

THE DILEMA OF DEVELOPMENT AID: THE EFFECT OF DEVELOPMENT AID ON CULTURE AND SOCIETY IN AFRICA

By: Elizabeth - Dorothea Hecht

Introduction

We live today in an age where close contacts with other people all over the world have turned out to be a day-to-day necessity. Gone are the ages - as up to the early 20th century - where it took a European a three-week voyage to travel from Europe to Australia; gone are the romantic "posh" (port off shore/port on shore) voyages from England via the Suez Canal to India and return. Gone are the romantic voyages where Westerners saw for the first time the exotic worlds of Africa and Asia, and looked at these with some sort of distanced wonder, worlds alien to their own yet also (and the travellers were most often unaware of such notions) felt "inferior" to their own. Most of the 19th century and early 20th century travelogues reflect such a world view¹. Certainly the (most often unconscious) notion of "we have to teach the exotics (not only the "savages") our superior Western civilization" must have affected the average Western observer. Yet, what a fascinating experience must it have been for a ten-year old European girl in the late 1920s who was permitted to accompany her father on his voyage to Madagascar, and once on the boat, saw for the first time Indian ladies in their colourful silk saris².

As a European who has been for thirty years on and off in Africa with assignments which brought me into close contact with Africans of various nations and ethnic groups, I have been exposed to a never-ending process of adjustment and adaptation in order to get a feeling for the people with whom I have to interact.

As an anthropologist, I am thus in the fortunate position where - while studying a foreign people with a foreign culture - I learn at the same time to distance myself from my own society and my own cultural traditions and to look at them with the critical eye of an outside observer. That is - for me - my own "conditioning" is no longer the only one valid; I have experienced others with the same claim to absolute validity. This process is painful, since we start to question our own cultural roots, and thus we tend to lose the firm ground on which we once trusted to stand³. On the other hand, we experience the challenge of widening our world view; of winning colleagues, acquaintances and friends from other societies, people who come from a different cultural background, and - perhaps - we come closer to an understanding and appreciation of their culture and mentality. Such problems in social and cultural interactions need not be discussed nor "overemphasized", had they no serious repercussions on intercultural interactions which may be decisive for the success or failure of development aid in the world.

The era of colonialism is over. Africa of today is part of a world-wide trade, communication and transport network. The African continent can no longer live in some sort of splendid isolation as, at least, parts of it did up to the 19th century. Air traffic, satellite TV, Internet, shortwave radio transmissions, and news services from all over the world, bring us together. To the Westerner, the former exotics are no longer romantic; they are our and their direct neighbours; and their problems affect all of us and become our own problems, whether we like it or not.

When we speak of Africa, "sub-Saharan Africa", and the "Western World" we use terms which are generalizing and inexact. Sub-Saharan Africa has

as many varieties of nations and cultures as we find in Europe; East Africans and West Africans are as apart from each other as are Northern and Southern Europeans. Pastoralists - nomads - differ in their culture from agriculturalists, who live in permanent settlements. In traditional art we find as many different regional styles as we expect to find in the Western World, though we may also detect a distinct general "African" style as we detect a distinct "Melanesian" or "pre-Columbian American" style. In addition, culture is dynamic and bound to change once people develop new ideas, new technologies, or get into contact with other civilizations. We find in Africa influences from the civilizations of Ancient Egypt, the Mediterranean World with Rome, the Ancient Near East, the Christian World and the Crusaders, the Muslim World, India and even China, and with the coming in the 15th century of the Portuguese who were just about to conquer parts of South Africa. We also find influences from South America. Food plants and stimulants like potatoes, tomatoes, maize, pineapples, cocoa and tobacco are of South and Central American origin, while rice and tea and probably the banana, originated in East Asia. The Portuguese were the forerunners of trade contacts with Europe, the slave trade to the Americas, and eventually the era of colonial occupation.

The fact is that we have in the world a great number of nations/ people, who live on a level below the existence minimum, and this not only in comparison to the standards of the Western (or "developed") world, but also according to the local and traditional standards. A great number of these nations - many of them in sub-Saharan Africa - are among the poorest in the world.

In the late 19th century the differences in the standard of living of the poor (neighbours) and the rich (neighbours) within one country led to the planning of elaborate protective labour and social security systems. This was felt necessary since the touch-to-touch

existence of poor and rich within one and the same society threatened to lead to serious social conflicts. The social criticism expressed in novels by Charles Dickens (*Oliver Twist* 1838-39, and others); by Karl Marx in his *Capital* (first version 1867), and the emergence of Social-Democratic and Communist political parties may be given here as examples.

Today our direct neighbours are the rich "First World countries" and the poor "Third World countries". And the aim of development policies is similar to the one of the social security policies within a country in the 19th century: to prevent social and political - and this time global - conflicts.

First World countries, therefore, commit themselves today to "development aid"; that is, it is the officially declared policy of First World nations to help the poor nations, the "Third World countries", to attain a tolerable level of standard of living for their people⁴. There maybe arguments about the sincerity of such declarations and about other ulterior motives on the part of the donor countries: interest in opening new markets for the donor's products; winning a certain sense of loyalty within the recipient country against an alleged "common enemy"; and demonstrating towards the recipient country an unselfish generosity (yet not revealing at the same time that the percentage of the donor's gross national product spent on development aid is in reality negligible and can be compared to the percentage of the monthly budget an individual household sets aside for voluntary donations for "welfare"). During the last decades, this - the donor countries' declared interest in helping to develop Third World countries - led within the donor countries to the establishment of state departments for development affairs as well as semi-official development organisations, while new professional careers for numerous civil servants were opened up. The outsider today sometimes gains the impression that development strategies are outlined and projects are planned, are provided with personnel and funds, and

are implemented: not in order to prove the necessity of the existence of such official or semi-official organisations within the donor countries. Development projects may be launched or given up very often on the whims of a head organisation within the donor country, no matter whether such projects promise to be successful and have positive results for the recipient country or not.

But let us take the donor countries' interest in development aid in general as genuine, though not necessarily as unselfish. Yet we have to acknowledge here that donor countries' complaints are justified that throughout the years, large sums have been spent on development aid while the effect is very often minimal. Projects tend to collapse (see below).

The success of the Marshall Plan aid given to Europe after World War II was to a great extent due to the fact that such aid was given and made use of within one and the same civilization with one and the same culture. Development aid to Africa, however, is a give and take between at least two totally different cultures, with different traditions, a different type of education and training, different values and probably different aims too.

