4   CHAPTER FOUR

THE UNIVERSALITY OF THEORIES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN RELATION TO THE PARTICULARITY OF AFRICAN VALUE SYSTEM

4.1   Introduction

In Chapter Two, I argued that the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) used theories of economic development underpinned by belief and value systems that are not African, and therefore, that the philosophical assumptions of the two plans are not African. In Chapter Three, I reviewed the African value system and its ontological foundation that should constitute the ground of any African plan of development. In the present chapter, I will deal with the issue of how this African value system was neglected in the two strategies of Africa's economic development. I shall argue that the African value system has been neglected for two reasons.

The first reason lies in the distinction between *development economics* that presumably pertains to Third World countries and *orthodox economics* that pertains to developed countries (Hirschman, 1981, p.3; Todaro, 1994, pp. 7-9; Lal, 2002, pp. 36ff; Shin, 2005; Lawson, 2006; Perraton, 2007). The development economics gave rise to the policy framework, that of the state, within which the LPA was conceived. Instead, orthodox economics gave rise to the policy framework of the market within which NEPAD was conceived. Although both policy frameworks could be articulated so as to take into consideration the value systems in which they are used, African economists and policymakers seemingly did not take into account what people believe and value as a foundation of the economic development (cf. Todaro, 1994, p.7; Shin, 2005; Lawson 2006)[42].

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[42] Both Todaro and Shin argue that, although earlier development economists tried to build a special economics that would be applicable to developing countries based on their common characteristics such as rural underemployment, late industrialisation, and poverty, there must be certain sensitivity to the uniqueness and diversity of underdeveloped societies. Lawson suggests taking seriously matters of ontology, and referring to social reality. Consequently, Lawson, Shin and Todaro suggest that (development) economics must be applied eclectically taking into consideration different social realities.

The second reason is that in both policy frameworks, the African policymakers and planners operated against the background of what economics *does* and not what economics *is* (see Heilbroner, 1988, p.7). A strategy of economic development drawn against the background of what economics does and not what economics is tends not to give sufficient room to people's participation in the process of their economic development. Yet it is this participation that mediates between plans of economic development and what people believe and value, and thus translates the universal conception of economic development into its local feasibility.

Accordingly, this chapter consists of four major sections. The first section will deal with the distinction between development economics and orthodox economics. The second section will explore the extent to which the African value system has been neglected in the two development plans. The third section will compare and contrast the state and the market as development frameworks of the LPA and NEPAD respectively in order to underline the fact that the African beliefs and values have been left out of the equation of economic development. The fourth section will consider the consequence of designing the two plans of development against the background of what economics does and not against what economics is, namely the lack of participation of people in the processes of their economic development. A conclusion will follow.

4.2   Development economics versus orthodox economics

With the division of the world in colonial and colonised countries, industrialised and non-industrialised countries, and developed and underdeveloped countries, there has been (and still is) the tendency to split economics into two: orthodox economics and development economics. Orthodox economics is built on the claim that "economics consists of a number of theorems of universal validity. One of these theorems is that, in the market economy, benefits flow to all participants be they individuals or countries" provided they are rational economic agents (Bauer, 1983; Gerrard, 1992; Haussman, 1992; Cudd, 1993). These 'benefits' are even qualified in terms of efficient results, and optimal outcomes (Kanth, 1999, pp. 91-92; Lawson, 2006, pp.486). Certain economists such as Rosenberg (1992, see also Kirman 1989, Robinstein 1995) even argued that economics is a branch of applied mathematics. However, this is hardly acceptable, since as Keita (see also Leamer, 1978; Hahn, 1985) argues,

> (T)he subject to which the mathematics of economics is applied is nothing other than evaluative norms of agent decision-making. Although we may formulate any system of ethics in mathematical terms, such a formulation would not grant it the licence of anything than a formalized system of ethics (Keita, 1999, pp.349)

The purpose of the claim "that economics is a branch of mathematics" is to establish economics as a positive, empirical science which would be concerned with the scientific side of economics. If such were the case, the conclusion could be that economic processes are universal and/or universalisable irrespective of the cultural context in which they are operated. In the process of economic development, this positive and orthodox economics purportedly yields facts upon which policies that apply universally could be made. That is what John Williamson (1993, p.1330) has expressed in his anecdotal words: "the world is flat". Some of these facts include macro-economic stability, trade liberalisation, economic growth, and the idea of the relationship between trade and economic growth as the ground of economic development. On this basis, it is argued that orthodox economics is applicable to developed countries as much as to developing countries.

For Todaro (1994) orthodox economics is concerned with efficient, least-cost allocation of scarce productive resources with optimal growth. It deals with an advanced world of perfect markets, consumers' sovereignty, automatic price adjustments, decisions made on the basis of marginal, private-profit, and utility calculations, equilibrium outcomes in all products and resource markets. It assumes economic rationality, a purely materialistic, individualistic, and self-interested orientation towards economic decision-making.

On the basis of these various aspects, Todaro observes that, indeed, orthodox or modern economics is characterised by certain formal precisions such as theoretical abstractions, mathematical analytics and the reliance on disinterested scientific methods of testing hypotheses about how economic systems behave. For the positivists, that is what gives economics its universal character.

However, for Todaro, although certain economists may claim it to be universal and universalisable, orthodox economics is the economics of advanced capitalist nations. By the same token, Shin (2005, p.1122) contends that the seemingly broader applicability and stronger

predictive power of orthodox economics is groundless because it is largely based on ignoring locational and temporal characteristics.

On the other side of the coin is development economics. Development economics is a reaction and even a rejection of or a revolt against orthodox economics. It is built on the claim that certain features of the economic structures of the underdeveloped countries make certain aspects of the orthodox economic analysis inapplicable. Various economists (Parraton, 2007; Lal, 2002; Lofchie, 1994; Bardhan, 1986, 1988; Hirschman, 1981) argue that development economics has its roots in Keynesian economics and is closer to the neo-Marxist theories than to orthodox economics. According to Lal (2002, pp. 42-43; see also Lofchie, 1994), certain modes of thought were relevant to the problems of development of Third World countries. These include the determinants of the level of economic activity (rather than the relative prices of commodities and factors of production), and national income-expenditure analysis. These modes of thought are adopted by development economics. This implies that, development economics goes beyond the concern about the perfect markets, automatic price adjustment, efficient allocation of resources, and economic rationality. According to Todaro and Smith (2009, p.8),

> It [development economics] must also deal with the *economic, social, political, and institutional* mechanisms, both public and private, necessary to bring about rapid […] and *large-scale improvements* in levels of living for the people of Africa, Asia, Latin America […].[43]

Against this background, Todaro and Smith tell us that development economics is not the economics of the advanced capitalist nations, nor is it similar to the economics of centralised socialists, Marxist or command economics. It is rather more or less the economics of contemporary poor, underdeveloped, Third World nations with varying ideological orientations, diverse cultural backgrounds, very complex yet similar economic problems which usually require new ideas and novel approaches.

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[43] Emphasis in the original.

Unlike the more developed countries (MDCs), in the less developed countries (LDCs), most commodity and resource markets are highly imperfect, consumers and producers have limited information […]. In many cases, economic calculations are dominated by political and social priorities such unifying the nation […] or preserving religious and cultural traditions. At the individual level, family, clan, religious, or tribal considerations may take precedence over private, self-interest utility or profit-maximizing calculations (Todaro & Smith, 2009, p.8).

This distinction seems to suggest that the universality of economics (or trends of economics) is socio-geographical. Thus there would be two kinds of universality. Orthodox economics would be universal for advanced, developed countries, while development economics would be universal for the Third World, underdeveloped ones. Even the fact of orthodox economics being universal to advanced, developed countries can only be affirmed with reservation. Quoting Brauer et al., (1999), Ntibagirirwa (2009, p. 301) shows certain variations across these countries. He argues that the market-led capitalism of the United States of America and United Kindgom is not the social-democratic capitalism of Scandinavian countries; nor is the Austrian capitalism similar to the state-led capitalism of France. By the same token, Brohman (1995, p.127) argues that the neoclassical theory is tinged with ethnocentrism while the methods that are commonly employed yield inaccurate results and are inappropriate to most Third World settings.

According to Todaro, there are few, if any, truly universal principles or laws of economics governing economic relations that are immutable at all times and in all places. There can only be tendencies. This applies to development economics as well. Because of the heterogeneity of the Third World, there can also be no single development economics, no universal Third World economics applicable to any or all underdeveloped countries.

There have been some attempts to reconcile the two perspectives of looking at economics. Hirschman (1981, pp. 3ff) outlines two of these attempts, namely: the *mono-economics*' claim and the *mutual-benefit* claim. The mono-economics' claim asserts that orthodox economics is applicable to underdeveloped countries in the same way as it is applied to developed ones. According to this claim, there is no need of a separate development economics; "there is only one economics, just as there is only one physics that is applied equally to developed and

developing countries" (Shin, 2005, p.114). In consequence, the universality of orthodox economics is affirmed. However, this position can be accepted or rejected. It is indeed accepted by the proponents of orthodox economics, but rejected by the proponents of development economics.

The mutual-benefit claim suggests that economic relations between the developed and underdeveloped countries can be shaped in such a way as to produce gains for both. It is not clear whether both orthodox economics and development economics are acknowledged or whether development economics is still taken as superfluous as is in the first case. However, the mutual-benefit claim has been a hotly debated issue (see Lawson, 2006; Bardhan, 1988; Hirschman, 1988, 1981; Blaug, 1980). While it is accepted by the orthodox economics, it is rejected by, for instance, Marxian and neo-Marxian economists as it has been the case of certain dependency theory proponents. Thus Hirschman summarises all the different possibilities in the following table (Table 4-1).

Table 4-1. Theories of development economics
(Adapted from Hirschman, 1988, p.3)

Claims		Mono-economics claim	
		Accepted	*Rejected*
Mutual-benefit claim	*Accepted*	Orthodox economics	Development economics
	Rejected	Marxian theory	Neo-Marxian theories

For Hirschman, there are only two nuanced, universalisable categories of economics that influence development policies, namely: orthodox economics in which both mono-economics' claim and mutual-benefit claim are not questioned and neo-Marxian economics in which the two claims are rejected. In between, there are two hybrids. On the one hand, there is the Marxian economics which would accept the mono-economics claim as in orthodox economics but deny the possibility of mutual-benefit. On the other hand, there is the development economics which would accept the mutual-benefit claim but reject the mono-economics claim.

According to Lal (2002, p.42), development economics is closer to neo-Marxist than to orthodox economics in its view of the mutual-benefit claim. In development economics, it is at times believed that mutual gains are possible if the rules of the game of the capitalist, developed countries are changed to serve the interests of the underdeveloped countries. The condition for this to take place is that legitimate departures from the orthodox case of free trade are enforced by government action both nationally and internationally. This becomes a plea for a certain form of Keynesian economics which the Third World countries do not find hard to accept, given the need of the state as a regulator of economic development.

