

# **MSc in International Economic Consulting**

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## **The Effects of Colonialism on African Economic Development**

A comparative analysis between Ethiopia, Senegal and  
Uganda

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# Abstract

Motivated by the fact that experts have recently focused on developing countries like China, India, Japan and neglected Africa's situation, the aim of this study is to highlight what has happened in Africa during the colonial period from an economic, politic and social points of view.

Africa's people and culture have been subject to many external changes that left a trace in the way they think and act nowadays. Conquests, colonization, the slave trade, Arabic and European cultural elements, Islam and Christianity and recently the spread of consumerist society have all transformed Africa for more than 500 years.

Colonialism used the denial of African history to establish the necessity of white men to bring innovation and technologies in the colonies (Tangie, 2006). However, colonization obstructed the internal process of state formation and the development in Africa and left scars of corruption and political instability (ibid.). In this matter, the opinions are biased between researchers, some of them consider that Europeans had a positive impact on Africa; others affirm that Africa can be developed only by Africans and not by outsiders and foreign aid may actually block the development. As a consequence of colonialism, Africa is a mixture of people, languages, religions and customs and so on.

This thesis explores the changes brought by colonizers in African regions with a special focus on the French and British ones. In particular, it analyses the situation of Senegal (former French colony), Uganda (former British colony) and Ethiopia (independent country) over the last 60 years taking into account that they have dealt with different legacies. Senegal is France's oldest colony in Africa and as a matter of fact decolonization reinforced the ties between the two countries. France remained a key bilateral aid donor and trade partner. Britain took over the control of Uganda and encouraged the cotton trade. However at the moment of independence, Uganda had to overcome the shortcomings created by the religious and ethnic fragmentation. The third country analysed, Ethiopia, even though it was independent compared to the other two suffered from extended periods of droughts and famines and had to go through a long civil conflict and a border war with Eritrea.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter provides an introduction to the thesis. Therefore, an overview of the thesis, the problem statement, the methodology as well as its limitations will be presented in the following sections of this chapter.

## 1.1. Context and problem statement

*"After climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb."*

*Nelson Mandela*

### 1.1.1. Context

The colonization of Africa has a long history, the most important phase being the European Scramble for Africa during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Africa experienced major culture clashes which derived from the impact of economic, political, social and religious factors on the indigenous societies of Africa. Europeans brought traditions to implement and justify their presence in Africa.

In 1446, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish settlements, trade posts and ports of call along the oceanic coasts of African continent.<sup>1</sup> Africa seemed attractive to European rulers for economic and racial reasons. Africa offered Britain, France, Germany and other countries an open market for trade, a market that bought more from colonial power than it sold overall (Shillington, 2005). From then on, African territory was randomly divided between European countries that tried to impose elements from their culture.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Scramble\\_for\\_Africa](http://www.absoluteastronomy.com/topics/Scramble_for_Africa)



consequence of colonialism, nowadays Africa is a mixture of people, languages, religions, customs etc.

The overall aim of this study is to examine the factors that influenced the colonial economic development and the effects colonizers had on African societies. As a study case, a comparison among three African countries will be conducted in order to shape better the differences and similarities between former colonial countries and independent ones from Africa.

### **1.1.2. Problem**

To understand Africa's current economic situation, it is necessary to analyze the history and how the important colonizers, like England and France, influenced their colonies. In order to address these issues, some questions must be answered. The following research will be central to this study: **What was the contribution made by colonial powers in the development of African colonies?**

In addition: Did they bring their mentality, institutions, religion, economic and political systems in the colonies?

Did independent countries develop easier and faster than colonized countries?

What were the differences between a French colonized country, a British colonized country and an independent one?

## **1.2. Methodology, delimitations and structure of thesis**

### **1.2.1. Methodology and research design**

Methodology represents “the principles, procedures, and strategies of research used in a study for gathering information, analyzing data, and drawing conclusions. There are broad category of methodology such as qualitative methods and quantitative methods; particular types of methodologies such as survey research, case study, and participant observation, among many others.<sup>2</sup> In the research process, the researcher decides which theoretical

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<sup>2</sup> Definition taken from the Center for Social and Character development at Rutgers;  
[http://www.rucharakter.org/page/ea\\_glossary#M](http://www.rucharakter.org/page/ea_glossary#M)

paradigm to use, what research strategies are appropriate for the purpose of the study and, which the methods of collection, analysis and interpretation are.

The first central element of the thesis involves the understanding of Growth theories and how they were applied on African economies.

The second central element of the thesis implies a comparison between British and French colonial styles; with a case study focused on two particular former colonies and Ethiopia which has never been colonized. The goal of this case study is to conclude which method was more effective at that time.

Research strategy includes research design, case study, ethnography, participant observation, grounded theory, and action and applied research. The research strategy chosen by the author of the thesis is case study research.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998) qualitative research has three components:

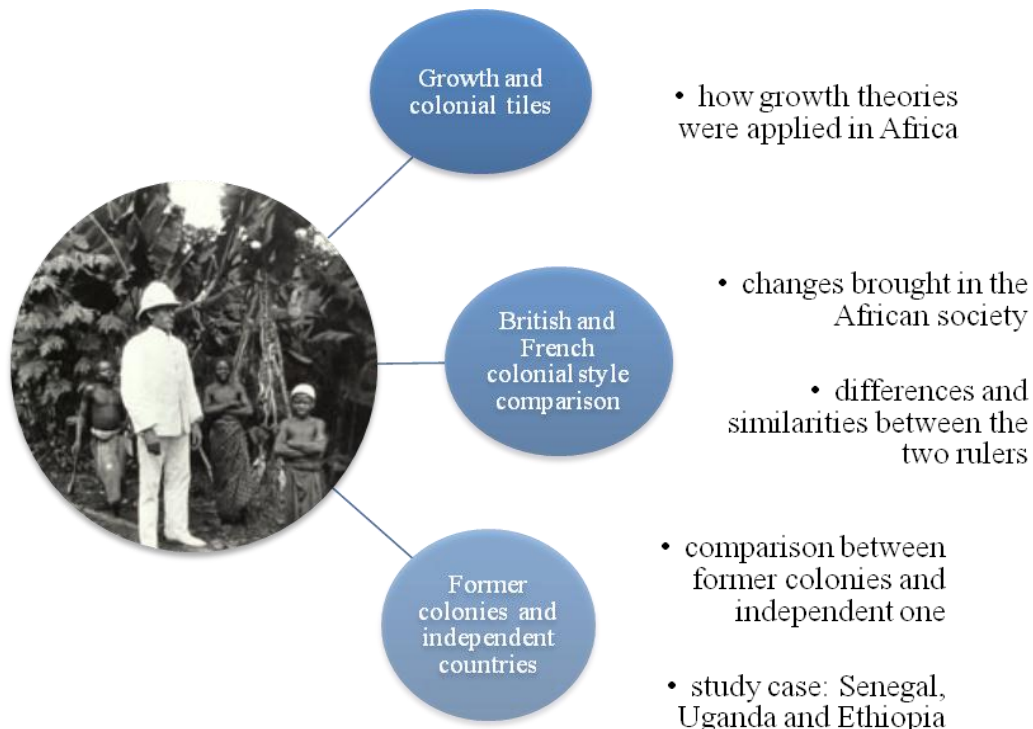
- Data from multiple sources
- The approach used to interpret and organize the collected data
- The reporting of the interpreted data

Since the thesis at hand is a qualitative study, it is important that the ideas are considered from many perspectives as to reveal a trustworthy result.

Documentation was the main technique employed for collecting data about colonial Africa. Thus, the author of this thesis corroborated evidence from different sources in order to shed light on case. In this particular case, the data collected consists of a wide variety of written, visual, audiovisual and digital documents.

### **1.2.2. The structure of thesis and delimitations**

The research question is followed in different steps as shown in Figure 2 below:



<sup>3</sup>Figure 2: Structure of the thesis<sup>3</sup>

Source: Author's illustration

After introducing the topic of this thesis, chapter two will provide a theoretical overview of growth theories applied in Africa. An important fact in this analysis will be the study of the relation between these colonial indicators and the economic growth. Did colonial indicators have an influence on institutions? Some economic and social indicators such as GDP, migration rates will be chosen as a base of countries comparison.

