8 CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter consists of three sections. The first section is a summary of the macro-argument developed so far. The second section deals with the implications of the findings. The third section is a critical reflection on the research which will identify contributions made by this study and areas in need of further investigation.

8.1 Summary of the macro-argument

The focus of this research has been an appraisal of the cultural foundations of Africa's strategies of economic development, taking LPA and NEPAD as case studies. The aim was to generate four philosophical premises that should guide economic development in Africa. I argued that, although LPA and NEPAD were designed in Africa, their respective philosophical bases are not African. To substantiate this claim, the introductory chapter provided the background of the research as well as the methodological considerations that inform the study. In Chapter Two, I excavated the theories of economic development that are alleged to have informed LPA and NEPAD and the cultural value systems that underpin them respectively. I also engaged with certain architects who designed the two plans in order to gather their views about the cultural foundations of economic development in Africa (see Chapters Five and Six).

Both the theoretical and the empirical findings (Chapter Two, Four and Six) led to the conclusion that LPA was informed by the dependency theory that originated in Latin America. I showed how the dependency theory is based on the Latin American value system. I outlined four salient characteristics of this value system, namely, the Iberian Catholicism, humanism, emphasis on logic and dialectics, as well as the concept of the human being which is such that individuals are valued because of the unique inner quality of worth they each possess. I argued that these beliefs and values structure the ontological make-up of Latin Americans and are the ultimate foundation of the dependency theory.

As far as NEPAD is concerned, the theoretical argument (Chapters Two and Four) showed that this African strategy of development was informed by the neo-liberal theory of economic development. I outlined nine salient features of the culture in which neo-liberalism originated, namely, human sovereignty, individual sovereignty, freedom, emphasis on private property, self-interest, materialism, the quantification of value, instrumentalisation of labour, and the emphasis on reason. These characteristics underlie a cultural value system with a corresponding ontological make-up from which the neo-liberal theory of economic development emerged. However, beside the neo-liberal theory, the empirical findings (Chapter Six) suggested that NEPAD was also informed by some other contending approaches to development of which the most prominent one is the developmental state. The developmental state has its deeper roots in East Asia where it emerged as a response to Western approaches to development.

In Chapter Three, I outlined the African value system and its ontological foundation that should be (or should have been) taken into consideration in African planning of economic development. Central to this value system is the emphasis on the community and the conception of the human being within it. I highlighted the cosmological and anthropological dimensions of the African community and argued that, in this cultural framework, the human being is conceived of as *umuntu-w-ubuntu* (being-with/in-self) and *umuntu-mu-bantu* (being-with/in-others). I argued that *Umuntu-w-ubuntu* refers to the human person as one realizes oneself as an individual person in one's universe, including one's guiding principles, cherished values, innovating and constructive choices, self-determination, and self-realization in harmony with others. The *ubuntu* of the *umuntu* (*ubuntu bw'umuntu*), or the humanity of the human being, is assessed in terms of what a person can do and be for other people to enhance their life. I referred to *umuntu-mu-bantu*, as a human person who recognizes her/his situation among others as a moral necessity. A person is recognized by other people through the way that person enhances their life. People enhance the life of others by their creativity, initiative, and innovation, self-determination, self-realization, and their care and respect.

Both the theoretical and the empirical findings concurred on the fact that, in the two strategies of economic development taken as case studies, the African value system has been neglected to the extent of being ignored. In Chapter Four I argued that the African value system was neglected because the architects of the two strategies failed to strike a balance between the

universality of theories of economic development and the particularity of African value system. Two reasons were outlined to substantiate this claim.

The first reason is the distinction between development economics which pertains to the Third World Countries and orthodox economics which pertains to developed countries. The development economics led to the state as a policy framework in which LPA was designed. Orthodox economics led to the market as a policy framework in which NEPAD was designed. I argued that, although, both policy frameworks could have been articulated so as to take into account the African value system, the architects who designed LPA and NEPAD did not take African beliefs and values into account as a foundation of economic development.