We are here concerned with the problems of interactions once members of the partners with their different cultural background get into direct contact; and with the effect development aid may have on the culture(s) and societies of recipient countries.

Culture change and the change of values

1. The process of culture change

The phenomenon that two or several civilizations get in contact with each other, influence each other and within the course of time change, is not new in history, nor is it limited to Africa, nor must it be

detrimental to one or the other civilization involved. As an example: When Alexander the Great (336-323 BC) reached the Gandhara/Turkestan region at the north-western border of India, the Greeks encountered Indian civilization, Buddhist religion and philosophy. The rich "Gandhara civilization" and "Gandhara art" emerged, a blend of Greek and Indian cultures. Equally, Indian and Buddhist philosophies had an impact on contemporary Greek philosophy and eventually found their way into early Mediterranean Christianity.

Early Mediterranean Christianity, as well as Islam right after the Hegira, had a strong impact on African civilizations and caused culture changes: We name here as examples Christian and Muslim Ethiopia, the Hausa states, and the Swahili Coast. While in these examples the change in religion and belief systems was deliberately initiated, culture change was not. However, due to constant contact with the local civilizations, Christian and Islamic beliefs and customs in these regions changed in turn and within the course of time incorporated the traditional beliefs and customs of the local people.

In the example of an early effort of European "development aid" in Africa we find as of the late 14th century, when the Portuguese explored the sea route along the West African coast. It was in particular the region of the lower Congo river, which opened up to the Portuguese. The BaCongo deliberately accepted Christianity and copied the political structure of Portugal (a King with his feudal lords). Contemporary Portugal was superior in weaponry and in certain elements of material culture, though not in human resources. It is interesting - and in a way amusing - to note that what happened in the early interactions between the two partners is exactly what happens today in development aid (though today in a more sophisticated way): The Portuguese offered their expertise and their political system as an ideal ("you have to do it the way we do"), the way Western donor

countries offer today the Western perception of development aid, technical aid and the democratic system. The local culture was disregarded. Within the next two centuries, lack of understanding of each other's culture, expectations and perceptions; tactlessness on both sides; and the emerging slave trade, led to conflicts and eventually to the break-away of the Congo region from Portugal. The BaCongo reverted to their traditional ways and beliefs, though certain traces of former Christian missionary activities can still be detected.

In an encounter of two civilizations where one is in human resources and in material equipment very much stronger than the other one, it is often that the weaker one perishes (example: Western civilization/. some Pacific islands). This accounts in particular once the materially stronger civilization has conquest, aggression, destruction and occupation in mind. This does not mean that the subjugated civilization is inferior to the conquering one - the perished Pre-Columbian civilizations may be quoted here as good examples. 3

2. Culture and value changes in the era of colonialism in Africa

We come here to the core of the problems of an encounter of two civilizations: Each partner feels that his conditioning/values/culture are superior, while the values and the culture of the other civilization are not understood.

In the era of colonialism, there had been often deliberate colonial government and missionary efforts to either decisively interfere with and change the traditional culture(s) and values, or to remove the indigenous populations from their traditional homelands, thus affecting the traditional culture and social organization. Some inaccessible societies were left untouched. Settlers, administrators and missionaries of the 19th century colonial era in Africa perceived the

local people and the local culture(s) as inferior.

Certain indigenous customs were to be abolished, while others were tolerated. Yet while missionaries of pre-colonial 19th century showed a genuine interest in, and understanding for the people and the cultures among whom they lived (David Livingstone is an outstanding example), the early colonial settlers and many missionaries as well did not nor did they intend to do so. However, already in the earlier decades, and certainly in the later stages of the era of colonialism in Africa, a number of Western scholars emerged who were genuinely interested in the indigenous people and their cultures (Siegfried Nadel working among the Nupe; Eva Meyerowitz and R. S. Rattray on Ashanti; Melville J. Herkovits on Dahomey; Marcel Griaule, Germaine Dieterlen and their school on the Dogon and Bambara; Ignazio Guidi, Carlo Conti Rossini and Enrico Cerulli in Ethiopia; Louis Leakey in East Africa; Karl Weule on the Makonde in Tanzania and Mozambique; Gunter Tessmann on the Fang (Pangwe) in West Africa; to name just a few. Some scholars (yet only a few) were later on employed by the Colonial administration as "government anthropologists" (e.g. Siegfried Nadel among the Nuba). These scholars contributed to the collection of information, preservation of knowledge and publication about indigenous cultures, knowledge which otherwise would have been lost by now.

3. The values of western and African partners

a) Western values

What actually happens today in the process of development aid is a contact and confrontation of (at least) two totally different cultural and value systems. This is most often neither realised by donor organisations nor by recipient countries, nor (what exacerbates the matter) are the consequences intended or perceived. Due to the technological and material superiority of the Western partners, and due to the interest of the

African partners to westernize, it is Western partners and Western systems that dominate while the African partners and systems have to adjust.

This is - together with Western expertise, capital, technical, material and personnel aid - the Western world view, Western culture, and Western values of today are transmitted to the recipient countries. These world views and values are determined by Western science and technology, the demand for strict precision, functional mobile and immobile material culture, and gross materialism at the expense of a sensitivity for human relations. In view of the availability of consumer goods in abundance and in a great variety, there emerged the modern "consumer society", and there is today - as has been in Europe as of antiquity - an emphasis on mobile and immobile family or personal property. Individuals are very precise in defining what is "mine" and what is "thine". One may add here that the demand for honesty - in particular with regard to material items - came up in society where material items, like crops, livestock and objects, were available in sufficient numbers. We find this demand already in the ten commandments in the ancient Near East. The strict command of honesty - not coveting or taking what is one's neighbour's - was then made up in Jewish, Christian and Muslim societies by the demand to give alms to the poor, not to share with the ones in need!

The environment created in the modern Western World tends to become more and more a functional and an artificial one with carefully restored islands of a rich cultural past.

b) African traditional values

African values used to be determined by the emphasis on human relations and the intricacies of human contacts and relationships which used to follow strict rules within the social group - the kinship group in particular - while there was defence or aggression

towards outside groups. In a traditional African society, everyone had his/her distinct role to play and was promoted step by step from youngerhood to warriorhood and maturity, and eventually to the wisdom of elderhood. The emphasis on human relations within the social group was essential since under the harsh traditional living conditions, it was only the solidarity of the group which enabled the society to survive.