Chapter three investigates the differences in the way of ruling of colonizers, the French and British colonial styles and the governance in the independent countries. For comparing the two colonial styles, a short historical presentation of the facts and a literature review will give insight into what different researchers found on this topic.

Africa's history represented a challenge for researchers in the field of African studies due to the lack of written sources on this topic. Thus, from a methodological point of view, the first obvious difficulty in this empirical research will be the lack of historical data on all the African countries, especially in the period before the countries gained independence. Nevertheless, the data collected by economists are not considered reliable, most of them being constructed by approximations. In this matter, the analysis is going to be focused on

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<sup>3</sup> Picture taken from Wheaton College collection

particularly three African countries: Uganda (former British colony), Senegal (former French colony) and Ethiopia (independent country).

The researcher chose Ethiopia randomly from the sample of independent countries in Africa. However, the sample of independent countries is small and the results will not be so relevant taking into account that the set of two countries have different backgrounds.

Chapter four will provide a small presentation of the background of each country to track the colonial legacies. Further on, some chosen key indicators are going to be explained and compared in order to draw a conclusion about the way colonial powers influenced the colonies.

Chapter five has some concluding remarks.

## Chapter 2: Growth and Colonial Tiles

This chapter analyses the outcome of the growth theory implementation in Africa. Alfred Ndi, in his research paper “*Why economic growth theories became a fiction of development in postcolonial Africa: Critiquing foreign aid policy as discourse*” (2010), shows how economic growth theories that had been applied do not bring a higher per capita income or GDP and social progress to Africans, but rather lead to underdevelopment by using dependency, power and new ideologies.

### 2.1. Growth theories

The economic growth theories implemented as foreign aid policies by Europeans and Americans are a strategic form of development based on capital flows and transfers of technology from western countries to Africa.

**The ‘two-gap’ theory** assumes that the development of less developed countries is constrained by two gaps: the one between domestic savings and the investment needed to progress and between export revenues and imports required for development.<sup>4</sup>

This theory is an extension of the **Harrod-Domar growth model**. The savings gap refers to the fact that domestic savings are inadequate to support the level of growth which could be permitted given the import purchasing power of the economy and the level of other resources. In addition, the second gap, called ‘foreign exchange’, states that the import purchasing power conferred by the value of exports plus capital transfers may not be sufficient to support the growth level permitted by the level of domestic saving (Ray, 1998).

The formula for the growth rate is:  $g = \frac{s}{k} + \frac{b}{k}$ , where g is the growth rate, s is the savings ratio, k is the national capital to output ratio and b is the foreign trade (ibid.).

According to this theory, foreign aid should have covered some shortfalls in foreign exchange and should have resulted in savings in areas of production and technology. However, economists believe that Africa is not yet able to raise enough domestic savings to

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<sup>4</sup> Definition taken from the Oxford Dictionary of Economics

encourage development. On the other hand, the African pessimistic attitude led to the idea that most of the unfortunate African countries cannot export on their own (ibid.).

In the past fifty years, over one trillion dollars has been spent in development-related aid in order for Africa's living standards to improve. Paradoxically, poverty levels continue to escalate, growth rates have steadily declined, and millions of people continue to suffer. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa stated that poverty levels have increased by 43 percent over the past 10 years, with women making up for 80 percent of the people living on less than a dollar per day. Some of the causes of this high poverty level are the unequal distribution of resources between men and women and the high rate of females infected with HIV/AIDS.<sup>5</sup>

Dambisa Moyo<sup>6</sup> considers aid to be gifts and loans at preferential rates of interest transferred from rich countries to poor ones. The aid policy was motivated by the tragic situation that followed World War II. Humanitarian aid takes the form of capital investment (machinery, roads, railways, etc.), birth control programs, HIV/AIDS prevention, and investment in education.

Moyo points out that aid to Africa targeted different areas in the last 50 years: in the 1960's focused on infrastructure projects which were rejected by local leaders. In the 1970's, the focus shifted to poverty eradication and in the 1980's there was a strict monetary policy that consisted of a sharp rise of interest rate. In turn, this resulted in many governments facing debt which was difficult to cover. In the 1990's, western contributors channeled all their attention on governance and on solutions to solve the economic problems.<sup>7</sup> The opinions are biased: on one hand, aid encouraged Africans to move further and on the other hand some of the scholars regard aid as a way to construct Africa's 'dependency' from the west.

The growth process was uneven in space as well as time. The rise in life expectation and income has been most rapid in Western Europe, North America, Australia and Japan. By 1820, this group had forged ahead to an income level twice of that than in the rest of the world. By 1998, the gap was a ratio of seven to one. Between the United States and Africa, the gap ratio is now twenty to one. This gap is still increasing. In the past half century,

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=49973>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.dambisamoyo.com/biography/>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.academicjournals.org/jasd/PDF/pdf2010/Sep/Ndi.pdf>

resurgent Asian countries have demonstrated that an important degree of catch-up is feasible. Nevertheless, world economic growth has slowed down substantially since 1973.<sup>8</sup>

Table 2.1 compares Africa to other developed nations. Tariffs and quantitative restrictions are higher than in other regions. As seen below, terms of trade have been more volatile for Africa than for the rest of the developing countries. Also, the investment rate is lower due to political, economic and social factors.

**Table 2.1. Africa Compared to Other Developing Regions**

(Figures are un-weighted country averages)

	<i>Sub-Saharan Africa</i>	<i>Other LDCs</i>
<b>Life expectancy in 1970 (years)</b>	45.2	57.3
<b>Income in 1960 (1985 \$ PPP-adjusted)</b>	835.5	1855.2
<b>Ethnic Fractionalization</b>	67.6	32.7
<b>Political Rights, 1973-90</b>	6.0	4.0
<b>Bureaucracy</b>	1.38	1.72
<b>Population &lt;100 km from the sea or river (%)</b>	21.0	52.0
<b>Terms of trade volatility</b>	16.4	12.8
<b>Parallel market exchange rate premium</b>	40.0	26.0
<b>Average tariffs 1996-98 (%)</b>	21.0	13.0
<b>Quantitative Restrictions. 1988-90 (%)</b>	46.0	21.0
<b>Growth of GDP per capita, 1965-90</b>	0.5	1.7
<b>Investment rate in 1997 (%)</b>	18.0	25.0
<b>Population growth rate, 1980-97 (%)</b>	2.8	1.8
<b>Capital flight/private wealth. 1990 (%)</b>	39.0	14.0

**Sources:** Life expectancy, World Development Indicators, 1998. Income and growth: Penn World Tables 5.6. The index of ethno-linguistic diversity is on the scale 0—100 with 0 being homogenous (Mauro, 1995). The Gastil index of political rights is on the range 1-7 with 1 being fully democratic. The index of bureaucracy is on the scale 0-6 with high score

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.theworldeconomy.org/>

indicating better quality (Knack and Keefer 1995). Population living less than 100 km from the sea or a navigable river (from Bloom and Sachs, 1999). Table 2, (**other LDCs is the weighted average for Asia and Latin America**). Terms of trade volatility is the standard deviation of annual log changes 1965-92, (Collins and Bosworth, 1996). Parallel exchange rate premium (%). (Easterly and Levine, 1997).

**Average tariff:** simple average, computed by IMF. Other LDCs is simple average of Latin America and East Asia; from Rodrik (1999, Table 12).

Investment rate and population growth rate. World Development Indicators, 1999. Capital flight/private wealth as of 1990. (Collier and Pattullo, 1999).

## **2.2. The causes of African slow growth**

Further on, this paper focuses on the causes of Africa's underdevelopment and on the effects colonialism has on the welfare of the continent. The debate on the causes of slow African growth has offered many different explanations.

### **2.2.1. External and domestic causes**

It has been largely accepted that some of the reasons for Africa's slow growth are external. During the 1980's, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and external donors blamed the trade policies and the exchange rate as the main causes (Collier and Gunning, 1999). Moreover, there are other factors that are related to destiny. Jeffrey Sachs and his co-authors emphasized that Africa's population is atypically landlocked. Most of the people are far away from the coast or navigable waters.