The second reason was that the architects who designed the two strategies did so against the background of what economics does rather than what economics is. A strategy of development built on what economics does, tends to neglect people's participation in the process of economic development. After distinguishing between accidental and essential participation, I suggested that the latter is inclusive and mediates between economic development and the beliefs and values people hold. Essential participation translates economic development from the universal conception to its local feasibility.

In Chapters Five and Six, the empirical findings further disclosed reasons why what Africans believe and value were neglected in Africa's strategies of economic development. First, certain participants in the research argued that the two strategies studied are a corroboration of African beliefs and values not in the anthropological sense, but in so far as they are produced by African leaders and intellectuals. This argument corresponds with the first reason of the theoretical findings in which it is presumed that the state or the market can alone achieve the desired economic development independently of the cultural context.

Secondly, certain other participants argued that the issues of development on which the two strategies of economic development focused are universal economic issues, which can be dealt with irrespective of the cultural context. This argument harmonises with the second reason given in the theoretical findings, namely, the fact that the architects who designed LPA and NEPAD did so against the background of what economics does and not what it is.

In both cases, what people believe and value are seen as redundant in the process of economic development.

The empirical research highlighted a further reason why African beliefs and values were neglected and/or ignored. The participants argued that the neglect is a result of extroversion that characterises African planning of economic development. The architects who design African plans of development tend to shape them not according to the African cultural reality, but rather according to the global economy.

In Chapter Seven I introduced Sen's capability approach as a way of taking into consideration what Africans believe and value. The relevance of the capability approach lies in the fact that its foundation is not culture. In this way, the capability approach can serve to inform how development could be achieved in a particular cultural context. More precisely, the basis of Sen's capability approach is not social anthropology, but rather philosophical anthropology, which makes it applicable to different value systems.

The capability approach has four features which, I argued, could help in grounding Africa's strategies of economic development on the beliefs and values that structure the African value system. These aspects are the following: capability as the freedom of people to lead the life they value and have reason to value; human agency; the conception of development as the expansion of capability; and the fact that the capability approach is participatory in the sense that no one should be seen as a patient in the process of economic development. The relevance of these aspects of Sen's capability approach lies in the fact that they lead to the conception of development as a process by which people create and recreate themselves based on the beliefs and values they hold. This conception of economic development links with the African conception of the human being as *umuntu w'ubuntu/umuntu-mu-bantu* discussed in Chapter Three.

Based on these fundamental features of the capability approach, I outlined four premises that should guide any African strategy of economic development. The first premise consists of the shift from extroversion to the freedom of people to lead the lives they value and have reason to value. This premise was aimed at dealing with the spirit of extroversion which prevents Africans from appreciating their beliefs and values in the process of economic development.

The second premise revolves around human agency. This premise deals with the shift from the conception of development as an autonomous process to the conception of development as an agency-based process. In other words, development conceived as an agency-based process, has the people as its starting-point and end-point.

The third premise deals with the shift from the conception of development as an end-product to development as the expansion of capability or the real freedoms people enjoy. The relevance of this premise is threefold: Firstly this premise means that the expansion of people's capability is both the end and the means of development. People's capabilities are not only the primary end of development, they are also its principal means. True development enhances people's capabilities which stimulate further development. Secondly, development conceived of as the expansion of people's capability becomes the concern of both the people and their structural institutions. Thirdly, the interaction between people and their structural institutions makes it possible to transcend the various dualities often observed in certain development approaches such us the bottom-up and top-down development.

The fourth and last premise is the principle of baking the cake together. This premise was derived from the fact that the capability approach leads to development as an inclusive process, and therefore, expresses the traditional practice of collaboration and cooperation as found in African communities. The relevance of this premise lies in the fact that it leads to a structure of development that fits with the African value system. The implication is that the three major actors in the development process, namely, the state, the people and the market, which tend to exclude each other, are all agents and must work together inclusively.

These are the main tenets of the macro argument of this study. I shall now consider the implications of these findings.

8.2 Implications of the research findings

The implications that will be outlined concern the four philosophical premises that were generated in this study to guide strategies of economic development in Africa. I shall consider the implications of each premise in turn.