Thus, with the division of the world into developed and underdeveloped, the idea of orthodox economics pertaining to the former and development economics pertaining to the latter is safeguarded. This distinction is important insofar as it leads to a clear understanding of where the problem of development policing and planning lies, namely the temptation to remain at the level of what economics *does*, that is, the analytic task of economics, but not what economics *is*, that is, its constitutive nature (Heilbroner, 1988, p.7; see also Olsen, 2006).

In its analytic task, "what economics does" is to concern itself with how market systems work, the laws of supply and demand, and the allocation of resources (Heilbroner & Thurow, 1998). "What economics does" is linked to the idea of economic rationality which tends to strip away cultural and other social ties and thus leaves radically autonomous and internally self-sufficient individuals or political institutions (such as the state). These individuals or institutions are thought to be equipped with capacities of reflexivity and the ability to calculate in order to achieve the general social good or general welfare, or again utility (Williams, 2007, pp. 99-100).

For Heilbroner, economics tends to obscure or veil what economics is. What economics is, is linked with a specific social order and culture. Economics is a social science concerned with human beings and the social system by which they organise their activities to satisfy basic material needs and nonmaterial wants. Unlike physical sciences, the social science of economics can claim neither scientific laws nor universal truth. In economics, there can only be tendencies; and even these tendencies are subjected to great variations in different countries, cultures and times.

The distinction between orthodox economics and development economics on the one hand, and the distinction between what economics does and what economics is, on the other, helps to locate where and how the two plans of economic development in Africa, the LPA and NEPAD, neglected the African value system. I shall argue that the two plans neglected the African value system in their adoption of specific policy frameworks. The LPA adopted the policy framework characteristic of the development economics of Third World countries, namely the state, whereas NEPAD adopted the policy framework characteristic of orthodox economics, namely, the market. Furthermore, it needs to be shown that the state and the market as the policy frameworks of the LPA and NEPAD respectively means that the people as well as what they believe and value, were not taken seriously in the achievement of economic development.

4.3 The LPA and NEPAD in relation to their respective policy frameworks

In this section, I will consider the issue of the African value system in the policy frameworks of the LPA and NEPAD respectively. I will argue that, although the LPA and NEPAD evoke the issue of African culture to different extents, their reference to African cultural values does not mean that the policies of Africa's economic development are a validation of these values.

4.3.1 The African Value System in the LPA's policy framework

The architects of the LPA were aware of the importance of the cultural component in Africa's economic development and even explicitly refer to it to a great extent. However, as can be seen in the following passages of the LPA document, one wonders whether the African value system serves as means or an end for Africa's development. In the preamble, the architects of the LPA underline the importance of the African culture in terms of commitment:

> […] we commit ourselves, individually and collectively, on behalf of our government and peoples, to […] ensure that our development policies reflect adequately our socio-cultural values in order to reinforce our cultural identity (art.3, [iv].i).

Two observations can be made on this commitment. The development policies are posited first, and thereafter they are mirrored in African socio-cultural values with the purpose of reinforcing Africa's cultural identity. The second observation is that socio-cultural values and development policies seem to stand as two different, independent things with no necessary fundamental relations or connections.

Linking the development of human resources and their utilisation in the process of economic development, a suggestion is made that the curriculum should be revised so as to make education and training more relevant to the development needs of the local African environment:

> Member States should carefully define the objectives of such curriculum revision by highlighting the need to emphasize traditional cultural values and to understand the working of rural society. The curriculum revisers must aim, when their proposal are appropriately executed, at arriving at human end-products possessing skills and knowledge which would make them socially useful, either on their own or as employees, and capable of living and working in harmony with their environment (art.141).

Here again, the (traditional) cultural values are posited as something that is independent in the socio-economic processes. That they should be emphasised in the curricula revision does not make it clear that they should be referred to as premises of socio-economic development. They are not referred to as an important instrument that should catalyse or facilitate economic development.

The architects of the LPA linked African culture to the transfer and development of technology as expressed below:

> Special attention should be paid to the socio-cultural milieu of the majority of the population and an attempt to satisfy their needs should be made by urging traditional technologies, where worthwhile, developing new ones and adapting imported technology (art.148).

This article contains interesting elements including: attention to the socio-cultural milieu, traditional technologies (which are often linked with indigenous knowledge) and their adaptation to imported technology. However, even here it cannot be said that the African value system is made the foundation of Africa's economic development. In the suggestion of paying attention to socio-cultural milieu, no clear reason is given as to why this should be the case. It is possible that the architects of the LPA had in mind the preservation of the African cultural identity. This might be the case since, according to Wiredu (1996, p.145), the major question that faced the leaders of post-independence Africa was not only the social and economic development that had become stunted under colonialism, but also the restoration of the cultural identity that colonialism had eroded. There seems to have been the tendency to deal with these two aspects differently with the result that the issue of how the cultural identity should inform the process of providing the needs of the people was not much of a concern.

The focus on culture in the LPA document is also highlighted in relation to research on population and the improvement of the quality of life. The architects of the LPA encourage research on such topics as:

> [S]ocio-economic and cultural factors infringing on, or influencing the growth and development of, concepts related to population and other socio-cultural issues;

> [E]ffective values, beliefs, and taboos and traditions which control decision-making processes in the family in selected countries, and the ways in which levels of understanding of population issues effect these values and attitudes (art.354a and b).

As is obvious in these passages, the architects of the LPA were not unaware of the importance of African cultural value system in the process of economic development. The question that might be asked is whether the fact that African culture mentioned in the document of LPA means that African value system is being validated in terms of Africa's economic development. The dominant pattern is that the architects of the LPA make African cultural value system more of an end than a means or the soul of development. This observation has been made by a number of African scholars such as Amin (1990), Asante (1991), and Ajei (2007).

Amin (1990, p.57) argues that the LPA makes culture its aim in the same way it does for development, whereas culture is supposed to be regarded as a means to development. This is clearly evident in the quotation from the preamble referred to earlier. That the aim is to ensure that Africa's development policies reflect adequately Africa's socio-cultural values does not necessarily mean that the development policies have been rooted in Africa's socio-cultural values.

Amin's remark has been echoed by Ajei (2007, p.61) who argues that, in the LPA document, African socio-cultural values are thought of much more as an end rather than a means of development. The failure to take into consideration the cultural assumptions for the LPA has also been identified by Asante. Asante (1991, p.76) argues that to ensure the success and sustainability of the development process, the political, social, economic, technological, administrative and cultural dimensions of development have to be integrated in a manner that can optimise development possibilities. His complaint is set out below:

> Nowhere does the LPA as a development strategy espouse the socio-political and cultural dimensions of development. […] No consideration is given to the fact that African development should be rooted in the culture of the people; reflect their systematic values in order to free them from any form of economic, social, political and cultural dependence […] Self-reliance is based on cultural grounds. Local knowledge and values must be the starting point for people-centred alternative development (Asante 1991, pp.68 &74).

In another place, Asante says of Adedeji who was the key figure in the design of the LPA:

> [Adedeji] has frequently warned against separation of economic development from its social, cultural, and political setting, but this has not been seriously articulated in the Economic Commission for Africa document (Asante 1991, p.74).

The question that needs to be considered at this point is why the planners and the policymakers of the LPA saw the importance of the African value system, yet failed to take it seriously as a source of Africa's economic development. According to Lal:

Since part of the dependency thesis is that cultural and political effects of neo-colonialism have warped the minds and hence the attitudes of peoples in the South, de-linking is also expected to lead to resurgence of national cultures and self-respect (Lal, 2002, p. 91).

What Lal is pointing out is that de-linking from world capitalism does not only liberate the economy of the underdeveloped countries but it liberates people's culture (cf. Wiredu 1996, p.146). This does not imply that the culture thus liberated is necessarily made the basis of economic development being sought in the process. It might be from this background that the policymakers and planners of the LPA saw African cultural beliefs and values as an end rather than a means. Certainly establishing culture as end was important insofar as people needed to recover and affirm their identity or who they were in the process.

The question about how people's identity could serve what they become did not receive much attention in the LPA development planning and policing, since it was a context in which "Africa's post-independence policy framework presupposed a highly activist and regulatory state" (Lofchie, 1994, p.164). That the state should play this central role came from a double pessimism which prevailed in most underdeveloped countries. The first was trade pessimism, the consequence of which was the rejection of the orthodox economists' assumption that international trade could be structured so as to provide mutual benefits for both developed and underdeveloped countries. The second was the pessimism about entrepreneurs, especially in Africa. This consisted in a doubt as to whether Africa had an entrepreneurial class sufficiently strong to launch the process of economic development. On this point, what Barbara Ward said of Africa in 1962 was still valid at the time when the LPA was launched:

> At this stage of development among the poorer communities, it is virtually certain that the state will play a major part in raising more capital for development. This is because in the early days of growth, a large confident business class is simply unavailable (Ward, 1962, p. 99).

This argument is echoed by Goldon and Goldon (1996, p.115) who gave two reasons for the African state's involvement in economy, namely: the promotion of investment as it was believed that private savings were very low; and the belief that private investors were reluctant

to invest because of high risks, especially if the market is small or sources of supply are unreliable.

This doubt about trade and entrepreneurship seems also to have cast doubt about people at the grassroots. People at the grassroots were thought not to have sufficient maturity to deliberate about, and influence matters of economic development. To understand this, it might be interesting to refer to Heilbroner on the nature of economics. Heilbroner defines economics as the process by which the society marshals and coordinates the activities required for its provisioning (Heilbroner, 1988, p.14). This coordinating mechanism as the essential element of the economy may reveal three aspects, namely:

- tradition, in which the orchestrating function is accorded to roles and responsibilities of kinship or other communal relations;

- command, where the function is accorded to the will of some superior figure or institution, typically the state; and

- the market, where the process is carried out principally by the interaction of self-interested individuals competitively seeking access to the workplace or to the purchasing power of the public (Heilbroner, 1988, pp.15-6).

For Heilbroner, the forces that are at work in the first two categories or nonmarket societies are compared to "the psychic propensities and capacities that arise from the socialisation of the infant and child" (Heilbroner, 1988, p.18). Heilbroner tells us that the socialisation process has two aspects. The first is the development of the general capacity to "affect". This affect permits, encourages or demands action or participation of individuals or members of the society. The second aspect is a response to the first. The orchestrating process requires the obedience or acquiescence required for the subordination of the individual or the members of the society to the will which may be embodied in custom or command. Heilbroner's conclusion is that the experience of infantile helplessness and the development of infant affect play an important role in the orchestration of "economic" life.