An important reason for the continent's technological underdevelopment is the geographical obstacles to communication both internally and with the rest of the world. The Sahara has been a barrier in the north, and the Atlantic coast had no contact with the rest of the world until the first Europeans arrived around 1500.<sup>9</sup>

Africa's adverse climate causes problems in its development, by favoring disease, such as malaria, and reducing the life expectancy compared to other regions as depicted in Table 2.1. The tropics influence leads to leached soils and unpredictable rainfalls that create obstacles in agriculture. Soils derive disproportionately from a very old type of rock ("Basement Complex"), which is low in micronutrients and varies considerably between localities. In this

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/ud/kampanjer/refleks/innspill/afrika/simensen.html?id=533474>

case, for the agriculture to run properly, population must irrigate and fertilize the soil.<sup>10</sup> This implies spending capital on agriculture that they currently do not own. As a consequence, households had no other option than to use assets for purposes of consumption-smoothing rather than investment.

Another characteristic of Africa's economies which can be seen as a result of the climate is the continent; it has a very low population density (30.51/km<sup>2</sup> in 2005<sup>11</sup>) and big migration rates. According to estimates by the United Nations, the total number of international immigrants in Africa rose from nine million in 1960 to sixteen million in 2000 (Zlotnik, 2004). The transportation costs from one area to another are high leading to poor market integration. Africans appear to have more ethnic diversity which makes it more challenging to develop an interconnected economy.

Furthermore, Africa has relatively high natural resource endowments per capita due to the low population density (Wood et al., 1998). Apart from the substantial portion of crude oil, gold, diamonds and other strategic minerals, a good proportion of the world's tropical hard wood, cocoa, coffee and rubber exports come from Africa. High levels of exported natural resources may lead to an appreciation of the exchange rate, which in turn makes manufacturing less competitive. Another disadvantage of depending on natural resources is that it increases the civil wars, which are quite often in Africa.

In the development of a country, the availability of natural resources is used to satisfy the basic human needs such as food, shelter and clothes. A theory that is utilized in studying the economics of natural resources is **the Dutch Disease**. This theory holds that increases in revenues from natural resources will de-industrialize a nation's economy by raising the exchange rate, which consequently makes the manufacturing sector less competitive and lowers the output of the sector (Salisu, 2001). According to this theory, two effects are often created in an economy when there is a resource boom: the resource movement effect and the spending effect. A shift of labor force from a non-booming sector to the booming sector is regarded as the resource movement effect. As a result of this effect, significant units of factors of production shift away from the non-booming sector to the booming sector. The spending effect occurs when some part of extra revenue generated by the booming sector is spent either directly by the employer or indirectly by the government through getting extra tax revenue collected from the booming sector (ibid.).

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<sup>10</sup> Data taken from FAO Soils Bulletin

<sup>11</sup> Data taken from United Nations Research Papers

Simon Kuznets<sup>12</sup> states in his theory that at the initial stage of development, inequality continually increases up to a point beyond which it declines. In the early stages of development, when investment in physical capital is the main mechanism of economic growth, inequality encourages growth by allocating some of the resources towards those who save and invest the most. As a result, the employees from the booming sector will receive a higher wage than the rest. Previous theory was complemented by the unbalanced growth theory suggesting that for an economy to assure even development for all economical sectors, initial investment known sometimes as ‘big push’ in these sectors must be uneven. At the initial stage of the development process, the theory advises identifying and investing in leading industry development which can further create investing opportunities for the lagging industries in the economy.

For over 40 years, Africa focused on extracting and exporting natural resources and its contribution to the world’s development. On average, Africa holds 9% of the oil production on the planet and exports 15% of it; 8% of the world’s gas proved reserves and 5% of the world’s gas production. Moreover, According to the Deutsche Bank Research Report (2007), Africa owns 60% of the world's diamonds, 40% of the world's phosphate and 30% of the world’s cobalt resources (Salisu, 2001). Therefore, the extractive industries (oil, gas and mining) are a dominant source of revenues to many African countries. However, despite these large deposits of natural resources, Africa is still a poor continent. Many countries from Asia and United States proved that technological discoveries can overcome nature’s deficiencies and can grow very fast.

Nevertheless, turning all the attention to natural resources is not the only problem Africans were confronted with. Easterly and Levine (1997) find that this high level of diversity is the most important single cause for Africa's slow growth. Linguists have identified around 900 separate language groups. In fact, this is false: high levels of ethnic and religious diversity actually results in significantly safer societies (Collier and Hoeffler, 1999). Ethnic diversity has an impact on politics: if the country is under dictatorship, then conflicts may occur frequently due to different opinions. On the other hand, if the country is democratic, ethnic diversity has no effect on growth or the quality of public projects. In conclusion, ethnic diversity is not a problem, yet the lack of democracy is.

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<sup>12</sup> [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/economics/laureates/1971/kuznets-autobio.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economics/laureates/1971/kuznets-autobio.html)

Another factor that might have slowed down Africa's development is the colonial heritage. Due to this, Africa is divided in smaller countries in terms of population. Very small states might be economically disadvantaged for several reasons. If the government has some fixed costs, either in its administrative role or as a provider of services, then it may be hard for a small state to perform at minimum cost. Moreover, some domestic markets will be too small for even the minimum efficient scale of production of a single producer, thus all domestic markets taken alone will be less productive than in larger economies (Collier et al., 1999). Investors will not be interested in spending money since the risk is too high.

### **2.2.2. Colonial causes**

The next section of this chapter will discuss whether or not colonialism can be regarded as a cause of underdevelopment in Africa. Some of the measures taken by colonizers did in fact bring benefits to African countries whereas some did not. At that time, technology and innovation were not as developed as they are nowadays and economists were unable to clearly observe all the challenges Africa was facing, such as the existence of various diseases. This major point should be taken into account.

However, the problems are now identified, and the developed countries should aid Africa in reaching the same welfare level as the rest of the nations.

During the twentieth century, Africa suffered from the consequences of colonialism and neocolonialism, and misrule and mismanagement by the members of the political African class. The new generations of Africans, born after the 1960s, blame the Africans in power for the bad situation in Africa due to bad leadership, corruption and a get rich culture that ignores the values of hard work and creativity (Tangie, 2006). Based on this, it appears as though Africans contributed to the destruction of Africa. The African population should realize that poor countries from Africa are supporting the well-being of Europeans by providing cheap labor, raw materials, markets etc. African labor played a key role in building up the "Atlantic system", and was an important factor in American and European development.

Slavery was also practiced in the African societies, and it was the African leaders and intermediaries who brought most of the slaves to the coast. Colonial rule can be regarded as the phase of Africa's integration into the international system (Siemenssen, 1999).

According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, the term 'colonialism' is used to describe the process of European settlement and political control over the rest of the world. Therefore, colonialism is considered to be a relationship between the indigenous majority and a small number of foreign invaders in which decisions made by colonizers directly affect the

lives of the colonized people. In most cases, colonizers reject cultural compromises with the colonized population and try to impose their own rules, maintain order, and show superiority.<sup>13</sup>

The manner in which Africa is portrayed nowadays is derived from an encounter with the West, the intervention of the post- 1885 ‘Scramble for Africa’, and the partition of the continent between European powers. The map of Africa changed since then and the only countries that escaped from colonization were Liberia and Ethiopia, although they were never completely free. Colonial rule lasted between sixty and eighty years for the most part. The changes that appeared were deep, touching various aspects including cultures and institutions. The exploitative connection between Africa and a global economy changed the way the whole world was seeing Africa, it changed into an inferior race. Colonial conquest was just a means of showing racial arrogance, humiliating African leaders and their people (Toyin, 2005).

Colonialism encouraged competition and conflicts between ethnic groups. The question is: To what extent can Africa self develop? Africa was self-developing before Europeans came to help. With violence, colonialism created new frontiers, and developed new political and economic objectives. After the end of colonialism, Africa started developing on its own, though in Western terms. The main achievement of colonial rule is state-building.