The first premise consists of the shift from the extroversion to the freedom of people to lead the lives they value and have reason to value. There are three main implications of this premise. The first implication is that African planners and policymakers should realise that there is no model of development that is universally applicable to all societies or all times. To echo Mbigi (2005), African planners and policymakers should keep constantly in mind that no society has ever developed by imitating the development path of another. Each society has to find its own path to development based on the beliefs and values that structure its own identity or ontological make-up. The suggestion being made here is that the success of African strategies of economic development cannot be achieved by simply copying foreign paradigms, but rather by taking seriously the African cultural roots and heritage and build upon them.

However, the idea that African planners and policymakers should not copy foreign paradigms is not meant to suggest that Africa should not learn from the experience of other societies. As a matter of instance, from developed countries, Africa needs to learn the technological experience; but this technological experience itself must be framed within the African ethos. I am echoing Michio Morishima (1982) who argues that, in Japan, the economic success was achieved thanks to the combination of Western Technology and the Japanese ethos. From the newly developed countries of East Asia, African planners and policymakers may not imitate or replicate the developmental state, but, instead, learn from them what Michael Loriaux (1999, p.252) calls "the moral ambition" to develop.

The second implication of the first premise is a call to demarginalise African beliefs and values. The shift from the extroversion to the freedom of Africans to lead the life they value and have the reason to value means that Africans must demarginalise their beliefs and values. Extroversion has marginalised and is still marginalising the African beliefs and values, and relegated them to irrelevance in favour of borrowed beliefs and values. One may recall Axel Kabou (1991) and Etounga Mangellé (1990) who claim that African beliefs and values are

the cause of Africa's economic underdevelopment to the extent that Africa needs a programme of cultural adjustment. Such a claim is the basis for upholding imported beliefs and values that create bonds of domination and sustain the spirit of dependence in African processes of economic development.

To demarginalise the African beliefs and values will require that African planners and policymakers admit that these beliefs and values have their own rationality which is independent of the Western and Eastern *episteme*. In other words, the suggestion that is being made is that African planners and policymakers need to realise that African beliefs and values are part of the wisdom which is not part of the structures of political power and scientific knowledge (Mudimbe, 1988, p. xi) of those who have dominated or tend to dominate Africa. This wisdom and its rationality might simply need to be creatively updated so that the African traditional production, exchange and consumption respond to the contemporary conditions and the world's quest for newness in the global economy.

The third implication follows from the second one, and concerns those who produce knowledge in Africa. The shift from extroversion to the freedom of Africans to lead the lives they value and have reason to value will need to deal with intellectual extroversion. By intellectual extroversion, I mean the tendency of African intellectuals to adopt ideas, concepts and values that are not African, mostly from the developed countries of the West and of the East (nowadays). The suggestion is that it is necessary to take seriously Hountondji (2002, p.231) who warns about the "[African] intellectual subordination to the questions and expectation of the learned public in the West". The consequence of this intellectual subordination is that, foreign ideas and knowledge systems are given a driver's position rather than being used as a supplement or a complementary input to what Africans already have. In other words, African planners and policymakers will need deal with the fact that extroversion in Africa's economic development is partly, yet very significantly, a result of intellectual extroversion.

Thus, to achieve the shift from extroversion to the freedom of Africans to lead the life they value and have reason to value, Africans may need to engage in the process of what Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) calls "the decolonisation of the mind". Intellectual colonisation has affected negatively the perception that African intellectuals have of themselves and of the African value system of which they are part. To escape from extroversion in order achieve an

endogenous development, African intellectuals will need to take full and clear responsibility of themselves, and develop confidence in what they are and have. This should lead African intellectuals to understand that the role of ideas and concepts of development that are borrowed from outside Africa can only serve to complement the local knowledge they produce for local development needs.

The second set of implications pertains to the second premise, that is, the shift from the conception of development as an autonomous process to the conception of development as an agency-based process. I shall outline four major implications which are all suggestions about how the exercise of human agency could be achieved effectively, namely, people's empowerment, democratic space, public discussion, and leadership style.