Heilbroner's analysis provides a clue as to where the neglect of the African value system in the LPA lies. It is in the relationship between the state and the people on the one hand, the architects of the development strategies (within the logic of the state) and the people on the other. The people did not participate in the process which was thought would lead them to their economic development except by acquiescence or obedience to the command of the state and its experts. I shall come back to this issue when I talk of the notion of participation later. For the time being I will consider the African value system in relation to the policy framework of NEPAD.

4.3.2   African value system and NEPAD's policy framework

As in the LPA, the African value system is not ignored in the NEPAD document. First of all, the architects of NEPAD recognise African culture as one of the resources that could serve the purpose of economic development, but at the same time underline the fact that it is underutilised and underdeveloped (Art.11). They also complain about the fact that colonialism subverted African beliefs and values and made these compliant to the economic and political needs of colonial powers while simultaneously retarding African entrepreneurial and managerial capacity as expressed in the NEPAD document:

> Colonialism subverted hitherto traditional structures, institutions and values or made them subservient to the economic and political needs of the imperial powers. It also retarded the development of an entrepreneurial class, as well as a middle class with skills and managerial capacity (art.16).

Although compared to the LPA document, the NEPAD document has fewer passages referring to the African value system, the architects of NEPAD rate culture as one of the sectoral priorities:

> Culture is an integral part of development effort on the continent. Consequently, it is essential to protect and effectively utilise indigenous knowledge that represents a major dimension of the continent's culture, and to share this knowledge for the benefit of humankind. The New Partnership for Africa's Development will give special attention to the protection and nurturing of

indigenous knowledge, which includes tradition-based literacy, artistic and scientific works, inventions, scientific discoveries, designs, marks, names and symbols, undisclosed information and all other tradition-based innovations and creations resulting from intellectual activity […] (art.140).

Two observations can be made regarding this passage. The first observation is that, although it is presented as a priority among priorities, it is not clear what role culture has to play in economic development. That "culture is an integral part of development on the continent" does not make it clear whether it is an end that Africa's development should achieve, or at the same time also a means of development that has to be considered as such.

 In its final report of the Zonal Workshops and National Conference on Culture and NEPAD, the Ghana National Commission on Culture (2008) made this remark: "NEPAD needs to recognize and discover how culture can contribute to good governance, wealth creation, peace and justice". The observation made here is that "how" culture could contribute to wealth creation (among other aspects) does not seem to be given sufficient consideration. One could react by saying that the answer "how" is the affirmation of African identity as the following passage of the NEPAD document seems to suggest:

> Africa's rich cultural legacy is reflected in its artefacts of the past, its literature, philosophies, art and music. These should serve both as a means of consolidating the pride of Africans in their own humanity and of confirming the common humanity of the peoples of the world (art.179).

However, it is not clear how the beliefs and values that constitute the content of such African identity and pride are made to serve the purpose of Africa's economic development. In connection with this "African pride", Ian Taylor (2005, p.96) questioned the fact that some Africans are not willing to invest in Africa as is shown by the high level of capital flight. This outward orientation could end up influencing the African people not only to have an outward mindset and extroversion, but also to pathologically interiorise their self-hatred as Bidima (1994) indicated. In the end, Africa's economic development itself is jeopardised. As Taylor (2005, p.96) observes: If, in the name of African pride, African leaders themselves are not willing to invest in their own continent, how could non-Africans be expected to do so?

The second observation is that culture is presented in its accidental aspects rather than its essential aspects, in parts rather that in its totality. It is true that such a presentation is geared to underlining what constitutes African identity and the fact that such an identity should stand in partnership with that of other people. However, the implication is that African culture is presented in some aspects which may be of interest to tourism. These aspects are more clearly captured by the concept of "cultural capital" which Throsby refers to as:

> Heritage buildings, cultural institutions, facilities such as theatres, halls, craft workshops and so on (which) can all be seen as capital assets, and the people who produce cultural goods and services in these facilities – actors, musicians, craft people, writers, technicians, designers, administrators and many others – (who) all contribute to the generation of economic and cultural value over time (Throsby, 2001, p.126).

In the NEPAD document, culture is thus presented as what Throsby (2001, pp.11-12) calls the economy of culture, rather than a system of beliefs and values that could be validated to give birth to a general strategy of economic development. This can be observed from this passage:

> Africa has already made a significant contribution to the world culture through literature, music, visual arts and other cultural forms, but its potential remains untapped because of its limited integration into the global economy (art.16).

Once again, the Ghana National Commission on Culture (2008) made this remark which I find to be true:

> While culture is defined as the totality of life of a particular group of people, in discussing the NEPAD framework, culture is seen as a capital that would enable Africa to affirm and preserve her cultural identity, values, institutions, tangible and intangible heritage.

Thus, although the issue of culture in the NEPAD document is not avoided, it is nevertheless neglected. The question is: What explains this neglect? In the case of the LPA, I argued that the neglect came from the fact that it was conceived within the policy framework of a highly activist and regulatory state characterised by doubts about the role of other actors in economic

development. In the case of NEPAD, the neglect came from the fact that its policy framework is the market which hardly recognises those other aspects that make economic development possible.

According to Heilbroner, the motives of economic "rationality" that underlie the framework of the market are the same as those that underlie the framework of the state. Heilbroner argues that the policy framework of the market is underpinned by the rationality of free exchange in which "the economy appears as an autonomous process, wholly independent of the society with which it operates" (Heilbroner, 1988, p.23). In other words, the market operates as a means of social orchestration just as it is the case in traditional kind of society and command economy. The market draws its orchestrating means to shape human behaviour from the self-interest and rational calculation displayed by individuals (Heilbroner, 1988, p.25). Heilbroner further adds:

> The changes wrought by the market mechanism are so great, and their impact of consciousness so deep, that it becomes impossible to speak of this orchestration process without designating it as a special realm. […] This is all the more the case […] insofar as the logic of market interaction acquires a complexity and a self-regulating character that endow the market system with "a life of its own" (Heilbroner, 1988, p.33).

Thus one could say that the neglect of the African value system lies in the so-called "self-regulating character" of the market. In this self-regulating character even culture tends to be valued more in terms of a set of commodities to be sold and bought rather than a system that constitutes the foundation of economic activities and that can lead to a whole society's economic development.

4.3.3   State versus Market: where do people stand?

The contrast between the state and the market arises out of the concern about how economic development should be achieved. The proponents of the state's intervention in the economy argue that economic development cannot be achieved unless the state plays a clear role in the process. The state's intervention can take three major forms depending on its degree of

intervention (Kambhampati, 2004, pp.140ff; cf. Evans, 1995). It is strong in centrally planned or command economies, moderate in mixed economies (as in developmental states), or minimal in a laissez-faire or free-market economy. In command economic development, the state directs the economy to the extent that the market has little or no role to play. Consequently, the state sets the prices and determines resource allocation. In short, the state undertakes all economic activities as is the case in communist countries, particularly. In the mixed economic development, the state regulates the economy and is the distributive force in it as is the case in certain developmental states of East Asian (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore) (see Chang, 2003, p.47). The state regulation consists of shaping, pursuing and encouraging the achievement of development objectives (Leftwich, 1995, p.401, Evans, 1995, p.59). The state intervention is minimal in the laissez-faire or free-market economy. This minimal intervention consists of, *inter alia* large-scale socio-economic infrastructure, security, enforcing contracts, and securing property rights.

The proponents of the state intervention in economic development argue that even a well-functioning market economy necessitates a well-functioning state. The market, they argue, is a political construct (Chang, 2003, p.52; Toye, 2003). According to Polanyi (cited by Chang, 2003, p.50; see also Reinert, 2007; Chang, 2009), even in the case of Britain, where the free-market is believed by many to have emerged spontaneously, "the road to the free-market was opened and kept open by enormous increase in continuous, centrally organised and controlled [state] interventionism". One cannot but asked this question which Lesser (1991) raised: "When government fails, will the market do better?"

It is this "state interventionism" and presumed failure that the proponents of the market, particularly the neo-liberal economists, react against. They contend that the state's intervention creates allocative inefficiencies which undermine economic development. Their contention is based on the belief that the market is a natural institution whereas the state and other institutions are man-made substitutes. More precisely, "market-based economic arrangements are natural because they are the product of an economic rationality inherent in all persons" (as in Williams, 2007, p.95). In his *Markets and Hierarchies*, Williamson (1975, p.20) expresses the primacy of the market as follows: "…in the beginning, there were the markets". Such belief is based on the (neo)-liberal assumption that the individuals are free to pursue their particular interests. The market harmonizes the interests of all the participants. From an economic development point of view, Bauer (1983, pp.30-31) draws on Smith's invisible hand and

argues that the pursuit of individual gain by individual members in the society mediated by the market results in economic growth and development. Thus, the proponents of the market economy argue that the developing countries are not poor because they are poor; rather they are poor because of too much state interference.

The question that may be asked is whether the state and the market as frameworks of economic development are so divorced from each other to the point of being kept as parallel lines in Euclidian geometry. Do they really supplant each other more than they can supplement or complement each other? Is the state simply there to correct the market failures as the proponents of state intervention would claim? Is the market coming in to reshape the state failures in the economy as the orthodox economists have often made one believe? These are certainly not easy questions to deal with. However, it might be necessary to recall the point made earlier in the second chapter that the classical liberals (even Adam Smith referred to as the father of classical economic liberalism) were not that hostile to the state, nor did they believe that government had only a minimal role in economic life (Wyatt-Walter, 1996; Harlen, 1999). They believed that the state is crucial in recommending economic policies and should even protect the national economy. Thus, List (1885, p.175) argued that the state is necessary to accomplish the economic development of the nation and to prepare it for admission into the universal society. The market was recognised in its role.

However, the state and the market seem to be emphasised differently according to the structure of societies. The market seems to be much emphasised in certain developed nations of the West where the individuals are autonomous and free to pursue their interests. Accordingly, the seeming state intervention in the heyday of laissez-faire economy, as well as in the Keynesian era was often abhorred as a stumbling block to the individual autonomy, and freedom and to the free market they underlie. The suggestion here is that economic development is linked with how the human beings are conceived of in the society, i.e the beliefs and values that structure their ontological make-up. It is this underlying anthropo-ontological aspect that the architects of NEPAD seem to have neglected in their use of the orthodox economic framework for Africa's economic development.

Instead, the state seems to be emphasised much more in the developing countries where the structure of the society (and the concept of the individual) is different from that of the West. Even this structure of the society varies from one region to the other according to the content of

what people believe and value. In using the state as a framework of development, the architects of LPA do not seem to have been sufficiently sensible to this (anthropological) factor.

