structures which performed the functions of organizing and exercising power in society. It should be noted here that cultures are classified in two categories, that of state-centered and segmentary cultures. Segmentary cultures are also called acephalous and have hierarchical arrangements of power managers. Among the state centred societies recent findings by historians enable us to differentiate between those forms which were based primarily on the intensive exploitation of their own peasantry and those which supported its ruling classes through exploiting the labor of slaves taken from conquered neighboring areas. Examples of this second type are ancient Egypt and Kanem Borno. These societies were not only well organized, but were democratic to some degree. The ruler did not do as he liked, but was under heavenly injunction to use power in order to ensure collective prosperity, security, survival and general happiness for the people, and failure to do so was punishable by

constitutionally sanctioned assassination of the ruler and thus ensuring the returns of power to the service of the general welfare of the people. This method of removing a ruler is not democratic, in our opinion, as it violated one of the fundamental human rights, the right to life.

In Ngwawkor, a ruler was regarded as the custodian of cults and so he was held to be the depository of life and prosperity of the people. Officials known as the *Baleka* kept the seeds for the people. The whole life revolved around the ruler. Misfortunes like epidemics and bad harvest or drought were usually attributed to the failure of the Balekas to observe rituals or taboos and usually led to their removal from office, showing there were means of removing rulers.

In the stateless societies, the central principle gave each individual a measure of power, and sought to prevent individuals from marshalling influence or wealth to acquire a permanent position of power over others (Okello, 1997).

In opposition to the European ideas of African leaders as savage despots with absolute power of life and death over their subjects, Sarbah and Heyford (1968) presented a picture of African societies that were not unlike constitutional monarchies. In their discussions of African political structures Sarbah refers to a national constitution and Heyford to a native State system meaning that they existed long before the coming of the whites. Both argued that the powers of African chiefs or kings were limited by certain

rights of the people. There were councils of traditional African societies which imposed checks on the rulers and provide a balance of power. Every adult male had the right to be represented in the state councils. According to Heyford, these rights were not only fully recognized, but they were guaranteed. In fact, according to Sarbah, any person of respectable status in the community could attend the court of the people, or of the rulers and counsellors. People had also the right of free trial and the people had the right to demand that a case be heard by the counsellors. Sarbah asserted that in the public deliberations of any matter affecting the country each family chose its head men and leaders had the right to be present and be heard through well-defined channels. In fact they concluded that the authority of the rulers was derived from the sovereign will of the people. These rights include: the right of representation, the right to elect rulers, the right to depose them when they fail to execute the will of the people, these were all components of customary law and were clearly examples of democratic forms of government (Sarbah and Heyford, 1968).

From the above arguments it is made clear that the Europeans' claim of introducing good systems of government and democracy is ill-founded. In fact, it is the belief of many that colonial political systems were undemocratic. According to Okello (1997), colonialism consciously created political, economic and social changes, but they were not changes towards democratization of Africa or other parts of the third world. According to him, the cardinal political principle of colonial rule is that colonialism was essentially a regime of organized economic warfare through the use of military

dictatorships. These conditions endured from 70 to 500 years in Portuguese and British colonies respectively. These colonies were both established and run by military governors in the provinces and districts. According to Okello, the civilianization of British and French administrations after the 1930s did not alter the rooting of power and authority in military force and its use to repress the protests against perpetuation of economic warfare against the colonized people. According to him the eventual introduction in some colonies of limited municipal district and regional electoral representative councils mainly after 1950, did not significantly enhance the influence of popular economic interests and wishes. Moreover, colonial military force was constantly used against the people. The claim by the apologists of colonialism that it taught democratic principles has no historical basis. Even the overthrow of civilian rulers by the military in post-independence African politics had its root in the colonial overthrow of the ancient elites found running the various classical political formations. Colonial administration was undemocratic because it governed without the consent of the African people.

The second important political condition of colonialism is that it undertook intensive economic exploitation without allowing accumulation of capital by either the traditional elites or new administrative functionaries. This was a great hindrance to development. The colonizers imported Asiatics, Greeks and so on, to act as commercial classes (Okello, 1997). These facts, and many others leave no doubt in our minds that colonialism did not by any means serve as a basis for democracy in Africa. According to Salau (1997), countries which barely 200 years ago were under one type of serfdom

and inequality when many empires in Africa and Asia blossomed under a benevolent ruler and rule of law should not see themselves as the bastions and definers of democracy.

4.3 The Role of the Media

The role of the Media is very significant in the issues of democracy and development. It is the means that is used in all cultures for the dissemination of ideas from the ruling to the ruled and vice-versa. Samir Amin discussed only briefly the role of the media. Its importance is enormous in recent years as governments use it for both development of their own country and destabilization of other countries. Modern means of communication are a constant danger to many cultures in the third world today. It is clear that due to the present level of technological development of communication, the whole world is becoming a global village where communication is controlled by one small part of humanity. The ownership of this technology and its control is also engendered by economic power which ultimately sustains or lead to political and cultural domination. This is what leads to the dependence on the West and not internal censorship of the National media as Amin believes.

Some people like Schiller (1970) observe that everywhere local culture faces submersion in the mass produced outpouring of commercial broadcasting, notably from the West over which the third world countries have no control. The great exposure or the

cultural contact with the outside world is causing major problems to developing nations in their bid for development and the maintaining of their cultural heritage. It has to be noted that the mass media even in the so called democratic societies of the West operate within the confines of their political institutions, consequently there is nothing wrong for a sovereign State in Africa to censor whatever menaced the survival of its sovereignty or unity.