The first implication of the premise of human agency as the ultimate source of economic development is the suggestion that people have to be empowered to participate broadly to the extent of taking initiative in the process of economic development. This empowerment may require that certain requirements be fulfilled so that people are both active and creative. The first set of these requirements consists of social needs. These include such needs as being nourished, being healthy, being literate, being housed, having access to resources, having security, having one's (human) rights respected and protected. These are part of what Sen refers to as basic capabilities in the process of people's empowerment.

The second set consists of political needs which, if fulfilled, spur the pursuit of aspirations and ideals embedded in the beliefs and values people hold deeply. There are three such needs, namely, the democratic space, the public debate, and leadership. I shall consider each of these as further implications of the conception of development as an agency-based process.

Accordingly the second implication is the suggestion that the exercise of human agency needs a democratic space or democratic openness. Agency cannot be exercised fully in a politically closed space. In other words, human agency is better protected and promoted in a space where everybody has a right of expression, enjoys civil and political freedoms (for instance, freedom to determine who should govern and by which principles, the possibility to scrutinise and criticize authorities, political participation, freedom to choose between different political parties, free expression of one's opinions, freedom from coercion and intimidation, political dialogue, and freedom of association). I am emphasising here Sen's

suggestion that developing and strengthening a democratic system is essential for the process of development. Human agency cannot be divorced from a democratic space. Crocker (2008, p.277) reiterates also the same suggestion when he argues that citizen agency and participation, political pluralism, and democratisation have beneficial effects on preventing and combating hunger and achieving economically related goals.

The third implication is the suggestion that the exercise of human agency requires a public debate or discussion. This requirement flows from the democratic space or openness. Public discourse means that democracy amounts to more than limited public balloting, and should rather be understood much more capaciously in terms of the exercise of public reason (Sen 2009b, p.324). In more precise terms, the exercise of human agency implies the need to move beyond the conception of democracy in terms of fair and free elections so as to create a platform of a public discussion at various levels of policy and decision-making.

The suggestion of public discourse as an aspect of the excercise of the human agency goes even further to the issue of the kind of democracy that could accommodate it. In Africa, the kind of democracy that prevails is mostly the liberal democracy based on the party competition, or political pluralism. The exercise of agency calls for a kind of democracy that accommodates public discussion and socio-economic participation. The proponents of the capability approach suggest and emphasise deliberative democracy.

The relevance of deliberative democracy as a political space for the exercise of human agency resides in its very definition. Deliberative democracy emphasises public deliberation of free and equal citizens (Brohman, 1998, p.401), the exchange of views and reasons concerning public issues (Rawls cited in Crocker, 2008, p.309), and the realisation that public problems require public decision-making in the light of general interests (Held, 2006, p.237; see also Dryzek cited by Held, 2006, p.236). In short, deliberative democracy strengthens discursive and communicative rationality which allows collective solutions to collective problems (see Dryzek, 1990, p.54).

Finally, the fourth implication is the suggestion that the exercise of agency may require a change in leadership style. To recall, the issue of leadership was highlighted by certain participants in the empirical research who argued that the two strategies studied are a corroboration of African beliefs and values not in the anthropological sense, but in so far as

they are produced by African leaders and intellectuals. The observation that the two strategies are produced by African leaders and intellectuals indicates that the rest of the people are prevented from exercising their agency in matters that concern them. The same observation is true of the process of economic development dominated by the state, the market and even the people in the case of local developmentalism. A public problem is made a private matter. The exercise of human agency may require African leaders and intellectuals to shift from the position of domination to a position of shared and collective leadership, particularly in the field of economic development which is the concern of this research.

Thus, the suggestion so far is an invitation to take seriously Mulwa's claim that "a collective leadership involves active and evenly spread participatory processes of decision-making" so that both the leader and other actors are agents who are empowered in the process (Mulwa, 2008, p.134, see also Maathai, 2009, p.111).

These are the implications pertaining to the exercise of agency, or the shift from the conception of development as an autonomous process to the conception of development as an agency-based process. The different implications could be summed up as follows: People are not simply beneficiaries of economic and social progress in society, but ought to be active agents of change (Fukuda-Parr, 2003, p.308).

I shall now turn to the implications of the third premise.