From what has been developed so far, it is clear that the state and the market tend to oppose each other, playing on each other's weaknesses and failures. Furthermore, the role of the state and that of the market tend to gain emphasis according to the structure of the societies where they are preeminent. Neither the LPA in its use of the state as policy framework nor the NEPAD in its use of the market as its policy framework took seriously the structure of the African society. This is the whole issue of the people and what they believe and value which is not clearly defined in devising strategies of economic development in Africa. As it has already been argued, one reason why the people are left on the margins of economic development is that the two strategies of economic development worked within the logic of what economics does. The consequence of this logic is that the people are deprived of participation in the process of their own economic development. I consider this aspect in the next section.

4.4   The consequence of functional use of economics by the LPA and NEPAD: Lack of people's participation.

Although the issue of economic development is at stake in both policy frameworks, the architects seem to have been trapped in the logic of what economics does for the people and not what economy is for the people. The function of the economics of "doing" is mirrored and reproduced in a certain way by both the state and the market in the process of achieving economic development. In other words, the economic development becomes that which is achieved by the policymakers as well as the leaders they advise (in the policy framework of the state) or policymakers and the invisible hand of the market (in the policy framework of the market).

One major problem of this logic is that the role of people tends to be omitted from the equation of their own economic development. Consequently, the LPA and NEPAD have often been criticised by scholars as well as the African population at the grassroots for being elite driven or the result of top-down processes due to the lack of public participation and consultation in the process. For instance, although Adebayo Adedeji was the mastermind behind the LPA, he

looks back on African strategies of economic development and criticises LPA and NEPAD in these terms:

> […] one great deficiency which they both share and which has to be put right is that they are top-down rather than bottom-up initiatives. While it is the responsibility of political leaders to take policy and political initiatives, their efforts will be in vain if they are unable to carry their people with them. Both were prepared without consultation with the stakeholders of Africa's development. No public discourse or debate has been held on both in [the] majority of African countries. It is even doubtful if national parliaments have been fully engaged in both processes. Yet both claim that the promotion of democratic principles and instituting popular participation and good governance is one of their main objectives. The African ownership which is claimed for them is no more than the ownership of the heads of government and their immediate advisers (Adedeji, 2002, pp. 16-7).

In their assessment of the Lagos Plan of Action, Rasheed and Sarr (1991) underlined the fact that, the plan was, indeed, endogenous:

> African countries committed themselves to base their individual and collective development on endogenous factor inputs, especially natural and human resources, and to ensure that the development process relies mainly on domestic factor endowment (Rasheed & Sarr, 1991, p. 15).

Such domestic factor inputs include some presumed indigenous expertise and management adaptable to serve Africa's production requirements (arts.90, 106 & 111ii). However, in the conclusion of their assessment, Rasheed and Sarr underlined a number of aspects that made the objectives of the LPA endogenous in its slogans but less indigenous in practice:

> With over 80 percent of the population marginalised; with an aid-dependent mentality, inadequate and sometimes counter-productive public services, management organisational systems, and an externally dependent economic structure, the objectives of self-reliance and self-sustainment naturally remained mere slogans (Rasheed & Sarr, 1991, p. 33).

Another scholar who complained about the lack of participation of the population in the elaboration and execution of the LPA is Benachenhou. He says:

> The issue of the execution of the Lagos Plan lies in the central problem of the formation of the popular political will which, alone, could guarantee that the development is oriented towards the satisfaction of the needs of the majority of the people with the participation of this same people to the elaboration of plans (of development) and their execution (Benachenhou, 1982, p.21).

In his statements aimed at the preparation of Africa for the twenty-first century, Adedeji recognised the fact that LPA lacked a "new transformation ethic" which would have involved people through their full and active participation. He argues that what is needed, as far as Africa is concerned, is

> [a] New African transformation ethic based on a human-centred development paradigm which puts the people at the centre of the development process, on the driving seat as it were and is predicated, above all, on the rational proposition that development has to be engineered and sustained by the people themselves through their full and active participation. In other words, the new African transformation ethic rests on the firm belief that development should not be undertaken on behalf of a people; rather, that it should be the organic outcome of a society's value system, its perceptions, its concerns and its endeavours (Adedeji, 1991, p. 49).

The same lack of people's participation of which the LPA has been accused is also found in the criticism about NEPAD (African Scholars' Forum, 2002; Bond, 2002; Kotzé & Steyn, 2003; Matthews, 2004; Ayittey, 2005, pp. 320-23; and Hawi, 2005). The African scholars' Forum has expressed its concern about the fact that there has been little or no public debate regarding the extent to which the NEPAD policy corresponds to the African reality, dream and vision:

> NEPAD is unkown to the majority of African peoples, is barely understood by African development agents, including those in government, and has drawn little interest from African scholars (African Scholars' Forum, 2002, p.2).

In the same way, church representatives complained that:

> The process that gave rise to the current NEPAD document is seriously lacking because there has been no consultation with Africa's citizenry, without whose active participation there can be no real partnership and no real development (Southern Africa's Bishops' Conference, 2002).

The declaration of the Civil Society Organisation (CSO) is even more categorical:

> […] we do not accept the NEPAD plan, as a process and in its content. We are committed to joint efforts for Africa's development and emancipation, and we call upon all African peoples' organisations and movements to continue their longstanding efforts to produce sustainable, just and viable alternatives that will benefit all the people of Africa (in Kotzé & Steyn, 2003, p.54).

Kotzé and Steyn (2003, p.55) carried out a survey across seven African countries (South Africa, Nigeria, Senegal, Algeria, Kenya, Uganda, and Zimbabwe). The survey consisted in asking the elites to indicate on a scale of 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) to what extent they concur with the statement: "it is only the ruling elite in the country that is actively involved in promoting NEPAD". The following table (Table 4-2) features the results:

Table 4-2: The promotion of NEPAD by the ruling elite

It is only the ruling elite in the country that is actively involved in promoting NEPAD			
Country	Agree (%)	Neutral (%)	Disagree (%)
South Africa	59.4	14.1	26.5
Nigeria	71.5	12.3	16.1
Senegal	66.4	7.5	26.1
Algeria	39.0	45.1	16.0
Kenya	53.3	24.2	22.5
Uganda	71.2	17.5	11.4
Zimbabwe	34.3	16.1	49.6

Kotzé and Steyn (2003, p.55) concluded that the majority of respondents in all countries except Zimbabwe agreed with the statement. The survey reflects the opinion that NEPAD is an elite-driven process. The case of Zimbabwe could be explained by the fact that "the Zimbabwean leadership interprets NEPAD as an endeavour of neo-colonialism" (Kotzé & Steyn, 2003, p.51).

Finally, a Kenyan scholar expressed himself on NEPAD in the following terms:

> NEPAD is undemocratic. Popular forces in Africa – the farmers through their associations, the workers and their unions, the civil society and their organizations, the indigenous business community, women and their organizations and the professionals and intelligentsia – were not consulted, let alone involved in the development of the initiative. […] "you cannot shave a person's head in his absence" (Oduor, 2002).

When people are not involved in the development process that concerns them, it is difficult to make what they are as well as what they believe and value a catalyst of such process. However, in the case of NEPAD, some people could oppose the argument here by saying, as implied earlier, that NEPAD is based on the idea of African Renaissance which is often perceived as a cultural project. This project refers to the appropriation of values that are genuinely African and rooted in the former ideological framework of Pan-Africanism, negritude and black consciousness (Edozie, 2004, p.152). Even if this were the case, the argument would still be groundless. The point does not cover the fact that both NEPAD and the LPA are top-down and do not take people along. The people turn out to be alienated and subordinated in the process of development (Ukiwo, 2003, p.128; Hawi, 2005). Taylor (2005, p. 45) made a similar point and observed, that besides being promoted by African leaders, NEPAD does not have any African spirit or African cultural value. He notes that NEPAD is built on the principle of give and take which is peculiar to the economic neo-liberalism to the extent that the plan becomes another commodity to be marketed.

What is being underlined is that the LPA was conceived in the policy framework of the state and NEPAD was conceived in the framework of the market. What is lacking in both is the participation of the people. Akiwo (2003) asks this question: Does popular participation matter? The question is answered in the affirmative. It is through the process of participation

that the issue of how and what people believe and value could be translated into policies that promote their economic development.

The concept of "participation" is itself ambiguous. Even if the people were actually participating in the execution of the plans like the LPA and NEPAD, the issue remains how much people can participate meaningfully in a system they have not conceived, and therefore which they may not understand. The full and active participation of the people is what makes plans of development find their foundation in what people believe and value. At the same time, it is participation that translates theories of development from their universal conception to local application.

The concept of participation[44] is increasingly occupying the centre of development thinking to the extent that it is seen as catalysing what, nowadays, is referred to as alternative development or post-development (Escobar, 1992, 1995; Latouche, 1993; Pieterse, 1998, 2001; Sen, 1999; Matthews, 2004; Crocker 2007, 2008). The concept of development means that people take part in their own development, that is, they are agents and not patients in the processes of their development (Sen, 1999; Crocker, 2008). There are various aspects of participation. David Crocker (2007, pp. 432-3) has outlined seven types of participation which are listed below.

- *Nominal participation:* People participate in group decision-making only as a members of the group but, do not, for instance, attend meetings, maybe because of responsibilities, lack of will, or feeling that they are harassed and unwelcome.

- *Passive participation:* In this type of participation, one is a member of a group and attends decision-making meetings only to listen in order to report about decisions already made. As Drydyk (2005, p.259) puts it, passive participation is limited to being told what is going to happen or what is going on already.

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[44]Although the concept (and the practice) of participation has not attracted much attention in most perspectives of development, it is central in the social teachings of the Catholic Church. In fact, it was already much debated in late 1940s/early 1950s, under Pope Pius XII, in terms of what level of participation is appropriate to determine the policies, procedures, practices and directions in industries. In *Pacem in Terris* issued in 1963, Pope John XXIII referred to the common good as a reality in which all people should share through their participation (arts. 73ss, cf. art.56). In *Populorum Progressio* issued in 1967, Pope Paul VI uses the concept participation to reconcile the notion private property and the common good. He suggested that if the conflict between acquired private rights and primary community exigencies arises, the public authority, with the active participation of individuals and social groups, should provide a solution (art.23). Thus one might justifiably ask why it was not replicated in the perspectives of development as it has been, for instance, in the struggle for political independence.

- *Consultative participation:* This refers to non-elites participating by simply giving information or opinions to the elite. However, the non-elites neither deliberate among themselves nor make decisions.

- *Petitionary participation:* The non-elite participate by petitioning to authorities to make certain decisions or do certain things as a remedy for their grievances.

- *Participatory implementation*: Elites determine the goals and the main means, while the non-elite implement the goals and decide the tactics. Drydyk (2005, p.260) calls it functional participation.

- *Bargaining participation:* Here the non-elite individually or collectively bargain with the elite, but mostly as adversaries rather than partners; the motive of the bargaining being largely or exclusively self-interest.