The colonizers regarded themselves as agents of change. The colonial powers developed modern export systems, infrastructure and education facilities that were necessary to make the whole colonization venture profitable. The commercialization of land, labor and products gave a specific money value to activities that had been previously used in social matters. In pre-colonial Africa, farmers and peasants were producing for either their own use or to trade for other goods though the concept of production for the global market did not exist for them.<sup>14</sup>

Later on, the concept of **rent seeking** was introduced in Africa. It is a type of behaviour associated with interest groups in heavily regulated economies. In economics, rent seeking is an attempt to derive economic rent by manipulating the social or political

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<sup>13</sup> <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/>

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.blackstate.com/africaonthebrink.html>

environment in which economic activities occur, rather than adding value. It involves costs, such as expenditures, in getting laws passed by government (Toyin, 2005).

Europeans brought two institutions to Africa: **plantation agriculture and private property rights**. Plantation agriculture required more land than was utilized by the average African farmer and increased the demand for labor services. On the other hand, private property rights replaced the communal ownership systems (ibid.).

Colonizers divided the land and set up property rights. The colonial police provided the coercive force needed to prevent the Africans from reclaiming their rights on the land. Europeans suffered a labor shortage and they came up with the following solutions to solve the problem (ibid.):

- Recruit Africans to work under European supervision
- Import immigrants from Europe as contract workers
- Import labour from Asia
- Establish a capitalistic wage labor system

European invested in resource extraction. The private side focused on exporting the resources, while the public side chose to invest in education, health and infrastructure. The building of roads and railways to carry goods to Europe, as well as other measures, were considered beneficial for Africa's development. However, the truth is not quite this. Europe conquered Africa primarily to benefit itself, not to uplift it. Europe's goal was to accelerate its own development at the expense of others.

To better understand what occurred, it is best to study the colonial past and learn the stamp of legacy of that era on the present. Colonialism was a big step in the incorporation of Africa into a world capitalist system. In the end, colonialism was a period of international commerce, starting with palm produce, cocoa, rubber and peanuts which attracted many European merchants and trading organizations. The Portuguese established a "triangular trade" system in 1446 when they arrived to West Africa. Manufactured articles flowed from Europe to Africa; slaves from West Africa were sent to America and sugar, gold, silver, indigo, tobacco and other products flowed from America to Europe (Mentan, 2002). 15 million people were enforced to cross the Atlantic and be sold into slavery. Approximately 14 percent of slaves sent to the New World were children under the age of 14; 56 percent were

male adults; and 30 percent were female adults.<sup>15</sup> Guns and textiles were sent out of Europe and traded in Africa for slaves (Mentan, op. cit.).

This process, called the transatlantic slave trade, has advantages and disadvantages on both sides. Mainly, slavery gave value to colonies. However, it negatively impacted African countries in several ways. It resulted in an increase in violence, a drain of people and the economy itself was relying on slavery. The consequences were deeper than the aforementioned massive depletion of African people, massive destruction of the entire fabric of African society, pillage of goods under the pretext of international trade and so on (ibid.). Most African nations are reliant on the export of one or two primary commodities or unpolished goods. Their aim is to sell these exports at the market prices as the global market dictates. As a direct result of colonialism, African economies cannot rely on indigenous manufacturing or industry; in fact there are very few domestic industries or companies, excluding multinational corporations. As a consequence, African economies are vulnerable to the ups and downs of the global market. On the other hand, most of the countries produce and export a similar commodity which reduces the ability to bargain and gain favorable terms of trade. African economies have become import and export dependent as one of the effects of colonialism in Africa. The import of cars, machines and all types of food is necessary for survival.

In 1880, less than 10% of the continent was under European control, which produced significant changes in the social order and a political landscape of many African nations (Mentan, 2002). African territory was randomly divided. Liberia and Ethiopia were the only countries that were never colonized. France and England owned large areas within Africa, while small shares went to Belgium and Italy. Germany had a temporary influence on the colonies of Togo, Cameroon, Namibia and Tanganyika. Europeans settled in poor regions where a population was inexistent and they could invest there. Moreover, Africans say that exploitation was the main objective of Europeans. They developed an economy based on cash crops. Farmers and traders received larger incomes with cash crops, though the cost of purchasing food was higher. Furthermore, in the event that the colony lacked resources, Europeans used people as a “labor basket” (Toyin, 2005).

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<sup>15</sup> [http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/historyonline/slav\\_fact.cfm](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/historyonline/slav_fact.cfm)

After the exploration of the territories, the Europeans agreed that capitalism must “nestle everywhere” (Duignan, 1975). It took them a short time to shift from the “civilizing mission” to profit and power. The European powers felt that it was their duty to bring the Western civilization to the uneducated population. In the beginning, Europeans implemented capitalism as the economic system. Capitalism allows every person to work for their own profit and to compete, which leads to an improvement in the welfare of society. This assumes that economic growth is created by profits and value added of a wide range of small businesses. However, capitalism does not take into account a series of characteristics that these societies have. The absence of sustained, long-term growth in the volume of production or trade combined with the lack of technology and capital accumulation constitutes obstacles to the development of them (Sender, 1986). Supply and demand are both affected. Supply is constrained by the inadequacy of roads and the attempts in some areas to maintain the balance of power by limiting the access to trade. Demand is influenced by the impact of trading relations with advanced capitalist economies. The rate of growth of demand for tradable goods was seriously limited by the technical achievements of pre-capitalist trading partners. Even the most developed African economies were subject to serious limitations concerning the economic specialization. The rapid development of Europe in the nineteenth century and the formation of economic and political forces in some of the countries, created a new vision of Africa in terms of investment and exchange of commodities. The flow of goods implied not only their production, but also included transport, storage, packaging materials, markets, and lands prepared for the increasing demand.

**Table 2.2. Trade of Africa in 1897**

	Imports £(000)	Exports £(000)
Southern Africa	<b>23.915</b>	<b>20.467</b>
Lagos	<b>771</b>	<b>811</b>
Niger Protectorate	<b>640</b>	<b>750</b>
Gold Coast	<b>911</b>	<b>858</b>
Sierra Leone	<b>457</b>	<b>401</b>
Gambia	<b>140</b>	<b>164</b>
	<b>2.919</b>	<b>2.984</b>
British Somaliland	<b>348</b>	<b>350</b>

Egyptian Sudan	<b>91</b>	<b>66</b>
British East Africa	<b>198</b>	<b>73</b>
Zanzibar and Pemba	<b>144</b>	<b>81</b>
<i>British Central Africa</i>	<i>86</i>	<i>27</i>
Portuguese East Africa	<b>4.350</b>	<b>273</b>
Angola	<b>1.031</b>	<b>1.195</b>
Guinea	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>
<i>Total Portuguese</i>	<i>5.389</i>	<i>1.471</i>
Guinea	<b>306</b>	<b>269</b>
Senegal	<b>1.167</b>	<b>843</b>
Ivory Coast	<b>188</b>	<b>189</b>
Dahomey	<b>330</b>	<b>231</b>
French Congo	<b>143</b>	<b>211</b>
<i>Total French</i>	<i>2.134</i>	<i>1.743</i>
German East Africa	<b>479</b>	<b>262</b>
South West Africa	<b>244</b>	<b>62</b>
Togoland	<b>99</b>	<b>39</b>
Kamerun	<b>295</b>	<b>185</b>
<i>Total German</i>	<i>1.117</i>	<i>548</i>
Congo Free State	<b>950</b>	<b>537</b>
<i>Grand Totals</i>	<i>37.391</i>	<i>28.347</i>

Source: S. Herbert Frankel, *The tyranny of economic paternalism in Africa: a study of frontier mentality 1860-1960* (Johannesburg, 1960), p. 17.