The third set of implications pertains to the third premise, namely the shift from the conception of development as an end-product to development as an expansion of capability or the real freedoms people enjoy. There are two main implications of this premise.

The first implication is that the primary concern of the development process is not development for its own sake, but the people and what they become in the process. This implication pertains to the fact that the expansion of people's capability is both the end and the means of development. It is an invitation to take seriously the *Human Development Report 2010* (see also *Human Development Report 1990*) which suggests that in the pathways to human development, "people are the real wealth of a nation". There are two things that need to be highlighted here. From a theoretical point of view, the people should be engaged in the process of understanding that the genuine development is that in which they are fully

involved. From a practical point view, people should be engaged in the discussion of policies which lead to their own development. I concur with Fukuda-Parr who suggests that, for people to be able to engage in the discussion of development policies, certain basics need to be taken seriously. These include:

> [...] expanding the range of things that a person can be and do, such as being healthy and well nourished, to be knowledgeable, and to participate in the community life, [...], removing the obstacles to what a person can do in life, obstacles such illiteracy, ill health, lack of access to resources, or lack of civil and political freedoms (Fukuda-Parr, 2003, p.303).

The second implication is the importance of institutions that have enough political will to achieve economic development. An important feature of this political will is what was referred to earlier as the "moral ambition" to achieve development. This is what Cooper and Vargas (2004, p.255) see as the political feasibility of sustainable development. The political will which aims at development is better perceived in the efforts to achieve effective governance. Effective governance is one which is free from clientelism of which African political life is often accused, corruption, rent-seeking behaviour, the allocation of resources without reference to political criteria, and authoritarian behaviours that prevent people from being creative and innovative. Thanks to effective governance, it would be possible to "avoid that the political elite becomes the business elite at the same time". In the same way, effective governance makes it possible to avoid that business organisations overlap with state institutions (Kurer, 1997, p.163). Without effective governance, it would be impossible to achieve the expansion of capabilities.

The suggestion is that the political will leads the state institutions to provide a political environment in which economic development can flourish to the extent of expanding people's capabilities.

The third implication concerns the people. The people need to trust their (state) institutions enough to collaborate with them in order to achieve sustainable development. This trust could create a framework in which people would have a share in the political power, have effective public participation, as well as civil and political freedoms that are sufficient to probe the incumbents of structural institutions, particularly when they are entrenched in bureaucracy. If

this implication were translated in concrete terms, development should be understood henceforth as:

> [...] a process by which the members of a society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilize and manage resources to produce sustainable and justly distributed improvements in their quality of life consistent with their own aspirations (Korten, 1990, p.67).

I shall now consider the implications of the fourth and last premise: The principle of baking the cake together which leads to development as an inclusive process. There are two main implications of this premise.

The first implication of this premise is that African planners and policymakers need to learn from the history of economic development: The state, the people and the market each on its own cannot achieve economic development. The experience of economic development in Africa in the last decades and the present world economic crises are proving that neither the state, nor the market, nor the people each on its own can lead a sustainable economic development. Economic development cannot be achieved when the major actors exclude one another. It can only be achieved by the inclusion of all actors; more precisely, the inclusion of the state, the people and the market. That is what I have called elsewhere the *ubuntu* economy (Ntibagirirwa, 2009, pp. 307-308).

The second implication is that each of the three major actors of the inclusive economic development has to know what is required of them for the principle to be effectively operative. According to Duncan Green (2008, pp. 12, 13 & 14) what is required of the state is the capacity to guarantee security, the rule of law, to work out effective strategies to ensure inclusive economic growth and development.

What is required of citizens is the capacity to combine rights and obligations which link individuals to the state. This includes obeying laws, exercising political, civil and social rights in order to improve the quality of political and civic life through the involvement in the formal economy and formal politics as well as collective action that allows their voice to be heard.

What is required of the market as organised business or business community is a certain measure of deferred gratification so as to reinvest rather than skim off profits, accept the redistribution of wealth and income for the sake of national stability and economic growth, avoid any kind of behaviour that could undermine the state such as bribery and inappropriate lobbying, but also avoiding certain behaviour that can undermine the people such as denying them labour rights, or affordable goods and services.