While in most African societies the sense for property, "mine" and "thine", did exist with regard to the "means of production" (Marx), that is, with regard to crops (not land, which belonged to the ancestors) and livestock, and while complicated rules did exist with regard to recompensation for the alienation of such property, there are the African unwritten rules of sharing, and "we have to take care of our relatives". In many African societies material goods and food were not always available in abundance, and relatives were expected to be the source of plenty and help in times of need. Many African folk stories from all over the sub-Saharan continent tell us about the need to share and the need for group solidarity. In a traditional African society there were a limited number of material items available, and co-wives and neighbours tended to share them, as did the whole group with food. It is this value: "We have to share with and have to take care of our relatives, our tribesmen", where - unfortunately - we find the roots for corruption and nepotism in modern Africa.

We have to mention here, too, the attitude traditional African societies had with regard to protecting/not protecting infants and small children in times of need, an attitude which appears cruel to Western eyes and which seems to contradict what I said above about group solidarity. As was always the custom, thus also in times of need and famine, men were fed first, then the women; children - the most vulnerable group - were fed last and were often doomed to starve and die (examples: Biafra in the civil war 1967-1970; Soma-

as documented in recent years by TV and newspaper reports). Yet children - thus doomed by famine - cannot survive without adults, who have to defend the group and have to provide food. In traditional societies, children were highly valued as the guarantors for the survival and the continuity of the social group, yet mothers were accustomed to high birth rates and to high infant mortality even in normal times. Once children die, there will be others.⁵

More than in the West we do still find the respect for elders and old people, although these values tend to change (see below 3ii). Yet today, with growing Westernization and Western consumer goods flooding in, these African values tend to change rapidly.

We do not find in Africa values like precision of work (museum collections show often objects of refined craftsmanship, which - once broken - were mended with cheaper material and rather carelessly). Men and women were, however, appreciated for being hard workers. Nor do we find the demand for efficiency in implementation and organisation, while we do find a great talent for improvisation. We do find materialism - yet material riches had and have to be shared among the kin and ethnic groups.

Even where we have traditional urban centres like Kano, Timbuctu⁶ or Lamu, the environment remained close to nature. Slums are a recent phenomenon.

Realities of Western development aid

1. Day-to-day realities

We have to maintain here that development policies intend a deliberate interference in "underdeveloped" (in Western understanding) societies and their culture with the objective to culture change "for the benefit of the local people as a target group". This is just contrary to what an anthropologist in his fieldwork is expected to do (the question of ethics). In fieldwork,

an anthropologist should not interfere with the local culture.

As an example: A development project which intends to introduce basket weaving for commercial purposes, among grassroot people (target group) where basketry is not known or plays a very minor role, and where money is unknown and barter trade still exists (there are such societies), does interfere decisively with the traditional culture and with traditional values. Introducing a new craft with the objective of helping people to obtain cash for all kinds of needs has far-reaching consequences: the introduction of commercial thinking, the introduction of money-oriented values. While we do not want to reject such types of projects in general, I would maintain that we should be careful about such interference, and solid and thorough pre-studies should be made. Introduction of basket-weaving as a new craft is perhaps of minor importance; the introduction of cash economy and the replacement of the old barter trade are more serious. Equally, the problem of persuading a traditional society for health reasons to give up female circumcision, is another - and a much more serious issue which has far-reaching consequences for the functioning of the traditional society.

Development planning and development projects are carried out by humans, and we have to accord that all human efforts in one way or other show the shortcomings of human undertakings. In the following paragraphs we are concerned with some shortcomings which affect the success of development aid.

What is it that development aid wants to achieve? It is agreed that development aid should benefit the people of the recipient country. Yet there are already different notions of what "development" and "benefit of the people" are supposed to mean, notions which are determined by the cultural traditions and the interests of both partners. In most cases it will be the Western perception (donor countries) of "develop-

ment" which is put into implementation. Such perception is accepted by the representatives of the recipient country - perhaps with some alterations and preferences. To the Western partners it appears then that they have come to an understanding with their African partners. Yet the high ranking African government representatives, who are the partners of Western donor organisations at the negotiating table are - at least in part - Westernized and are often themselves alienated from their own traditional society. Though they still have family ties (and family commitments) - they have lost the feeling for how their communities see and express their own needs. At best, African representatives interpret the grassroot people's needs in a Western perception and in a Western-type formulation. Yet, how should otherwise Western partners be informed about the needs of the grassroot people if not through the interpretation of westernized African counterparts?

That is, we have to note here that those target groups at the grassroots level who still follow - at least in part - their traditional ways of life are not asked what they themselves understand under "development", "progress", and "improvement of their standard of living". Nor are they asked whether they really want culture change and westernization⁷.

Today, with dwindling resources all over the world, development projects are launched which are termed "hard core" projects concentrating on - often the most basic - material and technical improvements within a given Third World society: improvements in agriculture and related fields in order to secure better produce and food supply; cultivation of cash crops (which proved in most cases detrimental to cultivation of food crops); water management (in semi-arid regions almost an absolute necessity) and provision of clean drinking water; improvement of housing and sanitation in slum areas; medical aid and health care; implementation of sophisticated control of pests endangering food resources for which research within

the Western countries provides the scientific basis; guidance and instruction in appropriate technology, management and marketing for cottage industries and small-scale workshops (informal sector); assistance to women's self-help groups; and relief aid for refugees and victims of natural or man-made disasters. Some donor countries provide teachers for universities and secondary schools, others build simple up-country schools in remoter areas. The larger, very spectacular, prestigious and often disputable projects, with which local governments (and some donor countries) used to boast towards the outside world (the Aswan Dam may be named here as an example), are more and more given up in favour of "more sensible" (according to criteria defined by donor organisations) and small projects, yet this is done certainly also because donor countries are often no longer that affluent that they can afford to support such costly undertakings.

In order to demonstrate donor organisations' successful and beneficial activities towards the general expatriate and local public within the recipient country, there are often well-documented press releases, publications (available in the regional head offices of development organisations or in the respective embassies) and exhibitions. Donor countries will not too often admit failures, although in the long-run failures ("development ruins") do become apparent. I was told by one expert in hard core development projects, that only a few of the - quite expensive - projects he had observed are still functioning.