There are varieties of ways in which the mass media can help in our development and in making our cultures subserve democracy in our environments. In this continent the media essentially comprises two categories: the print media, newspapers, magazines, and the like, and the broadcasting media, radio and television. The most common situation is that the latter is owned by the State though recently there have been some private ownership of radio stations in some African countries. As for the print-media its ownership is mostly in private hands. However, whether public or private the media or mass communications are assumed to have subscribed to the corporate existence of the country concerned. This implies that whatever their differences in their interpretations of events and issues the media must operate in the overall national interest. This assumption of overall national interest connotes a recognition of the fact that there are different subgroups and interests within the polity. These interests or subgroups may be national, ethnic, religious or occupational which the media try to represent and defend.

However, due to manipulation from outside the media has been the greatest means

of causing dissension and chaos in the third world. Salau (1997) is of the opinion that in Nigeria where inter-ethnic clashes are rampant the media should be careful in giving figures about loss of lives and the exact identities of the people involved. According to him, the tragic events of 1966 were exacerbated by the report that Hausa were being killed in the Ibo parts of Nigeria. Moreover Salau believes that just as democracy in the true Western sense does not fit into our cultural environments, the media does not and cannot properly function within the emerging countries of the third world as it does in the west. According to him the problem is not so much the media themselves which he believes are mere instruments, but the people who operate them are products of different subgroups in the society with varying interests and that unless and until these groups are imbued with the spirit of national interest over and above those of their groups the media will not contribute much in issues of development (Salau, 1997).

Dahl states "In a democracy, people should have an effectively enforced right to gain access to sources of information that are not monopolized by the government or any other single group" (Dahl In: Scott and Garrison, 1995:178). The media must serve the true interests of the country, not outside interests, but must at the same time not merely serve the ruling class.

4.4 Culture, Development, Democracy and Law

This section will discuss the role played by law in relation to issues of development. Samir Amin did not discuss the role of law in development.

For development to occur in all societies at all times there should not only be a good government, but also good laws that guide and regulate various functions which operate in that society. In fact, one reason given why development occurred in the west is that not only was there good organization of government, but there were also excellent laws which operated for the harmonious functioning of their societies. The same people claim that lack of good laws in the third world is a major contributing factor to chaos and underdevelopment. They also claim that it is difficult, if not impossible, for a population where the majority of the people are illiterate to have good understanding of laws and to see the need of respecting them. In other words breaking of laws is much more rampant in the countries of the third world than in the developed western societies. It is true that for any political society to be stable and make a sustainable progress in its development effort, there has to be a balance between culture, law and democracy. That is to say law and democracy are instruments for realizing societal aspirations and goals for the ultimate objectives of protecting and improving the well being of humanity. Thus culture, law and democracy are inseparable and will always have to work together if development is to take place. Moreover, the efficiency of law and democracy in any given society is largely determined by the cultural climate of that society. According to Ayua (1997), the cultural elements such as values and attitudes that bind the society together determine both the place of law and that of democracy as a whole. To this effect Friedman says: 'it is the legal culture which is the network of values and attitudes relating to law that determines when and why and where people turn to law or government or turn away' (Friedman, 1969).

From the foregoing discussions, it should be noted that the existence of good laws and the rule of law are essential ingredients for harmony and development. For law to be able to function positively it must possess the following characteristics:

(a) regulation of the conduct and relations of people in the context of rapid and fundamental changes taking place in society;

(b) reflection of the values of the society it serves, otherwise it will be largely irrelevant to the lives of the people and be ignored. However, it should now be less a recorder of established social, commercial and other customs, but rather take account of the fact of change;

(c) creation of favourable conditions in which desirable social development can take place. There is no doubt at all that these are of vital importance for meaningful development to be underwritten.

The greatest problems facing the third world countries in the area of democracy and legality is contact with the outside world. The indigenous cultures which functioned on a common basis were, with the interactions of the Arab and the European colonialists, forced to adopt elements of other cultures from Europe and other parts of the world. That being the case, these countries have composite cultures made up of not only their indigenous cultures, but foreign cultures manifesting themselves in various forms. This is notable in these countries as Western values and practises, social, commercial, legal, political or administrative structures have officially become part of the cultures of

colonized people.

4.4.1 The Meaning of Law.

There is no single acceptable definition of law. Force and Baum (1982:1) state "Law is the glue that binds society together, both guaranteeing freedom and liberty, and preserving order". This is essential for development. For others this is not an acceptable definition and that law means more than that. What seems apparent to all is that law is difficult to define, but that it could be described and explained.

One of several attempts to explain law is the historical school. According to the historical school, law has already attained a fixed character peculiar to a people in their manners, languages and constitution. In this context great emphasis is placed on customs and traditional practices and acceptances rather than on legislation, especially in the form of a code. The problem here is how will this school react to the importation of foreign laws to Africa and the third world. Another issue no less important is whether legal change is possible or even probable. The main criticism that could be made against this school is that it idealized the past and tends to bind tradition like fetters upon the hands of reformative enterprise.

Another view of law is that law is produced by the ruling power in society. According to legal positivists, law is nothing but rules and commands laid down by the state. According to Ayua (1997), the fundamental assumption in principle here is that

of the law as it is and the law as it ought to be. This school therefore, implies a strict separation of law from ethics and social policies thereby identifying justice with legality. The major problem here is that this conception of law does not address itself to the question of using law as an instrument of social change.