- *Deliberative participation*: Both the elites and non-elites deliberate together, engage in reasoning and scrutinise the proposals, reflect in order to reach agreements or consensus on policies geared to the common good. According to Crocker (2007, p.433), the deliberative process includes the scrutiny and formation of values as well as the importance of various processes and opportunities. Drydyk (2005, p.260) calls this kind of participation interactive participation geared to a joint analysis and reflection in order to achieve solutions to issues.

The first five types of participation refer to what I call *accidental participation*. There is no public reflection and debate, or what Sen (1999, 2005, 2009) calls "public reasoning", involved as far as people are concerned. The occurrence or non-occurrence of this kind of participation does not prevent "the course of things" (what has been planned at the level of leadership and expertise) from taking place. In this kind of participation, people's involvement is practically limited to approval and execution as is the case (has been the case) in most of the "top-down" development strategies, in particular the LPA and NEPAD. Once policymakers and planners have finished the office work of designing a plan or a project of development, people are required to work with it without knowing its politics, its meaning, how it will shape their lives and where it will lead them.

Deliberative participation refers to what I call *essential participation*. In this kind of participation, people are the agents and not patients of their own development. In other words their participation is essential to the process of development; in fact, it is already development in process. Development starts with them and not without them. And at the same time, development is essential to what they become. It transforms them as they give it a shape (cf. Adedeji, 1991, p. 49). To use Hodgett's terms, by exercising their agency, people acquire the political and social awareness that helps them to leapfrog in their development (Hodgett, 2008). The idea of deliberative participation is also underlined in what Pieterse calls reflexive development. For Pieterse, the reflexive development takes on a programmatic meaning such that reflexive development becomes reflexive in a social and political sense. In participatory development, popular reflexivity takes the form of broad debates on development goals and methods that structure policies (Pieterse, 1998, p.369).

The major relevance of participation is that it makes possible the inculturation and democratisation of development. The concept of inculturation is borrowed from Third World Christian theologians, in particular African theologians, who use it to mean the process by which Christianity could take roots in, and the colour of local cultures. I believe inculturation, together with democratisation, could equally be applied to economic development to mean the process by which economic development could take root in what people believe and value.

Both the inculturation and democratisation of economic development are geared to translating what is universal in economic development to a local context. The need for development as the process of improving the quality of people's lives is universal. In all societies, irrespective of which economic approach is adopted, economic development has the aims described below:

- It aims to raise people's living levels, that is, to increase the availability and widen the distribution of basic life-sustaining goods such as food, housing, health services, and security through relevant economic growth processes. This has to do with sustenance or the ability to meet people's basic needs.

- It is aimed at creating conditions conducive to the growth of people's self-esteem: this should include not only better incomes, jobs, education, but also greater attention to cultural and human values that enhance both material well-being and collective and individual self-esteem. This is achieved through the establishment of

social, political, and economic systems and institutions that promote human dignity and respect. This has to do with the promotion of the value of "being a person".

- It aims to expand people's freedom by enlarging the range of economic and social choices: This means freeing people from servitude and dependence not only in relation to other people and states, but also from the forces of ignorance and human misery. This requires increasing varieties of consumer goods and services (Todaro, 1994, pp.19 & 670).

However, the way this process of development is effected is particular, since people are historically, socially, economically, and culturally different. Inculturation and democratisation of development imply two principles. The first is the principle of difference. People are different in their social, historical, political experience. The kind of economic system that may be suggested to such people requires policymakers to take this fact into account. The second principle is that of appropriation, economic systems that were produced elsewhere can be used by other people provided they are properly integrated so as to take into account the ontological make-up of these people. However, this is difficult as the experience of development in Africa shows.

The translation of the universality of development to a local context is mediated by local beliefs and values. Cooper and Vargas (2004; see also Throsby, 2001) talk of the cultural feasibility of economic development.

The question that puzzles is how to concretise the link between economic development and cultural values. Cardoso suggested that the participation of people in their development should be linked to political activity (in Goulet, 1989, p.168), that is, bringing what is economic and cultural in the political sphere. According to Sen (1999, 2005, 2009, see also Pellissery & Bergh, 2007, p.284; Crocker 2007, 2008), this can only be achieved through public reflection and debate or public reasoning (Sen 1999, 2005, 2009). That is what I call "democratisation of economic development".

In LPA and NEPAD, this public reflection and debate never moved beyond government officials and the experts who advised them. In the absence of this public reflection and debate or public reasoning, the African value system could hardly be validated in terms of policies for economic development in Africa.

4.5   Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that the African value system has been neglected in both the LPA and NEPAD as strategies for Africa's economic development. I outlined two reasons which explain this neglect. I argued that the first reason lies in the distinction between development economics that underlies the economic policies of developing countries and the orthodox economics that underpins the economic policies of developed countries. Development economics gave rise to the policy framework of the state, within which the LPA was conceived. By contrast, orthodox economics gave rise to the policy framework of the market within which NEPAD was conceived. Both policy frameworks failed to provide sufficient room to allow what people believe and value to be the foundation of Africa's economic development.

As far as the second reason is concerned, I argued that in both policy frameworks, the architects of the two strategies for Africa's economic development operated against the background of what economics does and not what economics is. This did not give sufficient room for people's participation in the process of their economic development. Participation, I argued, makes possible the democratisation and inculturation of economic development, and thus translates the universal conception of economic development into its local, cultural feasibility.

The next two chapters will deal with the empirical component of this research. I will engage with certain architects who played a central role in the design of the LPA and NEPAD, in order to record their views on the cultural foundations of the two strategies of economic development.

Two objectives will be pursued. The first objective is to know how African policymakers and planners respond to the concern that the African belief and value system could have been the missing link between development plans and the economic development they intended to achieve. The second objective will consist in discussing with them whether adapting development policies to the African value system or adapting African value system to development policies could advance the cause of economic development in Africa.

5   CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGY OF THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

5.1   Introduction

This chapter deals with the empirical part of my research. The aim of this empirical research was to engage with policymakers who masterminded the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). I will consider the issue of how these architects of the African plans for economic development respond to the concern that African cultural values have not been taken seriously in these two African strategies of economic development, and thus could be the missing link between these African plans for development and the economic development they desire to achieve. I will discuss with them whether by adapting development policies to the African value system or, conversely, by adapting the African value system to development policies, this could achieve Africa's economic development.

To achieve the above aim, this chapter will be divided into three sections. The first section is the method of data collection and its rationale. The second section will deal with how the research will be conducted as well as the validity and reliability of the collected data and findings. The third section will deal with the ethical issues of this empirical research component and how they will be handled.

5.2   Method of data gathering and its rationale

The method of data collection for this research is semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interview is part of the qualitative research methods. According to Mason (2002, pp. 3-4), the qualitative approach has three features which justify its use for this research. Firstly, qualitative research is grounded in a philosophical position which is 'interpretivist'. It is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced, produced or constituted. Secondly, qualitative research is based on methods of data generation which are both flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced. Thirdly, qualitative research is based on methods of analysis, explanation and argument building which involve the

understanding of complexity, details and context. It aims to produce rounded and contextual understandings based on rich, nuanced and detailed data. It is more 'holistic' in its analysis and explanation. Thus, the qualitative method fits well with the philosophical approach to this research which tends to be interpretive, qualitative and prescriptive (see Chapter One, point 8).

Qualitative research has a wide range of approaches which social scientists tend to divide into two categories, namely non-survey and survey approaches (Bailey, 1982). Non-survey qualitative research approaches include the ethnographic approach which uses observation and participation, content analysis, and historical analysis. Survey qualitative approaches include sampling, mailed questionnaires, and interviews. The approach used in this research is the interview which is part of the survey category. The choice of the interview approach lies in the fact that it allows for an exchange of views on issues between the researcher and the interviewee. Kvale (1996) talks of "Inter Views". It is against this background that I shall use semi-structured interviews.

May (1993, p.93) states that the semi-structured interview is thus called, because it lies between structured and focused types of interviews. A structured interview relies upon the use of an interview questionnaire as a data collection instrument. Interviewees are asked questions in the same way, to the extent that differences between answers are assumed to be real ones and not the result of the interview situation itself. By contrast, the focused interview is informal and unstructured. It is open-ended and provides the interviewees with the freedom to talk about the issue in any way they like to the extent that the preconceptions of the research could find themselves challenged (May, 1993, pp.93-4). The semi-structured interview stands between the structured and the focused interview and can borrow techniques from both. It borrows from the structured interview in that questions are normally specified; but it is also close to the focused interview as the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers:

> Qualitative information about the topic can then be recorded by the interviewer who can seek both *clarification* and *elaboration* on the answers given. This enables the interviewer to have more latitude to *probe* beyond the answers (May, 1993, p.93)[45].

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[45] Italics are in the original text.

Mason calls the semi-structured interview "interactional exchange dialogue" or, in the words of Burgess (1984:102), a "conversation with purpose". Epistemologically, the semi-structured interview assumes that knowledge is situated and contextual to the extent that its purpose is the "production" and "construction" of knowledge. The interactional exchange dialogue or conversation between the interviewee and the interviewer makes it possible to achieve this constructed knowledge. This is the reason behind the use of the semi-structured interview in this empirical research.

## 5.3   Design of the data collection and analysis

5.3.1   The structure of the interview

As the method of research will be a semi-structured interview, the interview questionnaire will be a combination of a structured and focused interview questionnaire. The concept "semi-structured" presupposes that there is a more or less structured list of questions to be discussed. Mason (2002, p.69) claims that, data cannot be collected in a wholly unstructured way since the decisions and judgements that the researcher makes give a certain structure and purpose to the data generation process.

The sequencing of questions will not be wholly structured. There will be the possibility of probing in order to achieve depth and clarity. Moreover, this research is taking place 30 years after the LPA was issued and 10 years after NEPAD. Certain participants could find it difficult to remember some aspects of the "story" of these plans. To deal with this challenge that might be caused by ageing, it could be necessary to give them the main interview questions in advance in order to refresh their memories.

The overall structure of the interview will be as follows: introduction, questions, and conclusion. The following figure (Fig 5-1) gives a schematic representation of the interview.