By 1897, for example, only 4.3 per cent of British imports derived from Africa, and only 10.4 per cent of British exports went to Africa. As depicted in Table 2.2 above, the most developed African countries were located in the European settlement areas of Southern

Africa (Duignan, 1975). Due to the fact that African societies could not deal with the capitalist system, colonizers had no choice but to change it into imperialism. According to Lenin (1999), this included:

- the concentration of production and capital developed to such a high stage that created monopolies which govern the economic life
- the merging of bank capital with industrial capital which formed a “finance capital” of a financial oligarchy
- the export of capital was more important than the export of commodities
- the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which were ruling the world
- the territorial division of the world amongst the biggest capitalist powers

The main purpose of imperialism is to change quantity into quality, by transforming free competition into a monopoly. Colonial imperialism added to the characteristics mentioned above (Gino, 2007):

- new system of administration
- process of exploitation
- production system often geared towards the creation of capitalist relations of domination-subordination, economic and socio-cultural enhancement of the colonizer

Governments tightened up their control over European companies and became more concerned with African needs and interests. They enforced colonies to pay and encouraged bankers, investors, traders and business groups. Tax systems were created in order to attract investors. The British expected each colony to pay its debts, while the Germans and French invested money in their colonies. In order to run the colonies, the new rulers levied import duties and imposed hut taxes (Phillips, 1989). Companies were obliged to pay taxes in Europe, so the colonial administrators were never in their possession. The imposed export duties were used to funnel goods to the metropolitan markets, in order not to raise revenue. The policy of each colony was to attract and to serve European enterprises and to encourage farmers to export their crops. The colonial administration determined laws on land and on labor class, and on economic planning and control. Usually, the first sector of the economy to

be regulated was commerce (ibid.). British Africa was a free- trade area for most of the colonial period. They did not control the colonial exchange economies for the benefit of the metropolis and they did not set up a monopoly on the purchase of colonial products. Instead, they encouraged the exchange of goods between other colonies.

Conversely, France attempted to protect its colonies and push them to serve for the metropolis's interests. The colonies followed an open-door policy only when international treaties were forcing them to do so. Colonial exports to France were favored and exempted of taxes. In addition, French ships did not pay certain charges in some colonial ports. As represented in Table 2.2, France dominated the export-import trade of its African colonies to a far greater extent than the others colonizers.

Between 1890 and 1939 over 32,000 miles of railroad were built in Africa. New cities appeared and over 400,000 miles of roads were created. Plantations and light and service industries served mines, towns, and farms. Cars and trucks were brought to Africa to make some regions more accessible for commerce. So the overall effects of foreign trade shows that it was a considerable influx of new commodities. Moreover, people developed new skills and found better job opportunities (Easterly and Levine, 2002).

**Table 2.3. Investment in Africa (in million U.S. dollars)**

	<b>Years</b>	<b>Public aid</b>	<b>Private investment</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	1956-1963	2.867	2.791
<b>France</b>	1956-1963	6.811	2.853
<b>Belgium</b>	1956-1980	444	523

Source: African Economic Outlook.

The speed of economic development differed between the different regions in Africa, mainly because it was not attractive enough to European investors. During the colonial period, merely 9.3 per cent of French foreign investment and only 15 per cent of British capital benefited Africa. As shown in Table 2.3, government investment exceeded the private one in African colonies. Prior to 1945, capital extended to where it could receive the greatest return. What was lacking from Africa was not the capital, but instead the educated work force that could easily adapt to a modern society. French and Belgian investments were larger after 1945, when governments decided to expand the scope of colonial development to include research and social services. A serious number of voices criticized the colonial system; not

only the colonizers, but also outsiders such as philanthropic NGOs and African associations from abroad (for example the International African Service Bureau) (ibid.).

### **2.2.3. African movements**

The method in which Europeans handled the colonies was by enforcing the local population to vote for liberation. This gave rise to many African movements and riots. One of the most important was Pan-Africanism. This is a movement which seeks to unify African people into “one African community”. As a philosophy, Pan-Africanism represents the aggregation of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific and philosophical legacies of Africans from past times to the present. Pan-Africanism as an ethical system traces its origins from ancient times, and promotes values which are the product of the African civilization and the struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism (Toyin, 2005).

Pan-Africanism is seen as a product of the European slave trade. Enslaved Africans of different origins and their descendents found themselves stuck into a system of exploitation that considered them only good in this matter. This African movement set aside cultural differences and called unity to defeat the exploitation. An early form of Pan-Africanism was Ethiopianism which was considered a religious movement.

Modern Pan-Africanism began around the beginning of the twentieth century. The African Association, later renamed the Pan-African Association, was organized by Henry Sylvester-Williams around 1887, and their first conference was held in 1900. With the help of this association, Ghana managed to gain its independence in March 1957. "Black Zionism" was another movement, pioneered by Marcus Garvey, which called for a return of African Americans to a new homeland in Africa. It collapsed in 1925. These types of movements aimed at combining the African traditional society with ideas from Arabic-Islamic world and from Western Europe (ibid.).

However, colonialism came to an end. Specialists point out two reasons for the collapse of colonialism (Mentan, 2002):

1. Pan- Africanism- Internal reason
2. People being against colonial domination- External reason

During the 1950s, the metropolitan state and the population grew more and more disillusioned with colonial development, as it failed both to live up to the economic expectations and to end the growing tide of political discontent in the colonies themselves. The colonizers were using different types of domination including political, economic and cultural domination:

Political domination refers to when Africans were obliged to endorse the foreign policy of the metropolitan power. Conversely, economic domination refers to the economy being based on agricultural production. Agricultural products were the primary export in Africa. Africans imported increasing amounts of food to keep pace with the population growth (rate of 2.3% greater than the population increase in 1960) (Phillips, op. cit.). As a consequence of this practice, the fertility of the land decreased, so people were spending money they did not have on fertilizers and irrigation. Alternatively, cultural domination refers to the colonizing country implementing its own form of schooling. Most of them used assimilation as a method of mental control. However, colonial education affects the individual and the sense of self-confidence.

#### **2.2.4. Types of policies used by colonizers**

Colonizers also tackled various types of policies, none of which resulted in a successful outcome.

Neo-liberalism consisted of the minimization of the role of the state, privatization and the reduction of domestic industry and currency devaluation, increased interest rates, and elimination of food subsidies (Mentan, 2002).

In this case, poor countries must export more in order to pay a debt, which leads to a price war because there are too many countries in the global market. Furthermore, the population of the respective countries must reduce consumption as well as the value of labor decreases and the country becomes dependant on investors.

Proletarianization refers to the social process whereby people move from being either employed, unemployed or self-employed, to being employed as wage labor by an employer.<sup>16</sup> It is based on: cheap labor, generalized commodity labor, and debt bondage. According to

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<sup>16</sup> <http://bulkpedia.com/Web/Proletarization>

this concept, the population must pay by working and this assumes a periodic labor migration (ibid.).

**Debt bondage** (or **bonded labor**) is a form of contemporary slavery in which people pledge themselves against a loan. In debt bondage, the services required to repay the debt may be undefined, and the services' duration may be undefined. Debt bondage can be passed on from generation to generation. As a solution to debt bondage, the colonizers created the peonage system.<sup>17</sup>

Peonage is a system where laborers are bound in servitude until their debts are paid in full. This method is a variation of the truck system (or company store system), in which workers are exploited by agreeing to work for an amount of goods and/or services. In these circumstances, peonage is a form of unfree labor (ibid.).

Overall, the 19<sup>th</sup> century produced significant changes in the social order and political landscape of many African nations by using the modernization theory; it is a theory of development which states that development can be achieved through following the processes of development that were used by the currently developed countries. The modernization theory sees the state as an agent of social and economic development. Modernization theory is integrated in the theory of globalization which states that cultural and economic factors are the determining aspect in every society, considers nation-state category as a unit of analysis, and encourages faster and easier communication and economic transactions (Toyin, 2005).

Three variables might have influenced the effect of colonial policies on education: the penetration of Islam, the extent of ethnic fragmentation, and the proportion of Europeans living in the countries in 1900 (Cogneau, 2003). Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan had ancient Christian traditions. Other areas had the presence of the Islamic religion and cultures as the Arab-African-Islamic societies, especially in North Africa. Religious nationalism led to the emergence of the independent church movement; churches created and operated by African priests and religious leaders. Africans were obliged to learn European languages. Multilingualism is what Africans were promoting and is part of the African cultural heritage. Africa also had a multicultural environment. The attitudes of the colonizers to the “Westernized” Africans varied. For French, Portuguese and Belgians, who saw the colonial

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<sup>17</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Debt\\_bondage](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Debt_bondage)

project as a “civilizing mission” and had special policies of “assimilation” and cultural programs, the emergence of “assimilated” (Chafer, 2002) African elites was seen as a progress and a victory for the colonial enterprise.