Others are of the opinion that the principle of utility is the ultimate test of law and the task of law in society is the satisfaction of human events and desires. Consequently law is seen as social engineering which is the hall mark of sociological jurisprudence. According to the realist movement in African jurisprudence, law is a body of facts rather than a system of rules, as on-going institutions rather than a set of norms. That is to say, what judges, attorneys, police and prison officers actually do about law cases is the law itself. Thus law has no separate existence as a concept but only as a series of factual occurrences. Law is not what it is, but what it does. This approach makes it possible to use law to achieve social change.

Marx and Engels, the founders of modern socialism, asserted that law is a product of evolving economic forces. For them law is determined by economic factors and that it is part of the superstructures erected above an economic base. On this view the idea of law as an independent social force or as impartial is illusory. It is then asserted that law is of a class character and is created by the ruling class, thus it is tied to the economic interests of that class. Moreover, in capitalist societies both sides in any dispute make claims of private property in conflict. Marx and Engels assert that with the

triumph of communism law will become 'functus officio' and disappear together with the disappearance of the ruling class. This theory of law has led many socialists to reach the conclusion that law is the instrument of the status quo having little or no relevance to revolutionary changes. But the matter here is that this conception of law is too unrealistic and ambiguous to be of much value to developing third world countries or even the developed ones (Ayua, 1997:112).

4.4.2 The Concept of The Rule of Law

Rule of law is regarded by many authorities as a high premium and as the hallmark of democratic societies. The rule of law is conceptualized in these terms, the certainty that one is free from arrest unless charged with some recognized crime; the certainty that one will be given fair trial before an impartial tribunal; freedom of opinion and speech, freedom of association; and protection from arbitrary interference on the part of the authorities. The 'rule of law' is therefore, associated with equality before the law; the preservation of the individuals liberties and the upholding of the democratic principles, (Ahire, 1997). Aristotle, seeing the importance of the rule of law, said "he who bids the law rule may be deemed to bid God and reason above rule, but he who bids man's rule adds an element of the 'beasts'" (Aristotle In: Macridis, 1980). Another person who defines the rule of law is Dicey in his seminar work in 1915. He defined law as :

> absolute supremacy of predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of arbitrary power, equality before the law, or equal subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land administered by the ordinary law courts and the constitution of the right of individuals as defined and

defined and enforced by courts.

For law to encourage development, it must allow enough individual freedom for individuals to change and meet new challenges while maintaining order so that society does not collapse. Thus, every segment of development has law that guide it to its conclusive end. Economic development has its own laws. For instance, in financial transactions one needs colateral security to get loan faciities from the banks, whose main purpose is profit-making. But, the law of colateral security has deprived many people, particularly the less privileged ones from getting loan facilities. Thus, if economic development is to include the rural areas and the urban poor, something has to be done. In Nigeria, this prompted the government to establish the People's Bank. The establishment, by law, of the People's bank, by the government has for once broken the monopoly of the commercial banks since the less privileged ones, by simply constituting themselves into a cooperative society, can obtain loan from the People's ank without any colateral, and payment done between a convenient period of between two to three years at a lower interest rate than commercial banks.

Hayek (1944), in his observation of this definition identifies two interrelated elements from this definition: the first is legality, and the second due process. In his opinion legality imposes restraint on the definition of criminal conduct by requiring that the legal standard should meet strict tests of specificity and clarity, should act only prospectively and should be construed in favor of the accused. For him due process embodied requirements that the adversarial process of trial should be conducted with

scrupulous fairness to minimize the chances of convicting the innocent (Hayek, 1944).

Even in recent years, the concept of the rule of law is a subject over which controversy and misunderstanding from different quarters is making difficult to comprehend. There are at least two lines of argument: The liberal/conservatives, (both within and outside government) who portray this notion in lofty and Utopian terms, and yet manage to rationalize incredible political repression in its name. On the other hand we have pious radicals who impatiently discard this as high sounding and mystifying 'bourgeoisie ideology'. Although both of these have some points of truth, they missed out something significant. The rule of law is vital in development but is not the only vital thing. Contemporary commentaries of liberals/conservatives on the rule of law is based on the premises of the social contract formulation of their 18th century predecessors. It is argued that the state did not pre-date the individual, but that it is the individuals that freely and voluntarily created the sovereign state to play the limited role of protecting the roles and liberties of free and equal citizens. In this view coercion by the State is therefore, limited to the minimum. This is granted by the consensus of free and rational citizens as Young (1981) sees it. From this viewpoint, the state is seen as the benevolent third party that merely holds pluralistic interests in equilibrium in a contractual society. For them law itself emerges from their conceptual formulations as the benevolent neutral and impartial center of gravity ensuring fair-play in the conduct of social activities within the social system. Those who enforce it are also deemed to be indiscriminately fair to all and in addition to be constrained by legal rules (Ahire, 1997:102).