Decisions of what "hard core" or "worthwhile projects" really are, are often made by the central offices of donor organisations at home, although some donor countries nowadays maintain that development programmes and even development work should come from the recipient country. The decision - making officials in the head offices of such an organisation - often civil servants with all the privileges civil servants have - occasionally show an

astounding lack of understanding of what is essential for the development of a Third World country, and this may even be coupled with the Western notion of Western superiority or the notion of undue generosity of the "rich relatives" (see below 2,a). The "poor relative" may be granted - as development aid! - outdated or oldfashioned equipment no longer in use in the donor countries, or may be denied familiarization with the most modern teachings in science and technology - a very dangerous misjudgment should donor countries genuinely be interested in raising the living standard of the "underdeveloped world" towards "developed world" standards. I observed two incidences in two different First World countries where it was maintained that the recipient country did neither need training in modern information and computer technology ("why doesn't the applicant want to study agriculture? That is what his country needs!") nor modern equipment for the dissemination of information. Although supervising Western government authorities may have knowledge of such serious misjudgment within subordinate donor organisations, the respective civil servants remain in office and are covered against criticism from the public. There is a tendency in donor countries that books or reports by independent journalists which are critical of African governments are appreciated, while reports critical of donor countries' political views and interests are seen as "controversial" (see Klein and Klen 1992 for a comprehensive bibliography on this).

Smaller projects sometimes reveal gross lack of understanding of the local culture: Certain skills - like mat weaving - are taught to local people who have an age-old tradition in mat weaving; or a woman volunteer is to teach local women textile weaving, in a country where the craft of textile weaving has been for centuries strictly a men's domain.

The evaluation of projects by donor organisations is problematic in itself, since a number of their officials, who are to inspect the projects, are not sufficiently

familiar with the needs of the target group, nor with the country, nor with the special task the project has to perform. It then depends on the human factor - ignorance and prejudices, likes and dislikes - among evaluators whether a project is to be continued or not. Some evaluators have a preference for projects with the "typical African flair of the wide wilderness and an abundance of game". For instance, one game ranch project was inspected by several donor organisations again and again; reports from health stations in remote "wild" areas are highly regarded (as one donor organisation official maintained: "I always enjoyed your reports").

In general, we may maintain that a development project is successful once it has run for fifteen years, the last four to five years without the involvement of outside capital, technical and personnel aid, yet perhaps still requiring some supervision and guidance. Unfortunately, I have seen projects which ran successfully for ten years, and once expatriate project members were withdrawn, deteriorated and eventually collapsed.

Within development programmes, we rarely find projects which are focused on supporting the study and understanding of the local culture(s) - such studies are left to academic institutions which nowadays receive less and less research grants. Their publications rarely find their way to developed organisations. A few projects do exist to assist in the preservation and conservation of monuments and objects of national cultural heritage or, perhaps for sentimental reasons, in the preservation of monuments of the colonial past, monuments which are connected with the (colonial) history of the donor country. We maintain that such an interest on the part of the donor country is legitimate. In view of dwindling resources, however, projects focused on culture have now become very rare.

Programmes to help expatriate experts to get closer to

an understanding of the local culture(s) hardly exist or - once they are part of preparatory courses - are not of relevance to development aid. Since an understanding for the local culture is in my view an absolute MUST before undertaking a development project, this was a serious misjudgment.

2. Social and cultural interactions of both partners

The participation of both partners in development projects involves interactions on a social and a cultural level. We have to repeat here again that both partners come from totally different cultural backgrounds; and that there is a great difference between the individual and institutional resources available to each partner.

a) Social interactions

While scientific research about human and animal diseases and pest control can be carried out in research laboratories within the donor countries and thus does not involve personal interactions between members of both partners, the provision of development aid normally requires that representatives from both - donor and recipient countries - get into closer social and cultural contact, and this within the recipient countries more often than within the donor countries.

Without going at this point into the depth of the problem of cultural contacts between representatives of First World and Third World countries which will be discussed below, we have to maintain that the process of "giving" and "taking" puts automatically both partners into a relationship of (at best) the rich relative and the poor relative. Member states as well as individuals of the "rich relative nations" - being on the donor side and because of their superior material and technological equipment and their better functioning management and administration - then tend to

feel (and act) superior towards the poor recipient relative. This results in a strange attitude: On the part of corporate and individual members and experts from the donor countries we have a demonstration of a "sense of superiority": "We show them how to do better", and the interactions between the two groups reflect the "superior": "inferior" relationship. One would then expect that the poor recipient relative has a "sense of being some sort of inferior": yet though Western educated (Westernized) Africans are painfully aware of the poverty, the shortcomings and the corruption within their own countries - this is not the case: A certain uneasiness in contacts of Africans with Westerners, however, can be sensed. In the early stages after an arrival of a Westerner, the interactions are very brief and superficial anyhow. Both parties tend to remain what they are ("quite interesting chap, wasn't he...?") without forming closer ties. In social contacts both partners tend rather to keep to themselves (see below). However, Africans strongly criticize that a high percentage of funds donor countries set aside for development aid do not leave the home countries at all and are spent on high salaries for expatriate experts. Occasionally we find the strange picture that the expatriates' families are accommodated in luxury hotels (to be paid out of development aid funds) in the capital city of a recipient country, while the expatriate himself is working in the field in relief camps (personal observation).

With regard to interactions on the political and economic plane, such attitude may often be reflected in that in the First world, Third world countries are seen as less important partners than First world partners. With regard to interactions at a personal or social level (expatriate and local counterparts) such an attitude may be shown in that rarely both partners go beyond professional interactions to form closer social ties.

It is often striking to observe that the various expatriate communities within an African development coun-

try form small and almost exclusive national islands where only selected outsiders from other expatriate communities and selected nationals from the recipient country are accepted.⁸ This accounts primarily for the group of high-ranking government representatives and experts. Within such social circles, the affluence of their members - whether expatriate or high-ranking African - has to be shown. The presence of high-ranking Africans is to demonstrate that this particular expatriate community does have contacts with the people of their host country. Yet these are already alienated from their own society (see above p. 67) and are therefore not very helpful in assisting expatriates to attain the feeling for the people at the grassroots level.

In addition, there is within these islands an atmosphere of stagnant intellectual provincialism, which the members of such communities are not always aware of and which is not found within the non-exclusive intellectual circles within their home countries.

Expatriates of the lower remuneration levels - and this includes those in humanitarian, church, relief and medical services - tend more to try to establish closer contacts with their local counterparts and with the people among whom they work; still the notion of Western superiority is always present ("we help"; "we show them how to do better"); and this notion prevents personal interactions on the basis of equality. While some members of relief organisations even tend to show their power to decide over the fate (acceptance/non-acceptance) - for instance - of refugees, I met - though rarely - others, who were deeply impressed by the wisdom of the Africans among whom they worked.