Figure 5-1: Structure of the questionnaire (adapted from Mason, 2002, p.69)
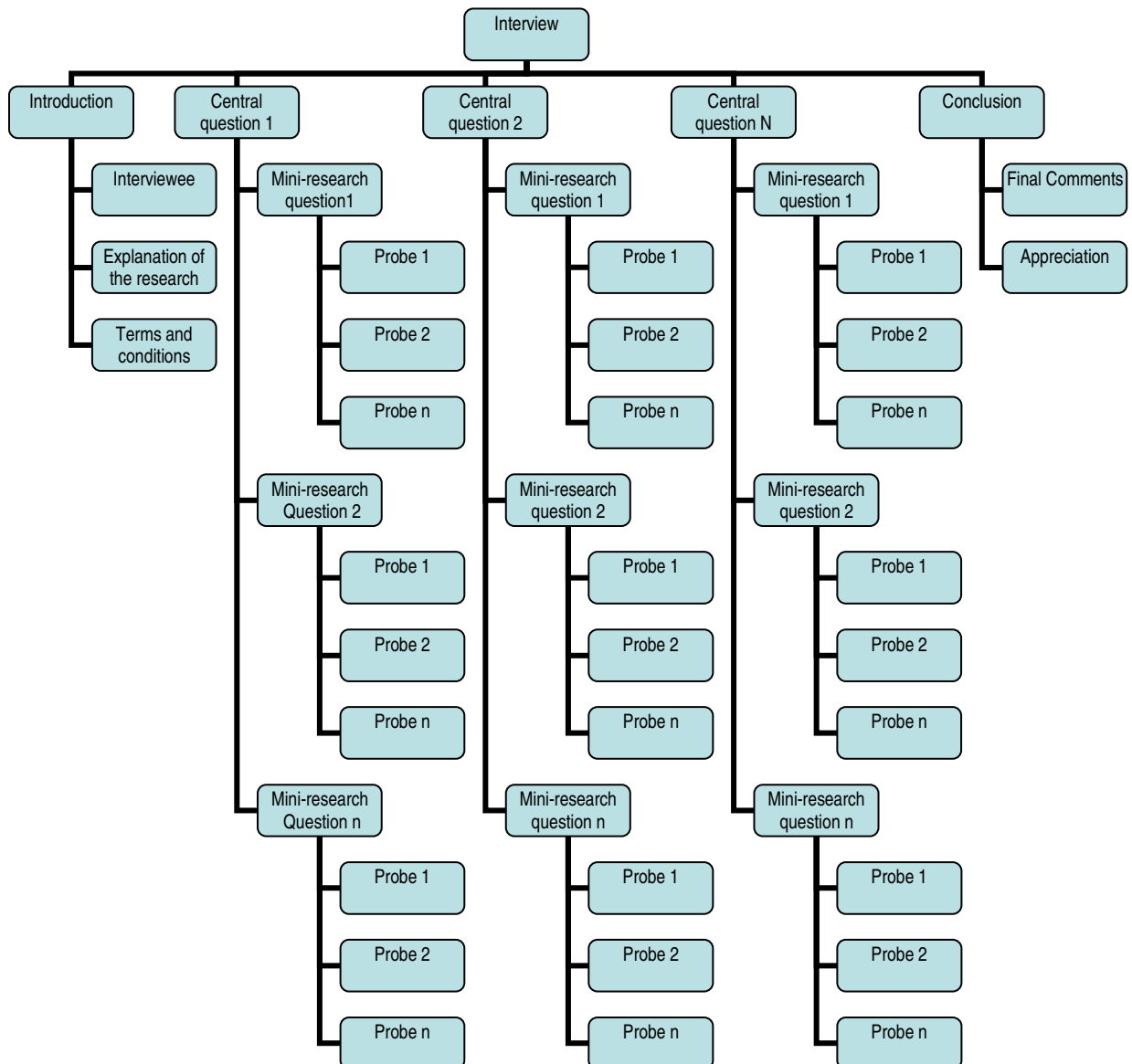
5.3.2 Interview questionnaire

The interview questionnaire will have three parts. The first part consists of introductory preliminaries, namely, the self-introduction of the interviewer, the explanation of the research being carried out, and also the terms and conditions that will apply to the interview (informed consent, confidentiality, the duration of the interview, and the recording of the interview data).

The second part will consists of five research questions. The first question inquires about the background of how each plan emerged. The aim of this question is to establish what prompted the respective plans as well as the fundamental assumptions made by the architects of these plans.

The second question inquires about whether the interviewees were aware of the theories that informed either of the respective plans being investigated and whether in the knowledge they had of these theories, they were aware of their cultural underpinnings.

The third question investigates the extent to which dependency and neoclassical liberal theories of economic development have been used to inform the LPA and NEPAD respectively. Up till now, in the theoretical section I have argued that the philosophical basis of the two plans is not African, by relying on my reading of the documented texts of these plans as well as the related literature. The aim of this question, therefore, is to establish whether architects of the two plans share this view. The question will also clarify the issue of what was appealing in the theories that prompted the architects to consider them as grounds for African strategies of economic development.

The fourth question concerns the link between culture and economic development. It seeks to establish whether the architects of the two plans were aware of this link and how they dealt with it. It will also solicit their views about the cultural foundations of economic development.

The fifth question is the application of the preceding question to the two respective plans for economic development. It is the question of whether the respective plans could be regarded as corroborations of the African value system. It fulfils a double objective. The first objective is to investigate the issue of how the architects of the two plans respectively respond to the concern that African cultural values might not have been taken seriously in the two strategies for Africa's economic development. The second objective is to discuss with these architects whether adapting development policies to the African value system could advance the cause of Africa's quest for economic development.

The third part is the conclusion of the interview. I will first give the interviewees the opportunity to make final comments or to ask questions if they have any. I will also express my appreciations to the interviewees for their involvement in the research. The interviewees will

also be informed that there will be a follow-up of the interview in which they can make observations and comments on the write-up of the data.

In the box is the skeleton of the interview to be conducted.

Box 5. 1: Interview questionnaire

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INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LPA INTERVIEWEES

I.   Introduction:

1.   Self-introduction of the interviewee
2.   Brief explanation of the research being carried out
3.   Terms and conditions

II.   Research questions:

1.   Could you give me some background about how the LPA emerged?
2.   Was the dependency theory known to you at the time you worked on the LPA?
3.   The LPA is perceived to be a classic interpretation of the dependency theory in the African development planning. To what extent is this the case?
4.   Is culture (as a system of beliefs and values that structure the identity of a given people) related to economic development?
5.   Did you consider the LPA to be a true expression of what Africans believe and value?

III. Concluding the interview:

1.   Final comments by the interviewee
2.   Expression of appreciation by the researcher and explanation of how the interview will be followed up.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NEPAD INTERVIEWEES

IV. Introduction:

1.   Self-introduction of the interviewee
2.   Brief explanation of the research being carried out
3.   Terms and conditions

</div>

V. Research questions:

1. Could you give me some background about how NEPAD emerged?

2. Was the neoliberal economic theory known to you at the time you worked on the NEPAD document?

3. NEPAD is perceived to be a classic interpretation of the neoliberal theory in African development planning. To what extent is this the case?

4. Is culture (as a system of beliefs and values that structure the identity of a given people) related to economic development?

5. Would you consider NEPAD to be a true expression of what Africans believe and value?

VI. Conclusion of the interview:

1. Final comments by the interviewee

2. Expression of appreciation by the researcher and explanation of how the interview will be followed up.

5.3.3 Sampling

The choice of interviewees will follow a non-probability sampling method. According to Henry (1999, p.104), the characteristic of the non-probability sampling method is the subjective judgment of the researcher in the selection of the interviewees. Creswell calls it purposeful sampling in which the researcher selects individuals for the study because they can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem being investigated. The decision has to be made about who should be sampled (Creswell, 2007, p.125).There are at least six types of non-probability sampling.

The first is the *convenience sampling* in which individuals are selected on the basis of their availability for the study.

The second is the *most similar/dissimilar cases* in which cases are selected based on whether they represent similar conditions or, alternatively, very different conditions. Miles and Huberman (1994, p.28) refer to this type of sampling as *confirming or disconfirming cases*. One of the objectives of this type of sampling is to elaborate on the initial analysis.

The third is the *typical cases* in which cases are selected according to whether they are known to be useful. This type of sampling is also known as criterion sampling, as the individuals included in the study meet some criterion, in particular the criterion of usefulness for quality assurance.

The fourth is *critical cases* in which cases are selected according to whether they are key or essential for overall acceptance or assessment.

The fifth is *snowball* in which initial group members identify additional members to be included in the sample.

Finally, the sixth is *quota* sampling which presupposes a stratified population. Each stratum is represented in the interview on a proportional basis. The researcher selects a sample that yields the same proportions on the ground of easily identified variables.

These types of sampling do not necessarily exclude one another. It is possible to have a sampling type that combines the advantages found in one or the other particular type. Thus the sampling used in this research will be structured as follows. It will be partly typical cases in so far as the interviewees will be chosen on the grounds of their usefulness and the fact that they meet the criterion of having worked on either of the plans of development being studied. It will be partly critical cases as the interviewees will be selected depending on the central role they played in either plan of development, the LPA or NEPAD. It will also be partly quota since the number of interviewees will have to be the same in both plans of development in order to give them equal chance in the process data collection. In each plan, interviewees will consist of economists and non-economists in equal proportion. The table below (Table 5-1) gives a picture of how the sample will be structured.

Table 5-1: The structure of the research sample

Lagos Plan of Action (LPA)		New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)		Total
Economists	Non-Economists	Economists	Non-Economists	
2	2	2	2	**8**

This sample may seem very small for data collection. But two interviewees per category is the minimum that can be considered. Furthermore, the aim of the semi-structured interview is to arrive at a deeper understanding rather than breadth of information. To achieve this depth the selection criterion of interviewees will be the fact of having been part of the technical group that played a role in the reflection and deliberation that gave birth to either of the plans. More interviewees will be added where required in order to achieve data saturation.

5.3.4 Interviewing, recording and processing

5.3.4.1 The interview and its recording

The data collection will be done using face-to-face personal interviews. However, where this is not possible at all, the telephone or online interviewing will be used. An informed consent package will be sent to interviewees beforehand. The package will consist of the information about the nature of the study being carried out and its objectives, the procedure to be followed and the consent form itself.

The interview will be recorded by means of a digital recorder. During the interview, I will also take some field notes, noting particularly those aspects such as body language, which escapes the digital recording. The length of each interview will be approximately 60 minutes. However, it could be extended to more or less 90 minutes depending on the interaction between the interviewee and the researcher.

5.3.4.2 The underlying philosophy that will guide data analysis and interpretation

According to Rubin and Rubin (2005, p.19), there are two major philosophies that inform how research, data analysis, and interpretation have to be conducted, namely: positivism and interpretative constructivism. Positivism assumes that knowledge is objectively out there and can be accessed unambiguously and accurately. It imitates the ways of the natural sciences and suggests that social sciences should use the methods of the natural sciences.

Social scientists with a positivist bent tend to formulate rigorous hypotheses that can be tested and retested, and use quantitative techniques such as computer simulation, scaling and statistical analyses. In the process of the measurement, the positivist researchers are said to be neutral to such an extent that they can claim not to affect what is observed or measured.