It is a well known fact that the whole notion of the social contract theory in capitalist society is wrong. This viewpoint ignored the complex heterogeneity of the social structures, and the social antagonisms generated in these societies. It goes without saying in all societies, and in capitalist societies in particular, that the state is not a neutral and benevolent third party that protects the rights of all citizens fairly. Such a formulation ignores the fact that the state is a complex institutional ensemble of forms of representation and intervention which reflect the balance of class forces in society. That is to say, the capitalist state is constituted by a collection of apparatus like the army, police, courts, prisons and mass media. These perpetuate class rule to the extent permitted by the balance of class forces. What should be noted here is Thompson's (1975) view that law is not the natural and beneficial outfit that it is thought to be. The law should be regarded as part of the superstructure adapting itself to the necessities of an infrastructure of productive forces and productive relations. That being the case it is clearly an instrument of the *de facto* ruling class. In fact, Thompson and many other Marxists believe that law has a class basis and it therefore protects and defends ruling class elements more than subordinate class elements. The liberal notion of equality before the law is therefore seen as a hoax which confuses formal with substantive equality. Young (1981) notes that there can be no equality before the law against the background of massively unequal distribution of advantages and disadvantages.

From the foregoing arguments is it that the 'rule of law' is mere 'bourgeois ideology' as the radicals suggest? The answer, of course, should be, no. Despite all those

arguments against the liberals/conservative orthodoxy, the 'rule of law' is more than a mystifying bourgeois ideology for the following reasons:

Firstly, in every society there is a degree of some regularity and stability that is guaranteed by the law for all. The constitutionally guaranteed right to life, free speech, association and religious worship are not mere ideology. They represent concrete political gains of subordinate groups, and can be made meaningful if these groups remain politically conscious and vigilant. To this effect Sumner (1980), decried the error in Marxists' political theory that denigrates the struggle for civil rights as mere reformism.

Secondly, viewed in terms of the independence of the law from gross manipulation, the 'rule of law' can be said to exist to some degree in most societies. The essential precondition for the effectiveness of the law in legitimizing class rule is that it should display some degree of autonomy from the ruling class. Thompson notes that `if the law is evidently partial and unjust, then it will mask nothing, legitimize nothing and contribute nothing to any class hegemony'.

Thirdly, viewed in terms of its ability to restrain the excesses of those in power, the 'rule of law' is much more than mere rhetoric. Whether willingly or unwillingly, those in power are prisoners of their own game. They must be seen to be playing the game or the game will break down. In fact, even despots and military dictatorships are compelled to flirt with the 'rule of law' (Ahire, 1997).

4.5 Gender And Culture in Issues of Development

In recent years there has been a lot of debate about the issue of gender in development. It is stated that some western countries are more developed because they involve their female population in more aspects of development than other countries and that cultural factors play a significant role in the degree of this involvement (Hulme and Turner, 1989: 96). "Women and girls constitute one half of the world population and one third of the official labor force, perform nearly two thirds of work hours, but according to some estimates receive only one tenth of the world's income and less than 1/100 of the world property" (Hulme and Turner, 1989:90).

Amin did not discuss how culture affects the issue of gender in development. From this viewpoint, women play more active roles in economic, social and other areas in the countries of the West than third world countries. It is believed that to neglect women is a big mistake in development planning. The contemporary women's movement all over the world is complaining that women are not being treated as equal citizens throughout the world, and that the issue is worst off in the so-called third world. These movements claim that one of their historic missions is to totally emancipate women from the shackles of sexual, social, economic and intellectual imprisonment imposed on them by traditional societies. The goal of these movements includes: giving women equal rights, emancipating them from the yoke of domestic services, emancipating them from the burden of rearing children, emancipating them from dependence on their husband as their provider and commander, to give them a new society and break the shackles

completely which tie them to the old. The leaders of these movements had thought to reject the two most frequently offered explanations for the existence of sexual inequality. On the one hand it rejected the usual innate explanation which assumes the genetic inferiority of women, as well as those that attribute the social differentiations of women to their biological differentiations. It also rejected a currently prevalent social explanation that represents this system as a conscious or unconscious attempt by men to exploit women. In most cases this sexual inequality is attributed to what is usually called 'biological tragedy of women' (Spiro and Melford, 1980). This dramatic expression refers to the social and cultural restraints imposed on women by virtue of the mammalian reproductive system, since they bear children and since as mothers they have the major responsibility for caring for them, which is termed the yoke of domestic service, while men are free to work in extra-domestic domains. The system of sex role differentiation was held to be the core of sexual inequality and from this core all its other facets are believed to follow.

Firstly, since men work in higher status extra-domestic occupations while women are restricted to lower status domestic work, women are inferior to men in the social domain. Secondly, restricted to non-income producing work, the wife is economically dependent upon her husband, so that women are subordinate to men in the domestic domain, as a consequence of their economic dependency. The wife's social status is

merged with that of her husband so that the woman's identity as a social person is submerged in his.

Thirdly, because domestic responsibilities consume all their time and energy, women have neither leisure nor motivation to pursue positions of political leadership. Hence they are subjected to the authority of men in the political domain. Finally and for the same reason women rarely have the opportunity to express their intellectual and artistic talents so they are subject to the authority of men in the cultural domain. According to western political analysts the situation of women is worse off in the third world countries. They do not go back to history to read about some female political leaders in Africa and the third world. Queen Amina of Zaria, for instance, in those years and, in recent times, Indira Gandhi of India, Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, just to mention a few.

In addition to these are five areas in which equality can be tested. First, for any category of social actors is recruitment to the various specialties being based on systematically discriminatory qualifications?; second, even if it is not discriminatory, does the recruitment system result in the allocation of any category of social actors to culturally defined low status occupation?; third, for any category of social actors does the allocation result in discriminatory or inequitable reward structures?; fourth, for any category of social actors does the allocation result in discriminatory or inequitable working conditions?; fifth, regardless of the assessments of outside observers does any

category of social actors perceive the system by any of the above criteria to be discriminatory?