Some expatriate volunteer services have recognised this difficulty, and by their special preparatory programmes intend to help volunteers to jump across the barrier between (affluent) foreign expatriates and

local people: Prospective volunteers are housed for some time as guests in local middle class (that is Westernized) families. This programme was highly appreciated by the volunteers.

b) Cultural interaction

What Westerners, and often their African partners as well, are not aware of is that the African counterparts - even once they are Westernized - live culturally "in two shoes": Having most often gone through some sort of Western-type education and mastering at least one of the major Western languages, Africans always show their "Western" side towards the Westerner. The "African side" is hardly ever shown towards a Westerner. The "African side" is revealed towards a Westerner only, once the Westerner - perhaps born in Africa or having lived among Africans in the country for decades and having formed family ties with Africans - is completely "Africanized". In such a case this particular Westerner tends to become marginalized within his own society, an unfortunate development, since it would be most effective in implementing development aid projects.

Yet official donor organisations tend rather not to employ expatriates who have formed family ties in the country, nor do they extend their contracts beyond the limit: "They want to have support for staying on". Such organisations rather prefer to employ experts from their home countries who often have no experience in this particular developing country whatsoever.

Some Westerners, in particular the young generation, try to overcome the obstacle of lack of cultural understanding by learning to master the African language(s) of the country, where they are supposed to work. This is a noble and helpful effort which should be encouraged; yet since successful interactions depend more on a deeper feeling for the mentality and the values of the African counterparts, and "getting into the finger-

tip how situations are handled", such efforts may prove - at least in the earlier stages of an interaction - futile.⁹

In contrast to the prejudices prevalent among Westerners, it is normally the African partner, who is the more sensitive one, sensing the cultural and emotional differences, the values, the feelings and shortcomings of their Western partners. Sometimes - not always - Africans are then very tolerant towards such shortcomings; at other times they make sharp and witty jokes - which are not very flattering to Westerners. Yet the presence of racist sentiments is never overlooked nor forgiven, and Westerners should be aware that - even where no explicit statement are made - Africans detect racist sentiments immediately. We have to add here that in some countries, the trauma of the colonial past has led Africans to develop a strong racial resentment against the "Whites".

What about the preservation of the traditional culture(s) of the African countries? In a meeting of university teachers and students of cultural studies, which I attended, expatriate anthropologists had been invited to speak, as had been local representatives of cultural institutions. While the expatriate - obviously very efficient in his job - emphasized the effectiveness of development projects and the need to have anthropologists on their staff, he did not see that such projects might result in a negative culture change and even in an erosion of the traditional culture. It was a local representative from a local cultural institution who said: "We (anthropologists) study the culture of the people. We realize that without their culture they are nothing; and once you take away from them their culture, they have nothing left."

Ministries or departments of culture do exist; there are open air and indoor museums, cultural centres and research institutions on history, archaeology and traditional African culture(s). There are cultural festivals with the aim to demonstrate that the people have

a "traditional culture". However - in most countries (there are exceptions) - cultural festivals sometimes show a painful artificiality.

Cultural traditions and customs are here on display for the general public. Traditional culture is no longer lived.

And then comes the (African) question - "But why is it that they (Westerners) are so rich?"¹⁰

3. Western development aid and culture change a) Westernization and traditional African culture

The transmission of Western values and of the modern Western scientific world view to developing countries is an unconscious process, the vehicle of which is today often development aid of any kind. Western donor organisations or missionaries have today no radical culture change in mind. It is rather up to the local government authorities to try to have people give up a number of traditional customs which are felt detrimental to the well-being of the people. However, Western development projects of today - like the measures of the colonial administration in the past - do interfere with the traditional local culture(s) though not deliberately planned and though in a more subtle way.

Before independence, the colonial administration(s) and Christian missions, and as of independence, the national governments, established schools with curricula of modern (Western) subjects in science but also in practical vocational skills (note: in East Africa not Asian skills, despite the presence of highly skilled Asian traditional artisans); there are Western type health centres competing strongly with traditional healers; there are Western type polytechnical schools; secretarial colleges; institutions of higher learning. During the colonial era, a Western infrastructure of the countries had been set up: roads; railroads; postal services; bank services; a legal system and the judi-

ciary; government institutions following the model of the colonial motherlands; colonial administrative urban centres. These were taken over and continued to function after independence. After independence, African nations often copied the governmental, administrative, judicial and educational systems of their former colonial masters. That is - as far as the African side is concerned-it is the Western educated African elite who pushes forward the process of culture change towards westernization, while the activities of donor countries serve to speed up the process. It appears that both partners feel westernization is the (only) solution for overcoming poverty and what is termed "backwardness". Where - as in some countries - Chinese expertise and personnel aid is sought, these, too, are to operate along the line of westernization.

As we have pointed out before, culture change is a two-way process. However, it can be noted that experts from the donor countries are affected by traditional African culture(s) only to a limited extent, since most often these experts are sent back home after only a few years. The influence African culture(s) had or have on them is limited to slides, photos and video films from their tours up-country, a few souvenirs and perhaps some cassettes of modern African pop music. Some of them may become interested in classical African art and will try to take some objects home.

What we find today in most African countries is (once we include lower middle classes and - with exceptions - even the grassroots people) an ill-functioning Westernized African society. Since the benefits of Western civilization like education and Western health care do not reach a great percentage of the people, the latter group is often left in the void: having lost most often the support of their own social group, having lost their values and respect for such values, and their own culture. This accounts in particular for the lower classes in urban centres.

It is in this cultural and social setting in which some donor organisations of today work in order to help improve the standard of living. Quite a number of development and relief projects are launched within communities which have already gone through (or are going through) detrimental culture and value changes, where the society is uprooted and traditional family structures are broken. Such a project may be the setting up of appropriate sanitary services in slum areas, to give an example. Such a project may at the same time give an image of Western efficiency and Western superiority. Certainly, with regard to Western humanitarian organizations working in the urban centres, one gains the impression that these have to mend what previous generations have destroyed.