These are the two implications that can be drawn from the fourth premise.

Having drawn up the implications of the four premises, I shall now turn to the contributions of the research and new areas for further research.

8.3   Contributions and new areas for further research

This dissertation is but a contribution to the ongoing search for solutions to the challenging quest for African economic development. Firstly, I will outline the contributions made by focusing on each of the three major objectives pursued and the methodology used. Secondly, I will outline the contributions made in certain specific areas. Where necessary I will highlight the limitations of this study areas open for further research.

I begin with the contributions related to the three objectives of this study.

The first objective was to make a critical assessment of two strategies of economic development against the backdrop of theories of economic development that were alleged to have informed them respectively and the cultural assumptions of these theories. Using both theoretical reflection and an empirical approach, I demonstrated that the two major African strategies of economic development, taken as case studies, relied on theories of economic development whose cultural foundations are not African. This argument supports the claim that, although the two strategies of economic development were designed in Africa, their respective philosophical bases were not African.

The second objective was to investigate the relationship between African cultural values and economic development and the extent to which the neglect of the African value system in African policymaking and planning could jeopardise development plans in Africa. Through theoretical reflection and empirical research, I demonstrated that the beliefs and values that structure the African value system have been neglected to the extent of being ignored. I argued that the implication of this neglect is that the two strategies of development taken as case studies do not provide sufficient room for people's participation in the process of their economic development. Participation, I emphasised, makes possible the democratisation and the inculturation of economic development, and thus translates the universal conception of economic development into local and cultural feasibility.

The third objective was to outline philosophical premises that could guide development planning in Africa. Using Sen's capability approach, I proposed four philosophical premises which, I argued, could link African economic development to what Africans believe and value. The relevance of the four premises proposed is four-fold.

Firstly, these premises make possible to deal with the extroversion which plagues African economic development. Secondly, they make it possible to base development on human agency. This allows to free Africans from the conception of development as an autonomous process so as to embrace the conception of development as an ageny-based process. Thirdly, they lead to the conception of development as the expansion of the real freedoms people enjoy rather than development as an end product. Finally, they lead to an inclusive development *à l'Africaine*. The principle of baking the cake together makes it possible to see the state, the people and the market as actors that all have to work in synergy to achieve sustainable economic development.

I now turn to the methodological approach followed in this study.

As far as the methodological approach is concerned, I privileged the philosophical path. This path leads to examination, analysis, clarification of ideas, reflection, and insight as highlighted in Chapter One. It focuses on the question "why" which allows one to grapple with the first or ultimate causes of every reality. The philosophical path is the path of critical reflection. This perspective helped to go deeper to the problem of economic development in Africa and to make concrete proposals of what could be an adequate solution.

Another important contribution is the use of Sen's capability perspective. In proposing the philosophical premises that should guide development in Africa, I adopted Sen's capability approach whose ultimate foundation is not culture as is the case with the theories that informed LPA and NEPAD respectively. The starting-point of the capability approach is not social anthropology but rather philosophical anthropology so that it leads to a kind of economic development that links with the beliefs and values that structure the African culture.

Philosophy is often criticised for being too general and even abstract. This critique could lead to the charge that the study undertaken is theoretical and abstract. To take care of this charge that may arise, the study considered an empirical component which consists in engaging with the architects who designed the Lagos Plan of Action and the New Partnership for Africa's Development. The theoretical findings were compared with the empirical findings that result from a dialogue with some architects who wrestled with Africa's development issues at the level of planning and policymaking. From this point of view, this research could be seen as bearing both theoretical and practical marks.

To a certain extent, the issue of the cultural assumptions of economic development pertains to the domain of the anthropology and/or the sociology of development. Although my research could be seen as bearing a mark of the anthropology and sociology of development, I cannot claim to have paid attention to these social sciences. The reference to cultural assumptions was motivated by the search for the ultimate roots of economic development. In the process I showed that the neglect of the beliefs and values that structure people's value systems could lead to development impasse. The social sciences such as sociology and anthropology tend to be descriptive while the approach used in this research is mostly prescriptive. This could be seen as a shortcoming of this research which might be overcome by adopting an interdisciplinary approach to economic development.