Having these criteria and the previous ones in mind let us examine the issue of sexual division of labor in the third world. In our first criterion, women in developing countries and some economically disadvantaged women in the cities of some industrial nations experienced some kinds of sexual specializations by which women became increasingly concentrated in education, nursing and service branches while heavy engineering and giant agricultural projects, for instance, are mostly men's business. There is a belief that women have a biological disadvantage in agriculture. However, this was not the case in pre-colonial Africa because women participated fully in agricultural activities.

Looking at the second criterion, the economic reward is discriminatory in some cases where women are forced to take low paying jobs due to lack of education and appropriate training. Their status is considered to be very low in the third world countries. This point will be highlighted later.

In the third criterion, women experienced discrimination in the field of employment. Many are unwilling to hire women because they feel the women will soon leave for maternity leave. In addition to that they are not rewarded like their male counterparts with promotions to high posts like directors and managers for instance.

In the fourth criterion, some discriminatory and inequitable working conditions do exist. Notably in some works like cooking, sewing and laundries which in most cases are female jobs in which they lack facilities like air-conditioning even in hot climates.

Considering the fifth criterion, the answer is,'yes, women feel that some of the jobs they do are less prestigious compared to those of the men, e.g. farming is more prestigious than cooking or child nursing'.

A recent study (Jacobson, In: *State of the World*, 1992:98,99) has found out that women in the third world countries are proportionately disadvantaged in many areas of life. They are disproportionately poor, illiterate and politically powerless. In fact, they face major risk factors for poor maternal health, including illiteracy, poverty and poor nutrition. While a given death can always be traced back to a medical condition, the real causes are rooted deeply in the social, cultural and economic barriers faced by females in the third world throughout their lives. Indeed, the condition into which a female infant is born may determine her later fate in pregnancy. Take, for instance, the case of an individual female born in Angola, India, Peru or virtually any other developing country. If she survives infancy, this girl, according to this study, will likely grow up on a diet that does not meet her nutritional requirement. As a child she will work for several hours each day assisting her mother by tending seedlings, collecting water and fire wood, herding small animals, weeding the fields or selling the wares in the market place. Unlike her brother's tasks these duties will receive little or no formal remuneration. She will

almost inevitably receive insufficient nourishment to compensate for the energy expended in daily chores, not to mention for proper growth and development. Her parents will likely plan to have her married in her teens. Later in life, she is taught, her main role in life will be to bear and rear as many children as God brings or her husband desires.

Girls in developing countries are nutritionally disadvantaged by their very citizenship. Data compiled by UNICEF, for example, indicates malnutrition is far more prevalent among female than male in the developing countries for reasons that have to do with gender rather than geography.

Discrimination in the allocation of food as well as health care and education is a wide-spread and well-documented practice. In most of south Asia, for example, where there is a strong preference for male children, the value of females diminish. Girls are perceived as a risky investment in these cultures for a number of reasons, including the sizable dowry their parents usually must provide to prospective husbands in Asian countries. Studies from Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan indicate that boys consistently receive more and better food than their sisters although the nutritional needs of pre-puberty boys and girls are virtually identical. A maternal health report from Lesotho asserts that the major contributor to poor nutritional status of women is the tradition of feeding men and boys before the women and girls so the nutritious food is served to the male members of the family and the females will then have left-overs. Moreover women, having internalized their status, will feed themselves less in the face

of limited food and last in most circumstances even when pregnant.

According to the same study traditional practices and superstitions about food also contribute to women's poor nutritional status. In parts of southern Africa, for example, pregnant women are expected to avoid eggs in the belief that they cause convulsions in children. Certain vegetables and fruits are off-limits for similar reasons. Throughout the middle east and Africa, pregnant women curtail their in-take of food in the belief that this will lead to a small foetus, and easy labor. Food taboos, curbing or forbidding pregnant women's taking of eggs, fish, fruits, vegetables, meat and even milk are common in south Asia as well .

The neglect of women is an obvious shortcoming in development, and one that relates to culture in that the cultural roles defined for men and women is the main cause of their being neglected. That Samir Amin never discusses this issue is a shortcoming in his work.

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4.6 Superstition

Samir Amin made several criticisms of modernization theory. One weakness in modernization theory that he failed to point out is the assertion that underdeveloped countries are more superstitious than developed countries. There is evidence that superstition is present in developed countries, also modernization theory lumps all

developing cultures together, even though superstitions or beliefs about a particular thing may be quite different in West Africa from what they are in East Africa or Asia.

Another argument against the belief of the modernization theorists is that Europe and America have not done away with all their superstitious beliefs in order to develop. Superstitious beliefs still exist in those countries as they exist in all countries of the world. To illustrate this last point let us take just one quotation from Wilmington (1977:435,436) when he said:

> if we could be transported back to London in the year 1666, we would find ourselves in a nightmare world. The great bubonic plague is at its height. The sights and sounds of the city are like the terrible climax of a horror movie. It is generally believed that fresh air is the culprit. The college of physicians recommends the frequent firing of guns to blow away the deadly air, people seal themselves into their rooms and burn foul smelling messes to ward off fresh air. Chimneys are sealed, rooms are gray with smoke and people choke in the suffocating stench. Outside, palls of black smoke hang over the city. People sit in the tightly sealed chambers grimly determined to endure the smarting smoke, convinced they are thus immune to the plague.