We know that - in particular with regard to community development projects - such projects very often do not lead to the goals of development plans as I said above, projects tend to collapse - but rather to speed up the process of detrimental value and culture change.

b) Examples

i) Socialization of a youngster of today

The model (*leitbild*) - at least for the younger generation in a Third World country of today - is no longer the venerable elder of his/her society and the cultural traditions the elder stands for, but rather the affluent and liberal Westerner as well as the successful Westernized African, the Western youngster (perhaps the teenage son of a Western expert) in particular. Nor does the young generation look forward to the "socialization" step by step within their traditional society, each step requiring the acquisition of certain skills, experiences and knowledge, and a growing maturity to take over social responsibilities. To grow up to become at one time a venerable and wise elder well versed in the knowledge of tribal history and tribal lore and closer to the ancestors than any youngster, is no longer looked forward to; occasionally

(though not as often as in the West) the venerable elder is even ridiculed today since he does not master reading and writing nor does he understand the subjects of modern science youngsters are taught in schools. The traditional social activities of youngsters, including their traditional dances, are seen today most often in (very boring) tourist shows only; the youngsters prefer discos and modern African pop music; and African musicians of today use modern, Western instruments. This should not be criticized; it is a sign of culture change. Yet once youngsters no longer learn and accept the values, traditions, and knowledge about the past of their ethnic group, these tend to become lost. Lost not only to their own ethnic group but also lost as part of the cultural heritage of the world. The statement that with the passing away of every venerable elder a book is lost is, unfortunately, only too true.

We may regret these trends to modernization, yet in view of the dynamics of culture change (see above) this has to be accepted. We would, however, propagate that at least the knowledge about the cultural traditions and tribal history be handed down to the coming generations¹¹. In addition, we have to maintain here that people who are not aware of their past and their cultural traditions are incapable of planning their future.

However, we have to accept that cultural traditions and value systems are given up and new ones are taken over. Yet once a value system which determines the ethics for social interactions within a society is given up, such a society does no longer function properly¹², unless the old value system is replaced by another one which is equally determining the ethics for social interactions. Universal religions would very likely offer effective alternatives for traditional value systems, yet unless such universal religions (like, for instance, Christianity and Islam) have been firmly established for a very long time, the loss of traditional values may leave the youngsters (and

often Westernized successful Africans as well) "in the void", and they lose their ethnic and cultural identity.

Unfortunately, the values of the average Western expatriate in Africa of today are grossly materialistic while the element of sharing is lacking, despite overt manifestations to the contrary by Westerners as members of their churches and by religious and non-religious humanitarian development organisations. And even more dangerous for the recipient society: The Western experts (and tourists) who come to Africa and who are likely to become the model (*leitbild*) for the young generation have - at least temporarily - very often themselves given up the social rules which they had to adhere to in their home countries. Their attitude is of an even more liberal *laissez-faire* than at home. Social and family responsibilities are no longer taken that serious as they were at home; Western families tend to break up more easily once the expert is in Africa (personal observation). Yet while the Westerner tends to give up his own values, he does not take over the ones of his African hosts.

In particular in the initial stages of a project, the superiority of Western technology and efficiency becomes apparent; the Western expert (and the successful Westernized African who copies the Westerner) is - in African eyes, and often in reality - rich; he has all those consumer goods which an African youngster desires to have: cars, cameras, Tvs and radios¹³; the Westerner lives in luxurious houses of a type an ordinary African cannot even dream of; a Westerner spends on a weekend trip an amount for which an African with an average income has to work several years.

ii) Self-determination

The second example which I wish to present here refers to the question of self-determination of the grassroots African participants in a development project. Projects often result in a loss of self-determination and although not intended by the project management it often happens that the participants become dependent on and subordinate to the project management. This, I feel, is a humiliating effect of development aid and a demonstration of the Western "we show them how to do better" attitude. The objective of the project which I have in mind is to help illiterate women in rural areas to make use of their traditional crafts to manufacture marketable items in order to obtain some cash to cover school fees and pay for better food, clothing and housing for their families. The women decided on the type of products of their own handicraft which they wanted to manufacture, yet the products had to be adapted to the wishes of the market, that is, the tourist market. Group organisation and management of the project are in the hands of Western educated locals-not in the hands of the illiterate women; the international marketing was, up to recently, in the hands of an expatriate and has not been taken over by a Western trained local expert. Westerners may find today such items in their home countries in Third World shops or in ordinary shops dealing in such type of items from all over the world. The women may appreciate that they have now more cash in their hands to cover their needs.

Let us take as another example the same type of craft exercised by semi-literate women in another society where no sponsored "self-help" groups had been set up. The traditional items were and are manufactured by the women of this particular society - it was a cultural "must". It was also a cultural "must" that every housewife had a certain number of these traditional items, and there are fixed rules of how to arrange and display them in her house. Once a woman got in need-because of divorce or loss of her husband and then having to take care of her children alone - she

specialized in working such items for the better-off-families of her own society. Rarely did she engage in working for the tourist market, although the objects are very popular among tourists as well as among the urban population in this particular country. If a woman did engage in the tourist trade, she ran her own workshop, had her own marketing and her own accounting. (It has to be added here that in order to be a shrewd businesswoman within a traditional society one does not necessarily have to be literate). The items made were always the traditional ones. Neither in shape, nor in colour, composition, nor in function were they adjusted to the wishes of a tourist market, although certain allowances to the wishes of the buyers from the capital city were made. The inhabitants of the capital city came from another ethnic group. Once such items find their way to Western countries - and they do - they are sold or auctioned in the African Art market, where they can fetch high prices. No Western donor organisation, or government organisation was involved. These women had retained their self-determination, their dignity and their culture.

iii) Modern housing and traditional family structure

The third example is that of change within the family structure and family interactions. The example I have in mind is insofar interesting, since no donor organisation or government institution was involved. The example (which was the topic of a very farsighted PhD thesis) refers to housing development in a very traditional rural society. Modern houses - the model of which were Western type houses common in urban centres - were built to replace the traditional mud structures. Yet this new type of house was unsuitable to accommodate appropriately the traditional extended family and to arrange for the proper space for co-wives according to their rank. People tend to boast with such modern "Western type" house, yet moving in there resulted in changes - positive or negative - in the interactions within a family.

Why are Western countries so rich?

We have to come back to the question "why are Western countries so rich?"

As already pointed out, the success of the Marshall Plan-Aid to Western Europe and aid to Japan was in part due to the fact that the donor and recipient shared the same culture, the same type of science and technology, education and training and the same vision of what a functioning economy should look like. Recent American investments in former Eastern Germany will certainly show within a few years similar successful results. In contrast, aid and investments in Africa have often been marked by failure; development projects tend to collapse. One of the reasons for such failure is that - despite westernization - donors and recipients do not share the same culture, nor the same (western) level of science and technology, nor (western) level of education and training. The infrastructure for a (western type) well-functioning economy and industry has yet to be built up among people whose cultural traditions are totally different from the western ones. A Westerner criticising African failure or slowness to accept and adjust immediately to the western way of managing economy and industry should consider how long it would take him/her to adapt to life in a traditional African society.