Finally, I now turn to the contributions made in specific areas.

This study also made a contribution to a number of other discourses. First of all, it could be seen as an attempt to apply African philosophy to issues of economic development. African philosophy applied to development is still a young, yet a vast field which needs further development. The fact that I ventured on a field which is not sufficiently explored could be

seen as a contribution and some proof of the originality of this research. At the same time, this very fact underlines a limitation which may not be easy to deal with. One aspect of the limitation is that of the availability of sufficient literary resources. How could this limitation be overcome? The empirical component of this research could be seen as one attempt to deal with this limitation. The semi-structured interviews that were used in the empirical research could be understood as a suggestion that, in the absence of written materials, a dialogical approach of the Socratic kind (question-answer, oral discussion) should be explored, especially in the African philosophizing applied to particular issues.

Regarding the capability approach, this research made a double contribution. First of all, it is a contribution in the area of the link between culture and the capability approach from an African perspective. The focus of this research has been on participatory development and collective capability in the context of African culture. The reflection in this area is still at its beginning. This research could be seen as opening a new area of study, which needs to be further explored.

Furthermore, in this study, Sen's capability approach was only introduced towards the end of the study as a tool used to develop the philosophical premises that should inform development in Africa. Accordingly, I cannot claim to have given a full account of Sen's capability approach. In particular I have not considered the criticism often levelled against the practical significance of the capability approach to policymaking (Sugden, 1993, p.1953), nor did I consider Rawls' critique that the capability approach is an "unworkable idea" (Rawls, 1999, p.13).

Nevertheless, I considered and defended Sen's capability approach against the charge that it is individualistic in order to show that it aligns with the conception of the human being in the African value system. This consideration and defence may not exonerate me from the fact that I departed from a certain "bias": Since the capability approach is based on a philosophical anthropology rather than social anthropology, it could help to ground African economic development on the beliefs and values that structure the African value system. Future research could use the capability approach as its starting point, thus providing enough space to deal systematically with the criticism levelled against it as well as the extent to which it is suited for an understanding and an assessment of the issue of economic development in Africa.

This research also made a contribution in the area of development ethics in Africa. The issues of capability, agency, and expansion of people's capability concern how people ought to live. Furthermore the capability approach deals with how development should be governed so that everybody can benefit from it. A development ethics in Africa from Sen's capability perspective is also relatively new. This research focused on the general Bantu conceptual framework, that of *umuntu-w-ubuntu/umuntu-mu-bantu* characterised by agency, the ability to lead the life people value and have reason to value, and the expansion of capabilities that makes possible a participatory and inclusive development. I have not dealt with the issues of how this applies to particular communities at the very local level, for instance. These questions suggest that there is a need to consider case studies that deal with issues which are not touched at the general level.

When talking about beliefs and values that should underlie economic development, I have been quite general rather than specific. I dealt with the structure of the African value system as well as the Bantu concept of the human being, rather than with particular beliefs and values. A focus on particular beliefs and values would have distinguished those which foster development from those that could hamper development. Such focus could be more concrete than this research has been. Thus research that would focus on particular beliefs and values that are needed for Africa's development and those that might hamper development needs to be envisaged. Such focus would require a descriptive social scientific approach that deals with the "what" question rather than a prescriptive philosophical approach that deals with the "why" question. Alternatively, as already suggested, an interdisciplinary approach could combine both social sciences and philosophy.

Finally the four premises proposed to inform development in Africa could each constitute a topic of research. In so far as the space provided for this research did not allow it, I cannot claim to have been exhaustive in their elaboration. In this research the four premises have been formulated as the end result of a process of analysis and reflection on the practice of development planning in Africa and the lessons that can be learned from Sen's capability approach. At this level, I feel that each of them has only been introduced and consequently, they all are in need of further development.

These are the contributions and the new areas for further research. I cannot claim to have addressed the whole question of the impasse in Africa's quest of economic development. Instead, I believe I have posed the question differently.