Many people might say that happened a long time ago, when science had not developed and then people did not have answers to many problems. The fact is that even now in this age of science and technology man has not done away with superstition even in the so-called developed western societies. The beliefs in charms and spiritism exist and is on the increase. According to Martin (1985) " the International General Assembly of spiritualists, The National Spiritualists Alliance of U.S.A. and The National Spiritualists Associations of Churches reported in 1976 more than 200 churches with a membership of over 10,000 each. This does not include those from other countries of the world

notably from Europe and Latin America where the movement is stronger. This clearly points out that a country or a nation does not have to do away with her superstition in order to develop ".

4.7 Chapter Conclusion

In concluding this chapter it is worth noting that despite the fact that there are different approaches to the issue of culture in development there is a general agreement that culture has a role to play in development. The fact is that every strategy of development has a definite cultural component regardless of whether this cultural element is explicitly stated and consciously planned or assumed, or even deliberately ignored. According to Nkom (1997), while some countries have tried to plan, streamline, and harmonize these cultural elements in their overall strategies of national development, some have deliberately ignored the issue of culture in their development plans, allowing it to evolve on its own in an unplanned spontaneous manner. On the other hand others have a policy of cultural promotion and revival which is out of tune, or even diametrically opposed to the dominant orientation of their development process. According to Nkom (1997) since the fundamental determinants of the society's culture is so intricately interwoven with the organization of its material reproduction, any attempt at cultural preservation or development which is divorced from the fundamental structural transformation taking place in its material base is an exercises in futility.

In addition to that it should be noted that most of the discussion of culture in the

issues of development evolve around the following points: how can any single society identify the positive elements of its rich cultural tradition and strengthen these? How can the harmful and alien cultural practices and influences which have been imposed by colonialism and western imperialism be controlled and erased? How can the diverse cultural systems existing in third world countries be woven into a common and acceptable national culture? How can we evolve a cultural system which enhances the emergence and blossoming of those creative, inventive and productive propensities and energies of people which are absolutely vital to our industrialization, but which have tended to be suppressed and subverted by imperialist influences?

To give answers to the above questions three different lines of ideological positions emerge: The first is the conservative cultural renaissance of the feudal elites and other reactionary elements. This is retrospective and aims to preserve the old order of things in their own group interest. The second is the ritualistic and modern pragmatic cultural revival of the modern comparador elites. This lacks serious steps, pays lip service to Africa and satisfy itself singing the glory of the past. The third is the materialist cultural transformation of the radical socialist school of thought which aims at significant and radical changes that will materialize in the change of order of things, especially in the field of economics and also cultural domination brought about by colonial rule (Nkom, 1997).

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

It is obvious that some people have almost every thing in the world to enjoy while others lack the bare minimum to live on. The causes of these disparities in the world have been the subject of investigations carried out by many people, like Samir Amin, since the beginning of this century, but particularly in the second half of it. Amin committed himself to the investigation of the relationship between the developed western societies and the less developed third world countries. He identified many causes of underdevelopment and many consequences that peripheral countries will have to suffer unless and until some practical steps are taken to reduce these problems. He believes that it is important to study a particular feature of a society that affects its development. The crucial aim of this is to show how the relationship between culture and economic process influences social development. These issues are what we discussed in the first part of chapter one.

We looked at the different definitions of culture and that it does not mean the same thing to all people. However, in recent years a lot of attention has been paid to the issue of culture in development policies. Besides the various definitions, we have seen also the various dimensions of culture, and also its different levels. Moreover we looked at the various debates about where culture is located in the society, and the belief of

some that some cultures are incapable of initiating and sustaining development. This is the position of the modernization theories. On the other hand, there are those who believe that all cultures are capable of initiating and sustaining development.

We discussed the different concepts of development. We saw that despite the fact that there is no universally acceptable definition of development, there is an agreement that it is about the improvement and amelioration of the conditions of life. For development to take place in a country the following problems must be solved: first that of poverty, second that of unemployment and third that of inequality. If all of these three are declining one can be sure that development is taking place. If one or more of them are increasing no real development is taking place. Beside, this is the issue of freedom from both external and internal forces, covert and overt. We also saw the means and ends to development. i.e, education is a means and the realization of human potential is considered as an end.

We looked at the modernization theory which was developed by people like Talcott Parsons in the U.S. In this theory society needs to change its values, norms, attitudes and aptitudes to be more modern. The argument is that economic achievements and progress depend largely on human attitudes and aptitudes , and on social and political institutions. One of its assumptions is that people in traditional societies are more oriented towards the past and lack the cultural ability to adjust to new circumstances. Another assumption is that the kinship system is a decisive reference point for all social

practice. Besides this, they argue that none of the traditional societies are free from superstitions and fatalistic approach to life, while on the other hand modern societies are free from them. We have seen that developed societies are not free from superstition. We also saw that the critics of this theory believe that there are clear mixtures of sociological, psychological and economical features in modernization theory including, for instance, references to value systems, individual motivation and capital accumulation.

Another important theory we saw is that of the dependency or under-development theory. The proponents of this theory argue that in order to understand the problems of underdevelopment in the third world we have to look at the past relationships that the third world has had with the developed countries. In this theory people identify three phases of exploitation of the third world. The first one is that of mercantile capitalism which was characterized by the infamous slave trade; exporting of human beings abroad and the subsequent destruction of industrialization in Africa. The second phase is that of colonialism. In this phase there was the direct political, social and economic control of the third world by European powers. This has been the most exploitative phase due to the improved means of exploitation used i.e transport facilities, communication facilities and direct colonial administrations backed by military might. The last, and the present day phase is that of neo-colonialism. This is a phase whereby M.N.C are the main instruments for exploitation. All these things make some people like Frank believe that the future development of the third world is unlikely.