With regard to westernization - which we feel is essential to development for the modern (Western) world, we have to compare:

- a) what a donor country spends for the development/expansion of its own industry, economy, education and training in order to remain competitive with other Western societies;
- b) what the same country spends on aid of whatever nature for the developing world;
- c) the educational and training facilities of a Western child;

d) the educational and training facilities of a child from a developing country.

I have no statistical data for the percentage of the Gross National Product of a given donor country set aside for science, technology, education and training, nor do I have statistical data about the percentage of the GNP of a given donor country set aside for development aid. However, we have to assume that - since an industrialized country has to remain competitive with other industrialised countries in world economy for the sake of its own survival - the percentage set aside will be very high.

As already argued, development aid of whatever nature, is "welfare" for which some - though limited - returns are expected (see p. 62 above).

Since the well-functioning of a given economy with its industries is very much dependent on the level of training and education of the people who manage, run or operate economy and industry (industry in its widest sense), we will now compare the educational and training facilities of a Western child with those of a child from a developing country.

1. Educational and training facilities of a Western child*

The average Western child grows up in a fairly hygienic environment with fairly reliable and qualified health care, and lives in fairly solid - though often congested - housing. There are fairly sufficient and good nursery school and primary school and secondary school facilities available. In some countries school attendance is free of charge. Secondary schools offer a range of specializations, among which a child may choose. Schools or private teachers offer, in addition,

* The picture given in the following paragraph may - in view of the present mass unemployment, overcrowded universities and lack of technical training facilities appear somewhat rosy, yet in comparison to the facilities offered to an average African child, it is fairly correct. The situation in Western slum area is different (see also Note 10).

special courses in the arts; sports clubs may encourage children to join them for a wide range of outdoor activities. Special talents and gifts are detected, and a child may then be sent to schools which support and encourage the development of such talents. After leaving school, an equally wide range of training or higher educational and academic fields are open. The youngsters will eventually settle down in a middle class life. Life is fairly predictable. Personalities thus trained are honest and efficient in their work performance.

2. Educational and training facilities of an African child

The average African child (and I am speaking of middle class children) grows up in often poor housing (and this is poor housing whether in "social housing" apartments in an urban area or in rural wattle-and-daub houses). Health care facilities are poor. The parents have to struggle very hard to raise the school fees from nursery school times. Even if school fees are low - compared to what has to be paid for the Western national schools in a developed country - the salaries of the parents are equally very low.

Government schools might be cheaper, but are often of lesser quality than private schools (most often missionary schools). To enter competitive schools, often a bribe has to be paid. However, for such schools the parents often pay a school maintenance fee. As for nursery schools the lessons offered are of poorer quality than those in a Western school. Teachers often offer private tuition for which they have to be paid in order to add up to their meagre salary, and children are advised to take such lessons whether they need them or not. (The teacher may fail the child if he/she does not take such coaching lessons).

Some schools offer optional courses of "clubs" in music, foreign languages or computer practice. In

schools of poorer quality it is rare that a special talent is detected in a child. Thus, such talents are not encouraged. After school, higher training facilities are offered in the universities, which are selective; many youngsters cannot enter university. Middle level technical training institutes of good quality are lacking; some private "colleges" of low quality do exist. Thus, a developing country may lack qualified medical technicians, technical engineers, technical draughtsmen, laboratory workers, photographers and what other professions there are.

Already in school, and even more in institutes of higher learning, the humanities are neglected, and thus I found youngsters with a high interest and even gift for philosophy, history and literature studies, who might have the quality of becoming good high school teachers, but who just have no chance. There is a high percentage of youngsters, whose talents are bound to rot*.

Only a few training and professional careers are open to a successful school leaver. The others have to try to "manage". Only in rare cases may the personalities thus trained be honest and reliable, and efficient in their work performance. Secretaries with a very low salary may try to steal an outdated typewriter (the better educated ones may go for computers); other office staff may tend to take a few days off in order to pursue other money-earning activities. Life is not predictable.

* I recently heard of a case where a refugee youngster, highly gifted in drawing and painting, was forced into a mediocre training as a car mechanic, since that was the training the Refugee Organisation could pay for. Women are often forced into tailoring training in a country which is flooded with very cheap "second hand" clothes imported from Western countries.

4. *Suggestions*

There may arise the question whether it is possible and feasible to stop the process of Westernization of Africa, whether Africans should and can revert to their traditional culture(s), and whether Western development aid - that is interference by Western donor countries effecting culture change towards Westernization in order to raise (according to the Western perception) the standard of living - should be given up. While such a step may be recommended for a number of remoter and smaller ethnic groups in the world, as propagated by Baumann and Ulig¹⁵, and while Western relief aid interference in Africa has proved in some cases disastrous (example: Somalia), we have to maintain that the process of Westernization in Africa has developed to such an extent that it can no longer be reversed. That is, whether we want it or not, we have to pursue the development we (Westernized African elite and donor countries) have initiated.

1. **Developing means and instruments to avoid negative culture change**

However, means and instruments should be developed in order to have this change of culture take place in such a way that detrimental effects on the traditional social structure, the emergence of an uprooted slum population, and an erosion of the traditional culture and values are avoided, African cultural traditions and values be incorporated into a new society and a new culture, which will then be a blend of traditional African and modern Western cultures.

I think, Africans of today do not want to give up the amenities of Western infrastructure (modern roads, railways, postal service, training and higher Western type education, medicine and health care, modern agriculture, and so on). Neither do they want to be excluded from the development trends in modern

science and technology, nor to be kept apart from international trade and communication in order to live in some sort of splendid isolation. We would then have to try to find proper means of having the partners in the development aid process get closer in understanding each other, and in particular get closer in understanding the needs of the grassroot people.

2. **Close co-operation in development related research in cultural studies**

I do know that even at the level of Westerners/Westernized Africans there is always a tendency to keep apart (see p. 69). Yet in order to overcome cultural misjudgement among themselves, and in order to get closer to the grassroots people, the partners have to cooperate.

There may be a great number of ideas of how to accomplish such a task. I myself have in mind long-term interdisciplinary research institutions which cover all the subject fields of relevance to development aid in Africa - these subject fields should include sociology, anthropology, and culture studies. Such institutions should be located in Western countries as well as in African countries - one may think here of partner institutions. Research should be undertaken into the interdependence of development aid and positive/negative culture change. Research should also tackle the problem of developing an efficient and effective infrastructure in education, vocational training and diversified job facilities for middle level personnel.