Colonialism denied Africa’s history and established the necessity of the presence of white men (Tangie, 2006). Pre-colonial states were stable and governed democratically. Citizens had open access to participate in the political process. Political systems were either highly centralized (kingdoms and empires) or highly decentralized. Centralized authority meant the split of power to regional, zonal and district chiefs. Chiefs were in charge of the checks, the balances and accountability. These institutions and values were destroyed by colonialism because it lacked the attributes of a state after colonialism, lacked a national foundation and security forces, public administration, and churches were designed to be authoritarian (Chafer, 2002).

The British and the French searched for African collaborators in order to better control their colonies. In this matter, the British adopted a strategy of indirect rule, using indigenous chiefs to exercise power. On the other hand, the French granted “assimilation status”, where the Africans benefiting from this privilege were expected to be loyal to state and follow the pursuit of colonial objectives. Most of the African leaders used violence to impose themselves and maintain order and law. However, the different methods in which England and France were handling their colonies will be discussed in the next chapter.

Colonialism results in the temporary or permanent domination of the colonizer’s mindset over the people of another. The colonizing process forces nations and cultures to adapt to evolving circumstances and when it ends, the victims of the occupation either remain the subjects of a settler colony, or in the case of the African colonies, they attempt to reconstruct their societies or to re-establish their cultural identity. The process of colonizing forces both parts to search for new ideas, aspirations and resources.

In my opinion, both colonizers and colonized population were unprepared for the situation. Colonizers came from a different, more evolved world, than what existed in Africa; it was better equipped with technology, implemented political and economic systems, and was more educated. On the other hand, Africans were the opposite and change was very difficult to bring forward. Africa is also a continent disadvantaged by nature and destiny. The climate is adverse and many of the countries are landlocked which results in a slower economy.

Europeans should have focused on educating the Africans and implementing changes step by step. In order to accept the changes, first they had to see the benefits and in many of them, Africans did not see the true outcome that could have resulted in the long-run. Instead, the Africans' impression was that the Europeans conquered their land in order to take advantage of their natural resources and of their workforce. As a matter of fact, using Africans as slaves in order to exchange goods with Americans was one of the mistakes made by Europeans. This made Africans more reserved to European way of ruling.

Nevertheless, the colonial period meant evolution and development for Africans. What is to be taken into account is that while all the other continents are benefiting from better technology, innovations, and new ideas, Africa is still struggling to offer their population better living conditions. Based on the list of the countries with low human development, African countries have the highest rank Togo, Congo, Lesotho, Uganda etc.<sup>18</sup>

Accordingly, the gap between countries is increasing and the question remains: How can this gap be reduced?

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<sup>18</sup> [http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/human\\_development\\_low.htm](http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/human_development_low.htm)

## **Chapter 3: British and French colonial style comparison**

While the previous chapter gave details on the methods in which economic development can be influenced by natural, social, political and colonial factors, this chapter seeks to narrow the analysis, focusing on the impact that Britain and France had on their colonies.

Britain and France were both the main colonizers in Africa. Britain had 17 colonies which consisted of Egypt, Gambia, Togo Land, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Cameroon, Somaliland, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Nyasa Land, Rhodesia, and South Africa in South West Africa.<sup>19</sup>

Colonial conquest by the French began in 1854. France overtook Algeria and Morocco and in French West Africa, France overtook Mauritania, Senegal, French Sudan (now Mali), Guinea, Ivory Coast, Niger, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Dahomey (now Benin). In French Equatorial Africa, France overtook Gabon, Middle Congo (now Republic of Congo), Oubangi-Chari (now Central African Republic), Chad, French Somaliland and Madagascar. French West Africa was a federation of colonies and a federal government was created in 1904.<sup>20</sup>

### **3.1. Factors influencing Africa's development**

Further on the analysis will point out the similarities and the differences between former British and French colonies. They were fairly similar from the point of view of a large number of economic and institutional variables in 1960. They were equally poor and with low life expectancy until 1990. It was difficult for both countries to bring changes to the African colonies due to various factors such as geographic, historical, and economic factors.

#### **3.1.1. Geographic Factors: Climate and Access to sea**

West Africa provided colonies that were geographically close to Britain and France. There are merely 5,000 km from London docks to Freetown (Sierra Leone) and 6,000 km to Accra (Ghana). West Africa was a connection point for trade between India and England. For

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<sup>19</sup> Information taken from the Encyclopedia of African History and Culture

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*<sup>19</sup>

France, Abidjan (Ivory Coast) is 5,000 km away from Bordeaux, and Dakar (Senegal) merely 3,500 km.<sup>21</sup> These were the first countries where the British and French powers penetrated and tried to extend to additional countries.

According to Machiavelli (1519) and Montesquieu (1750), the geography hypothesis holds that environment directly influences the quality of labor, land, and production technology. (Tropical environments tend to have poor crops, various diseases can develop better and endowments that cannot effectively employ production technologies that are used in more temperate zones.) Most of the African countries are landlocked - 14 African countries are landlocked out of 47 landlocked countries worldwide - and therefore not open to trade. This limits the country's capacity to access a large economic market and lower its production efficiency. According to the geography hypothesis, the environment shapes economic development directly by influencing the inputs into the production function and the production function itself (Easterly and Levine, 2002).

Sachs and Warner (1995, 1997) suggest that tropical location, landlocked location, and commodity dependence directly inhibit development or growth. Bloom and Sachs (1998) and Sachs (2001) argue that tropical location leads to underdevelopment through mechanisms such as (1) the fragility and low fertility of tropical soils, (2) high prevalence of crop pests and parasites, (3) excessive plant respiration and lower rate of net photosynthesis, (4) high evaporation and unstable supply of water, (5) lack of a dry season, cold temperatures, or long enough summer days for temperate grain crops, (6) ecological conditions favoring infectious diseases for humans, (7) lack of coal deposits, and (8) high transport costs (Easterly and Levine, 2002).

### **3.1.2. Historically Determined Institutions: Language and Religion**

Western Europeans have historically been associated with high quality institutions and were keen on introducing these institutions to the African countries they were responsible for. Today, there are over 3,000 languages natively spoken in Africa. Religion played and still plays an important role in Africa. Various religions exist in Africa including Christianity and Islam. . Islam has competed with Christianity in most of West Africa, Uganda, and along the East African coast. Islam was not the religion of colonial power nor of western education. Both language and religion constituted obstacles for colonizers. Communication between

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<sup>21</sup> <http://www.donaldstark.co.uk/baguette.html>

colonizers and population was difficult, let alone the fact that Africans from different areas were unable to clearly communicate and understand one another due to language barriers. Each religion had its own rules and customs to be abided by.

### **3.1.3. Economic Policies: Trade, Monetary, and Fiscal Policies**

The environment has an impact on economic development; governors are compelled to implement long-lasting institutions. Given that large plantations are required for cultivating crops political and legal institutions are needed to protect the few landholders from numerous peasants and slavery. In colonies with inhospitable diseases, the colonial powers established extractive institutions such that a small number of colonialists could exploit natural resources.

Europeans exercised different types of colonization strategies. In some areas where Europeans settled, they created institutions to support and protect private property. In other areas, they did not aim at settling; instead, they sought to extract as much as they could from the colony. In this matter, they empowered the elite such as Congo, Burundi, Ghana, Ivory Coast, to extract gold, silver, cash crops etc. Europeans used this strategy for areas with a high mortality rate which was the cause of various diseases. In fact, the disease environment shaped the colonization strategy and the types of institutions established by European colonizers (Easterly and Levine, 2002). The development gaps are caused by the institutions that organize the use of economic resources.

## **3.2. French and British colonial approaches**

A comparative analysis regarding the various approaches taken by England and France with respect to their colonies will be discussed next.

Michael Crowder, in the Journal of the International African Institute from 1964, recorded that the French and British ‘native’ administrations in Africa were in practice very similar since they both relied on indigenous chiefs for governance. The truth is, both of them had no choice when they overtook areas in Africa taking into account the various aforementioned barriers. Even from the beginning of colonization, the French relied more on the military power, while the British counted on missionaries and trade.