We also saw the contributions of Samir Amin to our understanding of the meaning of development and underdevelopment. Amin is one of those neo-marxists who studied the problems concerning center and periphery. His work is extensive and is the most significant body of thought concerning imperialism and under-development since the work of Andre Gunda Frank. His two main works *Accumulation On a World Scale* and *Unequal Development* are his earlier views while *Maldevelopment:Anatomy of Global Failure* represents his latest views on the issues of development and underdevelopment. The first work deals primarily with what he refers to as the social formation of the peripheral capitalism. The second work treats imperialism more systematically from the perspectives of both center and the periphery. In fact, this book is believed to be the new nucleus of Amin's thought. It is the belief of many that Amin's works are an ambitious attempt to bring together the various kinds of Marxist's thought on imperialism, to establish the laws of operation of capitalism on the world scale. We also tried to explain both capitalist foreign expansion and the impact of that expansion on the rest of the world.

In recent times Amin seems to have introduced a new issue: that of culture as real factor that is indispensable to development. In fact, in the 1990s he pointed out that the neglect of the cultural aspect is the real cause of the problems of development in the third world.

We saw that Amin puts the blame for the failure of development policies in

Africa and the third world in general on the neglect of the cultural dimension of development, and that until recently nobody paid much attention to the issue of culture in relation to peoples' development. However in recent years the cultural aspect is becoming more emphasized and that the new awareness of linguistic questions, the religious revival in its various forms, the demands by minority of the right to be different, the tensions undermining traditional values, states and roles all bears witness to the relevance of these questions to individual and collective identity. Beside this, Amin believes that when culture was taken into account, it was to only express its negative character as an obstacle to development. But in more recent years this position has changed. There is the belief that no meaningful development can take place if the aspect of culture is neglected.

We had a look at some important issues either slightly touched by Amin or completely ignored by him. Some of these are the problems of democracy, the role of the media, law, and gender problems.

Concerning the issue of democracy we realized that the concept democracy does not necessarily mean the same thing to Africans as it does to the Europeans. Some people like Nyerere, President of Tanzania, believe that African democracy is nearer to the original Greek meaning than European democracy. We also saw the two different kinds of social organizations in Africa. Both of these applied the rule of democracy (talk until you agree) and both had checks and balances.

Concerning the media, some people believed that information is very important in organization and development of any society. With the coming of colonialism the rulers of African had lost control of the media and consequently the control of their subjects. Information no longer flows from the rulers to the ruled, but from abroad to the subjects and from the subjects to abroad..

The legal aspect was considered the most important by some people. We noticed that many people believed that Europeans' development was very much associated with good laws that governed people's relations in factories, and also in the constitutions of those countries. In Africa, with the coming of Islam and the Europeans, the legal system was changed. The new introduced laws were not based on the African cultures. Consequently they were less understood and less relevant to the Africans. Beside they were written in a language that very few people understood, thus were of little use.

Also we looked at the issue of gender in the problem of development. We saw that it is in the opinion of many that women in the third world neither participate in nor benefit from development processes as they are supposed to. They are marginalized in many ways. For instance they do not have the same freedom of movement and they do not participate in politics of their countries like their male counterparts. Educationally they are neglected and they do not receive promotions in their jobs. In fact, some people argued that in the third world countries they do not even enjoy the same diet as their male counterparts. All these make their effective participation in the economic

development of their countries impossible. We also saw that some of the reasons for this are superstitions. However, superstition is found in all nations as we later found out.

5.2 CONCLUSION

We agree with Samir Amin that taking people's culture into consideration is of vital importance in development planning. Man is inseparable from his culture since it is his being. From definitions of culture we saw that it includes man's beliefs. To try to separate man from his beliefs is to push him to act negatively because man through all ages has had strong beliefs like religion without which he cannot enjoy life.

Other strong feelings that man has includes things like his attitudes, aptitudes and tastes which are inseparable from his being. He cannot do without them, they are his being and they have strong influence on his daily living. People who live together for a long time have the same norms and values and are able to understand and abide by them willingly. It goes without saying that the introduction of new norms and values makes them feel normless and valueless. We also agree with Amin that man must identify himself with his own people and not some others; to think like others, talk like them and behave like them is impossible. In the issue of identity, Amin believes that the intellectuals are to be blamed mostly for they are the most alienated in the society. They do not identify themselves with their people. Consequently they are unable to mobilize and organize the mass population into productive units. To some extent we can agree with Amin that this is the case in Africa and other third world countries, but it is also

the case in other parts of the world. In England, for instance, it had happened.

Concerning technology there is no doubt that the coming of colonialism hindered progress in some indigenous industries, or even destroyed them, but that also happened in other parts of the world like Japan and China. Both of these were not free from imperialist incursion. However, these countries are now industrialized and are technologically well ahead of many European countries. Contrary to what Amin believes these countries got a lot of technology transferred to them from Europe and America despite the fact that Amin called it alienating technology. Japan since 1868, has been receiving help from Europe and America, most especially after the Russian revolution in 1917, and throughout the cold war period, China from 1949 to the 1960s, received help from the Soviet Union. To this effect we believe that it is possible for a country to benefit from the experience of other countries and the technology developed by them.