Research should also be carried out in order to identify and develop means and instruments of how to avoid detrimental effects and of how to strengthen positive effects of development aid. Such research should go very much into details. Research findings should be submitted together with recommendations to those government authorities within both partner countries concerned with development policies. The

countries concerned with development policies. The staff members of such institutions - whether located in Western or in African countries - should be both Westerners and Africans of equal academic rank¹⁶. Both have to bring in their knowledge, their experience, their concepts and their perceptions. Both of them should undergo studies to make themselves aware of their own "conditioning" and that of their partners. Research projects should be carried out by teams of both, Westerners and Africans. I am aware of the difficulties arising already within such teamwork, due to the different way of looking at and handling situations. However, such difficulties may make both partners aware of how problems are handled by one or the other partner. (The efficient Western way is not always the most effective one). I feel that such experience would help very much to carry out projects in a way which is not purely "African" or purely "Western" but rather a blend of both.

Particular attention should be given to the effect development projects have on rural grassroots people and on the uprooted slum population. I myself have the feeling that African scholars, Westernized, experience similar difficulties in establishing a close rapport with the grassroots people, as do Westerners, although the difficulties African scholars experience may be less and may be overcome more easily than those of their Western partners.

Such close cooperation in teamwork may sound utopic. However, I feel that if teams of African and Western scholars do not succeed in working together in one institution or as one team in the field - we can give up development aid altogether.

End notes

1. Examples for exceptions of such views are the writings by Rene Caille (1827-1928 *Sahara with Timbuctu*) and by Carlo Piaggia (1860-1875 *Travels in Central and East Africa, Eritrea, Lake Tana,*

Sudan).

2. Children's book: Metzler: *Monica's journey to Madagascar*, based on a true story and probably published in the late 1930s.

3. Similar views are expressed in T.E. Lawrence of Arabia: *The seven pillars of wisdom*, Chapt. I, the importance of which chapter is most often not recognized.

4. In some highly industrialized donor countries, there are today tendencies to reduce or to even eliminate their social security systems. Poorer classes are thus thrown back to working conditions of the 19th century without having the protection of social security or labour laws. These trends give us reason to doubt the sincerity and unselfishness of donor countries' declared interest to help poor nations - the poor neighbours of today - to attain a tolerable standard of living.

5. It has been often pointed out that Western humanitarian measures like famine relief camps and medical care to fight infant mortality upset the balance of population/carrying capacity of the affected regions, while there are no measures for providing means of living for the growing population (Pers.comm: Dr. Harms Schneider, in the Ogaden, 1973).

6. Timbuctu is today threatened to be submerged by the Sahara Desert. Slums as of the 16th century did exist only in coastal towns exposed to European trade contacts.

7. Some of them - pastoralists in particular - do not (Lecture by Paul Baxter at the Africa Conference in New Orleans, Winter 1984).

8. Some donor organisations have social functions where guests from the recipient country outnumber the nationals from the donor country.

9. Statement by an African informant.

10. It has to be added that Africans are hardly ever aware of the fact that there are poor, uneducated, destitute people in Western countries and that every major city in Western countries counts a slum population of about 1.5 to 2%. Only a selected, fairly well-to-do and normally well-catered for group is to work in development projects overseas.

11. In some societies this is done. As I was informed by one of my students, youngsters in the process of initiation are instructed in the history and knowledge of the community. Such teachings are secret and are not to be disclosed to outside groups.

12. The loss of the traditional value system without having made way for another one to equal effectiveness can be noted in particular in urban areas with the disintegration of the society, growing corruption and criminality.

13. A similar process of losing traditional cultural and religious values in favour of gross materialism apparently also takes place today in the rich oil countries in the Near East. Islamic fundamentalism may be seen as a reaction against such a development, which religious leaders feel is dangerous.

14. The information I have dates back about fifteen years. In view of civil wars, I have no information about customs and traditions at present.

15. Baumann and Uhlig: *Rettet die Naturvolker*.

16. It can often be observed that Western research institutions have African junior and senior students on their staff, while senior African scholars are there as visiting scholars for a few months only. On the other hand, it is senior Western scholars who become affiliates of African research institutes, and then employ African senior students as their assistants.

Cited References

Baumann, Peter and Uhlig Helmut 1979. *Rettet die Naturvolker*. Berlin: Safari-Verlag.

Binur, Yoram 1992. *Mein Bruder, mein Feind*. Zurich: Schweizer Verlagshaus.

Caillie, Rene 1830. *Journal d'un voyage a' Tembouctou et a' Jenn'e dans l'Afrique Centrale*. Paris.

Cerulli, Enrico 1936. "La Lingua e la storia di Harar". *Studi etiopici* I. Rome.

Conti Rossini, Carlo 1894. Catalogo dei nomi propri di luogo dell'Etiopia contenuti nei testi gi'iz ed amharina finora pubblicati. In *Atti del primo congresso geografica italiano tenuto in Genova dal 18-25. Sett. 1892, Vol. 2, P.1.*

Dieterlen, Germaine 1950. *Essai sur la religion bambara*. Paris.

Guidi, Ignazio 1900. *Storia della letteratura etiopica*. In *Rendiconti R. Accademia del Lincei*.

Griaule, Marcel 1948. *Dieu d'eau*. Paris

Herskovits, Melville J. 1938. *Dahome*. 2 vols. New York.

Klein, Stefan, und Klein Manja Karmon 1992. *Die Tranen des Lowen. Leben in Afrika*. Zurich: Schweizer Verlagshaus.

Lawrence, T. E. 1962. *Seven pillars of wisdom*. First printed 1926. Penguin Modern Classics.

Marx, Karl 1980. *Das Kapital. vol. 1*. Original Version of 1867. Reprint of the original first edition

Hildesheim Gerstenberg :

Meyerowitz, Eva 1952. *Akan traditions of origin*.
London.

Nadel, Siegfried 1946. *A Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria*. London.

Piaggia, Carlo 1877. *Del arrivo fra i Niam Niam e del soggiorno sul lago Tzana*.

Rattray, R.S. 1929. *Ashanti law and consitution*.
Oxford: Oxford University press.

Tessmann, Gunter 1913. *Die Pangwi*. 2 vols. Berlin.

Trowell, Margaret and Wachsmann, K.P. 1953.
Tribal crafts of Uganda. London/New York/Toronto.

Weule, Karl 1908. *Negerleben in Ostafrika*. Leipzig.