### **3.2.1. The theory of assimilation**

In 1880, most of the colonizers used the **theory of assimilation**. This theory states that colonies should be considered provinces overseas and extensions of the fatherland, and

should therefore have similar institutions as the metropolis. The assimilation theory has traditionally been used to evaluate cultural and ethnic relations within the nation-state; specifically, the extent to which a minority culture becomes more similar to a dominant 'host' culture (Loubere, 2010).

The theory of assimilation was approached differently by the two colonizers. The British viewed the colonies as foreign lands and anticipated, though only in an unforeseen future, their separation from Britain. On the contrary, France considered colonies as individual parts of France and tried to enforce French values on them. The spirit of assimilation was so alive in 1830 that even the minister from that period stated: "Aren't the colonies French? Are they not part of this large family? The colonies are France." (Betts, 1960)

### **3.2.2. The theory of association**

However, the French remained at a distance from their colonies. Thus, the theory of assimilation soon became a part of the term **association** as a need arose for variety in the colonial practices. Instead of absorbing the colonies administratively and culturally, the French new empire decided that it could be better served by a more flexible policy in which the colonized regions become partners with France in their colonial project.

According to association, decisive factors in any colonial policy revolve around geographic and ethnic characteristics and specific conditions of social evolution in a given region under foreign rule.

### **3.2.3. Methods of ruling**

#### **3.2.3.1. French method**

The French employed both assimilation and association by following four main factors (Chafer, 2002):

1. Political assimilation. This refers to the fact that new laws in the mother country should also be implemented in the Empire.
2. Assimilation of the colonized population into the culture and the way of life of the mother country - "black Frenchmen".
3. The colonies should have the same tax and tariffs as in the mother country.

4. Personal assimilation, which includes mixed marriages.

“Assimilation was the doctrine preferred by those who felt a public need to justify colonialism; association was preferred by those who had to actually administer the colonies for which the high ideals of assimilation were both abstract and dangerous.” (ibid.)

The Vichy regime<sup>22</sup> had a great impact on the colonies. Association included (Gino, 2007):

- Enforced admiration of hierarchy
- Respect for traditional and agricultural elements of society
- Rejection of the idea of equality and homogeneity within the French society
- The idea that those who were truly French – not culturally yet racially – had the right to a French citizenship.

The French population has been reluctant to integrate Africans into their society and culture for various reasons. First of all, the French believed that Africans are “tabula rasa”<sup>23</sup>, which led to a total destruction of local cultures and customs. The French created a new social class, called Africans évolués, which was meant to be the new elite and suggested an evolution toward a socio-cultural European model. As a consequence of this mentality, the French were not willing to bring their institutions into Africa (ibid.).

One of the issues of concern for the British administration in managing its colonies was whether they should use assimilation or they should preserve the traditional society, customs and laws. However, the notion of preservation was somewhat vague since improving the population’s life conditions included bringing forth changes into their society.

All colonies utilized the idea of civilizing mission which meant at least the abolition of some customs and practices that were unacceptable in the civilized world. Further,

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<sup>22</sup> The Vichy regime was the French government from July 1940 to August 1944, which succeeded the Third Republic. It was proclaimed by Marshal Philippe Pétain following the military defeat of France and the vote by the National Assembly, on July 10, 1940, of extraordinary powers to Pétain, who held not the title of President of France but rather President of the Council.

<sup>23</sup> Definition of tabula rasa: the mind in its hypothetical primary blank or empty state before receiving outside impressions

introducing western education, medicine, and so on eroded the traditional culture and changed the economic system by charging for these services.

Under the Vichy rulers, France gave more choices to its colonies. They were consulting and guiding chiefs on a regular basis. Somehow, Africans were complaining that French colonizers did not give them the same rights; fraternity without equality. Between 1915 and 1916, Blaise Diagne<sup>24</sup> managed to pass two laws that accorded to originaries and their descendants' full French citizenship (Gino, 2007). This implied duties such as military service, but also fundamental judicial and political rights. They could also publish newspapers and establish political parties. Africans who converted to Christianity were considered as belonging to modern African elite. One distinguishing feature of the colonial regime in French West Africa, compared to that in British West Africa, was the possibility for Africans to obtain the full French citizenship.

The French empire covered a huge area with a different range of cultures and people at different stages of evolution. Thus, it made no sense to implement the same policy and export the same institutions to every corner of the empire.

Apart from full citizenship, the French gave more rights to Africans, including (Chafer, 2002):

1. Freedom of press, freedom of movement and freedom of association
2. The right for all workers to belong to a trade union
3. The concept of “equal pay for equal work”

### **3.2.3.2. British method**

Compared to France, Britain had longer, more continuous colonial experience than most imperial powers, even though not all was relevant, especially where white settlers predominated. In southern Africa, at least three approaches were implemented during the 19th century—Natal, the Cape Colony and Basutoland.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Blaise Diagne (13 October 1872 - 11 May 1934) was a Senegalese political leader, the first black African elected to the French National Assembly, and mayor of Dakar.

<sup>25</sup> [http://stmarys.ca/~wmills/course317/3brit\\_policies.html](http://stmarys.ca/~wmills/course317/3brit_policies.html)

1. **Natal**<sup>26</sup> - the policy of ‘differentiation’.

There were separate legal and political systems for whites and Africans. Africans were exempted from the Roman-Dutch law which applied to whites and subject to ‘Native law and custom’. Furthermore, primarily due to the lack of funds, the system used some African authorities for administration: the Lieutenant-Governor was declared to be ‘supreme chief’ whose powers were exercised by a handful of white officials and magistrates; the latter used ‘traditional chiefs and headmen’ to carry out the law, settle disputes among Africans, collect taxes, and provide labor (part of taxes was labor).

Natal enforced procedures whereby Africans could go from traditional law and customs to European law. There were procedures to allow Africans to obtain the right to vote; these procedures were so difficult that few were able, or willing, to acquire the vote.<sup>27</sup>

2. **Cape Colony**<sup>28</sup> - policy of assimilation and **no** differentiation.

Partly, this Cape ‘liberalism’ dates back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century where missionary struggles took place in order to eliminate differences in legal status based on color. Cape ‘liberalism’ was founded in 1828 and later the ‘color-blind’ franchise was introduced in 1853 with representative government. This policy had been primarily concerned with the Khoikhoi (‘Hottentots’) and people of mixed racial background.

Initially, most Africans were ‘foreigners’ and the Cape was not obliged to confront the problem squarely. However, as additional territories and Africans were annexed as a result of the wars, the problem of how to deal with large numbers of Africans had to be addressed.

In 1850, the policy of assimilation in Cape was initiated and lasted until 1936. The main objectives of this policy were to introduce civilization and Christianity and to change

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<sup>26</sup> KwaZulu-Natal is a province of South Africa. Prior to 1994, the territory now known as KwaZulu-Natal was made up of the province of Natal and the homeland of KwaZulu. It is called the garden province and is the home of the Zulu nation.

<sup>27</sup> *Idem*<sup>25</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cape Town is the second-most populous city in South Africa, and the largest in land area, forming part of the City of Cape Town metropolitan municipality.

Britain's foes into friends by fighting for the same rights. England attempted to achieve assimilation as rapidly as possible through schools and hospitals; this specific goal took time to get accomplished. Furthermore, they hoped to gradually substitute white magistrates for African chiefs and headmen. This meant direct rule and a step by step implementation of the Roman-Dutch law as much as possible. In criminal aspects, European law was used.<sup>29</sup>

### 3. **Basutoland**<sup>30</sup> - indirect rule and no assimilation.

Shortly after being taken over by the British government in the 1860s, Basutoland was turned over to the Cape Colony. There it was specifically stated that no law of the Cape Colony was to apply in Basutoland unless it was specifically proclaimed (i.e., Basutoland was primarily subject to traditional law).

However, when the Cape government tried to apply the Gun Law to Basutoland in 1879, a revolt took place. The Cape was unable to crush the revolt; by the early 1880s, the war was unpopular in the Cape and the government was teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. In 1882, the Cape announced that it was abandoning Basutoland, and the British government very reluctantly agreed to resume responsibility.

In the governing of this land, there was one chief magistrate and three or four assistants. It was a classic case of indirect rule, where the traditional system of African government was used.