However, this approach to data analysis and interpretation does not provide a clear account of the fact-value differentiation. It is true that the social scientists have to confront the issue of what *"is",* that is, facts that substantiate their claims in their search for truth. Since they are dealing with human beings in society, factuality has to be transcended in view of what *ought* to be, that is, value (Bailey, 1982, p.7). In effect, the factuality of human acts does not give us an account of whether these acts are a result of human free will or whether they are simply a pure product of social laws.

Instead, interpretative constructionism assumes that knowledge does not exist outside the perceiver, as if it is waiting to be discovered as an objective truth (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 25). This may sound as if one is conceding to certain epistemological scepticism and relativism, but this is not what is meant here. Rather it is the issue of the neutrality of the researcher. In effect, in interpretative constructionist philosophy, since the researchers are humans and not automatons, they affect research findings.

As far as the duality of fact-value is concerned, for the constructivist researchers, how people view objects or events and the meaning they attribute to them is very important. Thus, they try to elicit the interviewees' views of the world, their work, events and life experience, economic and political interests, and shared meaning. Rubin and Rubin (2005, p.29) claim that researchers do not need to drop their cultural assumptions for them to comply with those of the interviewees. Nevertheless, the constructivist researchers have to be cautious that their cultural assumptions do not get in the way and prevent them from hearing the meaning of what the interviewees say. Gergen (1999, p.50) suggests that:

> The ability to get into the world of someone who does not share one's own lenses requires an ability to first recognise and then suspend one's own cultural assumptions long enough to see and understand another's.

Interpretative constructionism is appropriate for the qualitative research. Since this research is qualitative with semi-structured interviews as the instrument of data collection, it will be guided by interpretative constructivism which resonates with the philosophical perspective as the research design of the overall research.

5.3.4.3 Data processing and interpretation

The proper data processing and interpretation begin with transcription and organising of the collected data (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Welman et al., 2005, p. 211; Gibbs, 2007, p.11). In this research, the data collection and analysis of interviews will follow the scheme proposed by Kvale (1996, p.189) who argues that the analysis runs through from description to interpretation. This process is referred to as "interpreting as you go" (Kvale, 2007, p.102). Many social researchers praise Kvale's approach as it entails "craftsmanship" in the research process (Henning et al., 2004, p.146ff; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, ch.10). Moreover, Silverman (2010, p.221) and Merriam (2009, p.171) argue that data analysis should not only happen after data have been gathered. Data should be analysed as they are being gathered. My approach to data processing and interpretation will consist of the six steps suggested by Kvale (1996, p.189): bringing the interviewees to describe their lived world; bringing the interviewees to discover and see new meaning in their experience during the interview; condensing and interpreting during the interview; transcription and interpretation of the interview material; re-interview, and action. I shall briefly consider each step in turn.

1. Bringing the interviewees to describe their lived world during the interview will create the possibility of prompting them to interpret and explain.

2. Bring the interviewees to relate their experience of policymaking or planning to the issue of African cultural values, and how they respond to the concern that the impasse of economic development in Africa owes much to the fact that the cultural dimension has not been taken seriously in Africa's plans of development.

3. *Condensing and interpreting what the interviewees describe* will enable me to send back the meaning, thus giving them the opportunity to freely reply as required by the nature of the in-depth interview. This interaction is geared to achieving a self-correcting interview so as to avoid any doubt that could arise later.

4. *Data transcription and interpretation.* First, the data transcription will consist in converting the recorded data into write-ups. According to Mason (2002:78) there are three ways of transcribing data, namely: literal, interpretative and reflexive transcriptions. The *literal* transcription is the exact or factual transcription of what took place. It has the advantage of attempting to give an overall picture of what took place in the interview. However, this is hardly possible since such transcription presupposes that there can be no missing data, or areas of vagueness and uncertainty. Moreover certain utterances or gestures cannot be translated into written language. The *interpretative* transcription consists in reproducing the interview from what the researcher thinks the interviewees mean. The problem is that the interpreter runs the risk of imposing some meaning which is different from that of the interviewees. Epistemologically, the interpretative transcription substantiates the fact that knowledge is constructed rather than discovered. In the *reflexive* transcription the researchers have to refer to their shaping role in the interview and its outcome.

This research will utilise all three types of transcription. Literal transcription will be used to some extent as the recorded data will be transcribed as accurately as possible in order to capture the interview data. However, since the guiding philosophy of the data analysis and interpretation will be an interpretative constructionism, the emphasis will be more on interpretative and reflexive transcription. This will involve paying attention to key words, concepts, and the message of the interviewees. Indeed, as Gibbs (2007, pp.10-11) argues, even transcription is itself an interpretative process, a creative activity, and not just a mechanical reproduction which represents the beginning of the analysis.

5. *Control of data:* After the transcription, the write-up will be sent to the interviewees for comments and further elaboration of their original statements. This is referred to as the re-interview.

6. Action: The interpretation will consist of themes identification, coding, and analysis. This process can be done manually or computer assisted. In this research, the analysis will be done manually rather than computer assisted. According to Gibbs (2007, p.2), the computer helps with the office processes, but does not do the thinking. Thinking involves a hermeneutical task which the computer cannot do.

The theme identification consists of identifying key words or statements referred to as themes which sum up segments of the transcript. Rubin and Rubin (2005, p.207) argue that themes explain in a summary style what is going on. For Welman et al. (2005, p.211), themes serve as "umbrella" constructs of the interview. These themes are later subjected to analysis and interpretation.

The theme identification will be followed by coding. According to Rubin and Rubin (2007, p.219), coding consists of allocating labels or codes to each data unit where the matching themes appear. These codes can be words, numbers or symbols placed in the margin of the transcript or after the text segment being coded (Merriam, 2009, p.173, Flick, 2009, p.309). They help to locate themes that have the same content so as to analyse and make sense of the collected data (Welman et al., 2005, p.214).

According to Gray (2009, pp.495-496), in qualitative analysis there are no hard or fast rules for how data should be coded. In fact, there are various ways of coding. The most influential approach to coding is suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998). It consists of open, axial and selective coding central to the grounded theory. However, I have chosen to use the coding process proposed by Welman et al., (2005, p.214) in so far as it is practical and will serve the purpose of this research. It consists of six types of coding, four of which will be used in my analysis: descriptive codes which involve attributing a theme category to a segment of the text with little or no interpretation; interpretative codes which relate to the explanations or motives behind certain information; pattern codes which connect various sections of the interview in order to create meaning; and reflective remarks which reflect certain aspects of the interviewee's nonverbal behaviour and its interpretation by the interviewer.

The final step will be the analysis of coded data. This will consist in close examination, grouping and comparing themes in order to see their connections and eventual patterns which will lead towards an integrated analysis and interpretation.

The continuum of description and interpretation will be extended to include action which will include relating and harmonising the interview findings with the conclusions reached in the earlier theoretical reflection.

5.3.5 Validity and reliability of the methods and research findings

The crucial question is how to ensure that the data collected and its analysis are accurate and consistent. This question has to do with the validity and the reliability of the method of data collection, the data analysis and interpretation.

5.3.5.1 Validity and measures taken to ensure validity at different stages

According to Robson (1993, p.66; cf. Welman et al., 2005, p.142), validity is concerned with whether the findings are really about what they appear to be about. Singleton et al., (1993, p.115) talk of validity in terms of matching, congruence, or the goodness of fit between, for instance the operational definition and the concept it purports to measure. Thus, validity means truthfulness or accuracy. For Neuman (2000, p.171) and Silverman (2010, p.275), validity means truthful. This raises the question of what is truth. There are three classic accounts of truth, namely the correspondence, coherence, and pragmatic accounts.

In the correspondence account, a proposition (p) is true if it states a fact. There is a correspondence or conformity between the proposition (p) and fact or reality in the world. In the coherence account, a proposition (p) is true if it coheres or fits within other propositions already accepted as true. In the pragmatic account, a proposition (p) is true if it is verified in its practical outcomes. The truthfulness of a proposition is in its efficiency or applicability.

Each of these accounts has its strengths and flaws, but a discussion of these would be outside the scope of this research. Instead, I will briefly justify the marginal use of the correspondence account leading to a preference for the coherence and pragmatic accounts. Although the

correspondence account may play a certain role for factual information, it will not be central in this research which relies on interpretative constructionism. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p.247) name three weaknesses of the correspondence account which lead to a preference for the coherence and pragmatic accounts in this research.

Firstly, the correspondence account of truth is weakened by Popper's thought which shifts the emphasis from verification to falsification (see Popper, 1959). Valid knowledge is not that which corresponds to objective reality, but rather that which is defensible. True or valid knowledge becomes that which is defended against falsification attempts. For Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:249), such validity depends on the quality of craftsmanship during the investigation, as the researcher is continually checking, questioning, and interpreting the findings.

Secondly, the correspondence account of truth is weaker vis-à-vis the social construction of reality which lays emphasis on the discourse of the community. In the community discourse, truthful knowledge is constructed through dialogue which may involve conflicting interpretations. The harmonisation of these interpretations requires the coherence account for them to form a whole that is acceptable to the community.

Thirdly, the correspondence account plays a secondary role vis-à-vis the pragmatic account. In the correspondence account, knowledge relies on external justification for it to be valid. External justification of knowledge could be open to certain questions such as "And so what?" or "Why" which require answers beyond factuality. One of these answers is the applicability which is the ability to perform actions whereby even values can be accounted for. Applicability becomes the criterion of validity.

In this research, the quality of craftsmanship, the social construction of knowledge and applicability as a justification of valid knowledge require that validity be considered holistically. Thus, validity will be verified at different steps of the interview process. To achieve this objective, I will follow Kvale's suggestion that the validity of interview research runs through from the thematising to the reporting. Mishler (1990), Maxwell (2005) and Flick (2009) agree with Kvale when they argue that validity is a process rather than a state, a goal and not a product. Henning et al., (2004), Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) and Merriam (2009) have praised Kvale's approach to validity arguing that, indeed, it reflects the quality

craftsmanship. However, I will concentrate on validity in four stages that are crucial in all empirical research, namely: interviewing, transcribing, analysis, and validation.

1. *Interviewing*

Validity pertains to the accuracy of the participant's response and the quality of the interviewing itself. This entails two things: careful questioning and the quality of the information being gathered. As far as the questioning is concerned, questions will be concise and precise. Ambiguous, vague and undefined words, unclear phrasing in questions will be avoided as far as possible. The concepts such as culture and the nature of the link between culture and economic development will be clearly defined and clarified for the interviewees in order to ensure that the information being gathered is germane to these concepts, and thus achieves face validity. Face validity has to do with whether a given instrument of measurement is measuring what is meant to be measured (see Neuman, 2000, p.164); but also whether this is achieved adequately (Bailey, 1982, p.70). I am aware that face validity has the problem of assuming the content of a measure rather than proving it. Gray et al. (2007, p.67) rightly argues that one can never be sure of the obvious. Indeed what seems obvious could easily lead to illusions rather than the reality. Yet, the face validity seems to appeal to intuition which allows both the interviewer and the interviewee to make an "inference to the best explanation" since in the interview process there may be no documented sources at hand to rely on.