We also conclude that wherever Amin is talking about development he is talking about development of the western type. He always talks about the industrialization of the west and Japan, their method of production of goods and services that satisfy needs and the exporting of these to other parts of the world. This made Europe, America and Japan the center of the world and other countries the peripheries. If we are to agree with Seers (1972) that for a country to be considered developed it must be able to provide enough food for its people, and enough education and jobs, it follows that Europe, America and Japan are well developed.

It should also be noted that Amin's model lacks practical steps. It should also be noted that when modernization theory was popularized there were some suggested steps for development. Some of the suggestions include: The process of modernization by diffusion should encourage a number of features of development in the third world including: urbanization based on nuclear households, not the African extended family system; education; the growth of literacy and training of both high and low level manpower; the development of the mass media to disseminate ideas and encouraged increase awareness about society; higher political awareness and participation in a democratic system of government.

Despite the fact that Amin talks about different kinds of ideologies he did not suggest any of these as suitable for development purposes in Africa and the third world. Even the Islamic ideology which he paid more attention to, was not outrightly suggested as a suitable tool of development in the Arab world and Africa much less the whole of the third world. He also did not propose any new ideology instead of those he criticized.

Amin also believes that some of the problems of development in Africa and the rest of the peripheral countries is that people do not identify themselves with their own people. This may be the case with some individuals, but it is not the case with everyb dy. Men thr ugh ut the w rld are pr ud being what they are and A ricans are not exceptions; they want to identify themselves as Africans, and as Nigerians, Nigeriens or Senegalese, etc. In fact, they even want to identify themselves with their

religious beliefs, Christianity or Islam for instance.

In conclusion of this section, we realize that although Amin suggested that there should be democracy in the third world he did not specify what type of democracy. We conclude that Amin has not been very precise in his model of democracy. Is Amin proposing democracy of the European style or that of the African kind as some people like Nyerere suggested? In the issue of language, is he proposing a national language for the whole of Africa, or is each country to have a national language? As we know, Africa has more languages than any other part of the world. In this case since he suggested that everybody should identify himself with his people, must some abandon their language for another African language? All these questions must be answered.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

First of all, African countries, like other third world countries, need to rearrange and re-order thier development policies and look at their development afresh. Government should not neglect the cultural dimension in development programmes. Cultural autonomy is the base for any genuine development. Development programmes should be such that rescues and revitalises culture and identities.

Countries should try to plan, streamline and harmonise these cultural elements in their overall strategies of national development while at the same time warding off harmful alien cultures.

Africans need to recognise that while external aid will play an important role,

development will have to come from within. The first essential step is the mobilization of human and natural resources towards development projects that make effective use of these resources. For development to be underwritten there is a need of good democratic governments in Africa and the third world. There is a need of governments that are accountable, transparent and listen to the voices of their people in order to be able to mobilize the totality of the people, leaving no one out.

Programmes for education need to be strengthened and expanded. There is a need for both universal education and high level manpower training, as was the case in China in the 1950s, and later on in India. Africa is in need of serious planners, engineers and serious entrepreneurs. They need to be of the highest international standing. African governments should place more emphasis on family planning programmes and population control policies. According to Postel (1992), about 92,000,000 people are annually added to the world. Out of this 88 million are added in the third world. In Africa most countries exceed 3.5% growth per annum. This is too much for poor countries in Africa.

African governments should spend more money on education and agriculture rather than on the military. Military expenditures any where represents an unfortunate drain on productive resources and are strikingly wasteful in developing countries troubled by poverty. Many third world countries spend twice as much on the military as on health and education. In fact, a few, including Angola, Iran and Pakistan spend twice as much as both combined. This is an unfortunate situation. According to Postel (1992), while in the developed countries there are 3.3 soldiers to every doctor, in developing countries,

soldiers outnumber doctors 8.4 to 1.

Beside this excess of military spending often what is spent on health and education is not spent in the right way. Even the least developed countries spend 60 to 80% of public health budget on Urban hospitals, although only a small proportion of their people will ever seek hospital services. A U.N. health economic researcher (Jacobson, 1992) finds that in some African countries a single national hospital takes 75% of the health budget.

We also suggest that Amin's idea of delinking if it means severing of ties should be rejected. It is impossible in these modern times to delink. Delinking implies a kind of isolation. No country can develop in isolation in the world of today by severing all political, economic and cultural ties with the rest of the world. The whole world is becoming more and more interrelated and interdependent due to modern means of transportation and communications. All countries need each other for their development. Just as a country needs its whole people so also countries need each other for development. Poor countries need developed countries for their technology, while the technologically developed countries need the third world for their raw materials and markets. All countries should join hands in the issues of development. There are many problems that do not know boundaries, these includes air and water pollution, disease, ecological disasters etc. Governments have no control over such things so the only way out is cooperation to check their negative consequences.

The problems of development in the 21st century are not going to be easy. At this juncture we have to agree with Sai (1992) when he said: 'the decade of the 1990s should be considered in many ways as African's last chance to join in the world development race'. Now as the decade is ending, there is still little sign of change.

There are two important issues mentioned in this work that need further investigation: first, the necessity and significance for the use of a national language in each of the African countries as a facilitator of development; second, the real and genuine cause of Islamic fundamentalism in Africa for instance the rise of Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria.

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