2. *Transcribing*

This has to do with the quality of conversion of the interview from oral to written language. There are many factors that may hamper this conversion, such as inaudible utterances, or unexpected defects of the recording instrument. Effort will be made to ensure an accurate transcription. This effort involves the use of reliable recording equipment to ensure a proper collection of interview data; transcribing the recorded data soon after the interview so as to retrieve through fresh memory unclear data in the digitally-recorded account; and finally, taking note of my own observations, interpretations and experiences of the interview so as to use them as supplements to both the digitally-recorded and memory data (cf. Mason, 2002, p.77).

3. Analysis

At this stage, validity concerns the mining of the data transcribed and the issue of whether the logic of the interpretation is sound. Concerning the data mining, to achieve the validity of data analysis, I will make sure that the processes of data analysis are carefully followed. These include theme identification, coding, categorising and interpretation of the data. As far as the interpretation is concerned, the validity will be assessed according to whether the findings shed light and clarity on the issue of the link between the African value system and the plans for economic development being investigated. This is what is referred to as pragmatic validity: the validity assessed in terms of the effectiveness or the applicability of the analysis.

4. Validation

This concerns the strategies to prove that the findings are valid. Merriam (2007) outlines four strategies used to ensure the validity before reporting, namely triangulation, member check, peer/colleagues examination, and the researcher's experience. *Triangulation* is the use of multiple sources of data or methods to confirm the emerging findings. *Member checks* consists of taking the data collected and their interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them whether the interpretation is valid. *Peer/colleagues examination* consists of asking colleagues to examine one's data or to comment on the plausibility of the emerging findings. The *statement of the researcher's experience* concerns the recognition of the researcher's assumptions, biases, and orientation.

In this research, only member checks will be used and will consist of the re-interview, or the participants' validation (Reason & Rowan, 1981; Fielding & Fielding, 1986; Gibbs, 2007). Member checks can be understood as the communication of knowledge in the process of ensuring validity (Kvale, 1996, p.240, see also 2009; Merriam, 2009). The transcribed data will be sent to the participants for further elaboration of their earlier statements and comments. Their reactions will be used to refine the analysis and interpretation to increase validity (Fielding & Fielding, 1986, p.43; Gibbs, 2007, p.43).

The table below (Table 5-2) gives a summary of the measures taken to ensure validity at different stages of the interview.

Table 5-2: Measures that will be taken to ensure validity at different stages of the interview

Stages	*Measures*
Interviewing	Concise and precise questions Avoiding ambiguous, vague, undefined words, unclear phrasing in questions Defining and clarifying key concepts to achieve face validity
Transcription	Use of reliable recording equipment Note-taking during the interview Transcription of oral data soon after the interview
Analysis	Following consistently the processes of data analysis: theme identification, coding, categorisation and interpretation Coherence with the overall research
Validation	Member checking (re-interview)

I shall now turn to the criterion of reliability.

5.3.5.2   Reliability and measures taken to ensure reliability at different steps

Reliability refers to consistency, stability, dependability and trustworthiness of the research findings (Singleton et al., 1993, p.114; Neuman, 2000, p.170, Merriam, 2009, p.221). Research findings are reliable, i.e consistent or dependable if they can "stand up to the closest scrutiny" (Raimond, 1993, p.55). One important aspect of this "close scrutiny" is replication, that is, whether "a research finding can be repeated" (Welman et al., 2005, p.145). If, for instance, in the case of the semi-structured interview, the interviewees were asked the same questions in different circumstances and time, and the same findings were obtained, these findings could be regarded as reliable.

To ensure reliable findings, the process itself that leads to the findings has to be reliable. According to Neuman (2000, p.368, cf. Gibbs, 2007, p. 3), reliability depends on a researcher's insight, awareness, suspicion and questions. For Flick (2009, p.387), reliability in qualitative research comes down to the need for explication of the genesis of the data as well as the procedures followed. These aspects are particularly important in the three stages of research where reliability has to be accounted for, namely: interviewing, transcribing and analysis (Kvale, 1996, p. 235).

1.   Interviewing

In interviewing, the first element that has to be reliable is the questionnaire (Bailey, 1982, p.73). Faulty or ambiguous questions lead to ambiguous and inconsistent answers. To avoid, or at least to minimise this source of inconsistency, I shall try to make the interview questions as clear and simple to understand as possible. Probes will be used to ensure that clear questions yield consistent answers (see Babbie, 1998, p.152).

Furthermore, the issue of culture in economic development as well as Africa's economic development are contentious and may arouse emotions. I shall avoid sensitive and emotional questions that could lead to errors, non-responses to certain questions, and emotional answers that could undermine the objectivity of the research.

Other aspects undermining consistency in interviewing include the environment where the interview is being held, uncontrolled personal factors in the interviewee such as fatigue, the relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer, unexpected equipment failure and inaudible answers. Some of these aspects are not easy to deal with. For limitations pertaining to the interviewee, Bailey (1982, p.194) suggests that the interviewer be adaptable, friendly, and responsive. This involves encouraging the interviewees through feedback, support, and praise which could shape an atmosphere that is stimulating so as to gain detailed answers and consistent information. The limitations pertaining to the misunderstanding of answers of the interviewee will be minimised by the re-interview. To prevent unexpected equipment failure, recording equipments will be tested beforehand. I will also take some notes and pay sufficient attention during the interview.

2. Data transcription

The second area where reliability is crucial is in the data transcription from the tape recorder to the written text. Earlier, I indicated that the transcription will be a combination of literal, interpretative and reflective types of transcription. Bailey (1982, p.76) argues that inconsistent information may be recorded due to missing or illegible data. But the interpretative and reflexive aspects of transcription could mistake certain valuable information of interviewees. To limit the shortcomings due to recording, I will take notes of my own observations in the

interview process. The re-interview will help to limit certain inconsistencies which might have escaped the recording or the transcription.

3. *Data analysis*

The third area where reliability has to be considered is in the data analysis. Certain sources of inconsistency in data analysis include the misinterpretation of data, drawing incorrect conclusions from data, or saying that the data shows something it does not show due to the researcher's bias. To minimise such inconsistencies, Merriam (2007) suggests triangulation, peer examination, keeping of an audit trail which, according to Guba and Lincoln (1989) and Richards (2005) consist of describing how the research has been conducted. This research does not require triangulation to prove the data accuracy. Instead of peer examination, member checking will be used which will include the interviewees' comments and elaboration on their earlier statements made during the interview. This process will ensure that the data being analysed is reliable. For the audit trail, I will provide an account of how data has been collected and analysed.

The following table (Table 5-3) gives a summary of the measures taken to ensure reliability at different stages.

Table 5-3 Measures to ensure reliability

Stages	Measures
Interviewing	Clear and simple questions Probing in search of clarity and depth Avoiding sensitive and emotional questions Adaptability, friendliness, and responsiveness Testing recording equipment prior to interview Note taking
Transcribing	Recording and note taking Combination of literal, interpretative and reflective transcription Re-interview
Data analysis	Audit trail Re-interview (member checking)

5.3.6 Ethical issues in the research process

Merriam (2009, p.209) argues that ensuring validity and reliability in qualitative research involves conducting the investigation in an ethical manner. Similarly, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p.62) see an interview inquiry as a moral enterprise. Both Mason (2007, pp.79ff), and Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) argue that moral issues arise at every stage of the research. I will focus on three stages in which common ethical issues such as voluntary participation, harm to the participants, anonymity/confidentiality, and scientific responsibility arise (cf. Babbie, 1995, pp.448ff), namely: interview situation, analysis and validation.

1. *Interview situation*

The interview could involve fatigue, stress, or fear of giving certain information that might compromise the interviewee's relations. For the interviews to proceed, I will require the participants' informed consent. The consent letter will be approved and obtained from the University of Pretoria. The interviewees will be informed about the nature of the research, and its objectives, as well as the objective of their participation. The interviewees will also be informed that they will be given a transcript of the interview data for their approval as well as the guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity.

Patton (1990, pp. 353-354; cf. Welman et al., 2005, p.201) states that interviews are interventions which may involve fatigue and stress. These will be dealt with through time management so as to minimise the interviewee's fatigue, a quiet place for the interview to minimise discomfort, as well as conducting the interview in a way that could minimise tension and stress. This will involve *inter alia* friendliness and responsiveness (see Patton, 2002, p.375).

2. *Analysis*

Two major ethical issues arise in analysis, namely: the scientific quality of the analysis, and whether the interviewees should have a say as to how their statements are interpreted. The latter will be taken care of, at least partly, by the re-interview in which interviewees will be allowed to make further comments and elaboration on their earlier statements. However, the former is problematic because it involves many things such as the integrity of the researcher,

honesty, and achieving a balance between the ethical and the scientific. This is the scientific and moral responsibility of the researcher held together. It is not easy to respond to these ethical aspects. However, as a researcher, I commit myself to the scientific and ethical quality of the research being undertaken. This commitment involves avoiding interpretations that are inconsistent with the available data[46].

3.   *Validation*

This has to do with the responsibility of the researcher to report verified and consistent knowledge. This will require openness to the interviewees' reactions in the re-interview process and a commitment not to accord a privileged status to these reactions when they should be treated as just another source of data.

The table below (Table 5-4) gives a summary of the ethical implications and measures taken to deal with them.

Table 5-4: Ethical implications of the research and measures taken to deal with them

Stages	*Ethical implications*	*Measures to deal with them*
Interview situation	Possible harm (in case the information the interviewees give compromises their relations with institutions or certain people), stress, and fatigue;	Obtaining the participants' informed consent; Quiet place for interviews; time management, friendliness and responsiveness.
Analysis	The quality of the analysis, the honesty, fairness, and integrity of the researcher; balance between ethical and scientific responsibility, Interviewees should have a say as to how their statements are interpreted;	Commitment to scientific and ethical quality; Avoiding interpretation that are inconsistent with the data; Re-interview.
Validation	Responsibility to report knowledge that is secure, verified, and unquestionable.	Openness to the interviewees' reactions in the re-interview process; Judgment in the treatment of these reactions.

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[46] I borrowed this consideration from the Code of Conduct of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (in Babbie, 1995, p.456).

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the various aspects that constitute the methodology of this empirical research. To reiterate, this empirical research will consist of engaging with the policymakers who have masterminded the two strategies, the LPA and NEPAD in order to gather their views on the link between African cultural values and plans of economic development. The various aspects discussed include the method of data collection and its rationale, the validity and reliability of the collected data and findings, and also the ethical issues involved and how they will be dealt with.

The next chapter present the data findings of the empirical research and their comparison with the previous theoretical reflection.