The hierarchy of king, chiefs and headmen collected taxes; acted as judges (the whites were an advisor in legal matters and the chief magistrate was the final court of appeal as representative of the Queen). The chief magistrate was somewhat a super paramount chief above the king. This was the prototype for 'indirect rule' in colonies without white settlers and with an African hierarchical government or kingdom.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Idem*<sup>27</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Basutoland or officially the Territory of Basutoland was a British crown colony established in 1884 after the Cape Colony's inability to control the territory. It was divided into seven administrative districts; Berea, Leribe, Maseru, Mhales Hock, Mafeteng, Qacha's Nek and Quthing. Basutoland was renamed the Kingdom of Lesotho upon independence from the United Kingdom on October 4, 1966.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*<sup>29</sup>

The ideological framework, as well as the practical application of indirect rule in European colonialism, is usually traced to the work of Frederick Lugard.<sup>32</sup> Lugard instituted a system whereby external, military and tax control was operated by the British, while most other aspect of life was left to local pre-colonial aristocrats who had sided with the British during the conquest.

This type of governance has both advantages and disadvantages. It was cheaper and easier for colonial powers since it required fewer administrators to be paid. However, colonial authorities empowered local leaders (Uganda's case). If no leader could be found, colonizers would elect their own local administrators (Crowder, 1964). This occurred in Kenya and Nigeria. The new leaders, called "warrant chiefs", were not supported by the local population at all times. Colonial elites also often elected local leaders with similar traits to their own, despite the traits not being suited to native leadership (ibid.).

In contrast to British Indirect rule, the French had a very clear approach in their administration of Africa. They used the Direct Rule system which reflected the tight contact France had with its colonies, a situation that still exists nowadays.

One distinct quality of the French regime is its flexibility. France adjusted its policies to reflect the changing times and circumstances within France, in the colonies and also on the international sphere. The variants of this policy included assimilation, association, differentiation and paternalism. The several variants of French policy were grouped into a system called "cartesianism (Chafer, 2002).

It was from this Cartesian approach that the French system of Direct Rule emerged. From this system, France achieved "a measure of uniformity in the pattern of institutions introduced into 'Afrique noire', or black Africa.

#### **3.2.4. Economic activity in the colonies**

France and England were to promote economic progress and increase activity. In West Africa, especially along the coastal areas, a trade system already existed. The British were obliged to encourage the export of new products and drive local small producers to respond. Scholars have called this type of approach **peasant production** as opposed to

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<sup>32</sup> Frederick Lugard, who assumed the position of high commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria in 1900, often has been regarded as the model British colonial administrator.

**plantation production** by white planters or companies. In this matter, colonial administrators tried to improve the infrastructure in order to facilitate the circulation of products (Phillips, 1989).

Further, Africa's climate was not appealing to foreign investors. As a solution, the British encouraged local indigenous producers to develop. British or expatriate firms and intermediaries dealt with the export of products.<sup>33</sup>

Even though, the British created special agencies for solving the colonial affairs, their empire was never considered organized and centralized as the French empire. The French centralized all their power in Paris and they strictly controlled the governors without granting them much freedom of choice.

In 1901 in Dakar, Senegal, the French established the "Bank of West Africa (BWA)", which was considered the central bank of the colonies in French West Africa.<sup>34</sup> It was initially built as a private investment bank. Shortly, the French government authorized the bank to print currency and its board always included colonial officials. The creation of BWA was a modality with the intent of injecting investment into French colonies. In 1880, almost all French economic interests in the area were in the form of family-run trading houses based in French port cities such as Bordeaux and Marseilles. The creation of this bank occurred while these houses consolidated into joint stock companies.<sup>35</sup> By the 1920s, business in French West Africa was dominated by solely three private joint stock companies: the Compagnie Française d'Afrique Occidentale, the Nouvelle Société Commerciale Africaine, and the Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain. The BWA board largely overlapped with the boards of these trading companies.

While the Bank of France in Paris remained essentially a bank for banks, the BWA, on the other hand, was a brokering bank. In years that followed, more banks similar to this emerged. In 1924, BWA expanded to French Equatorial Africa by opening more branches.

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<sup>33</sup> [http://stmarys.ca/~wmills/course317/3brit\\_policies.html](http://stmarys.ca/~wmills/course317/3brit_policies.html)

<sup>34</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bank\\_of\\_West\\_Africa\\_\(BAO\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bank_of_West_Africa_(BAO))

<sup>35</sup> A joint-stock company (JSC) is a type of corporation or partnership involving two or more individuals that own shares of stock in the company. Certificates of ownership ("shares") are issued by the company in return for each financial contribution, and the shareholders are free to transfer their ownership interest at any time by selling their shareholding to others.

However, the strategy of opening these banks to foster inward investment was not as successful as expected since capital extraction was the main source of wealth in West Africa. In fact, most of the capital that France collected through taxes was redirected to Africa as an investment. The BWA held a capital of 6 million Francs before 1914, and that amount rose to 50 million in 1931, though declined thereafter. In 1940, all banks in French West Africa retained a total investment of just over 1.5 million Francs. Nevertheless, forestry alone had an inward investment of almost 3.4 million Francs that year.<sup>36</sup>

As mentioned in the previous chapter, England never had a specific secretary or agency responsible for the whole empire. The reason is that since 1830, they had a free trade policy. Unlike the French colonial empire, colonial trade was open to all foreign countries. This denotes that the colonies were no longer forced to give British goods preferential treatment. The French offered to enforce mercantilist and protectionist measures in colonial trade.

Another difference between the colonial powers was the degree of international trade openness. French colonies were obliged to import goods from France, to sell all their products only to Frenchmen and to use French ships as a means of transportation.

Moreover, the taxation system was used as a major tool by colonial administrations to achieve their goals, not merely to gain revenues. First of all, taxes were stimulating Africans to collect more natural materials for export, since their potential was limited. Second of all, most of the farmers changed their production to export crops in order to obtain money to pay taxes. This type of attitude led to reduced quantities of food for consumption. In turn, this caused bad alimentation and less energy to work. Moreover, repeated growing of the same export crops year after year depleted the fertility of the soil faster.

Furthermore, taxation enforced a large number of Africans to work. One of the problems that arose with labor was that many people had no choice but to migrate to other prosperous areas in order to find employment opportunities. Many of them travelled to the Gold Coast where production of peanuts and cocoa was flourishing and there was a big demand for labor. Migrants travelled long distances by foot and the result was sacrifice, illness and eventually death. In southern Africa, colonial taxes forced many Africans from

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<sup>36</sup> *Idem* <sup>27</sup>

various countries to work for a long period of time as low-paid migrants laborers in South African mines (Crush, 2005).

As illustrated in the Table 3.1 below, there existed a large migration of population to the mines from South Africa and the total number continued to increase as the years progressed. . This results in the assumption that the situation in these countries did not improve a great deal.

**Table 3.1. Contract labor migration to South Africa mines, 1920-1990**

Year	Angola	Bots	Lesotho	Malawi	Mozam	Swaz	Tanz	Zam	Zim	Other	Total
1920	0	2,112	10,439	354	77,921	3,449	0	12	179	5,484	99,950
1925	0	2,547	14,256	136	73,210	3,999	0	4	68	14	94,234
1930	0	3,151	22,306	0	77,828	4,345	183	0	44	5	99,355
1935	0	7,505	34,788	49	62,576	6,865	109	570	27	9	112,498
1940	698	14,427	52,044	8,037	74,693	7,152	0	2,725	8,112	70	168,058
1945	8,711	10,102	36,414	4,973	78,588	5,688	1,461	27	8,301	4,732	158,967
1950	9,767	12,390	34,467	7,831	86,246	6,619	5,495	3,102	2,073	4,826	172,816
1955	8,801	14,195	36,332	12,407	99,449	6,682	8,758	3,849	162	2,299	192,934
1960	12,364	21,404	48,842	21,934	101,733	6,623	14,025	5,292	747	844	233,808
1965	11,169	23,630	54,819	38,580	89,191	5,580	404	5,898	653	2,686	232,610
1970	4,125	20,461	63,988	78,492	93,203	6,269	0	0	3	972	265,143
1975	3,431	20,291	78,114	27,904	97,216	8,391	0	0	2,485	12	220,293
1980	5	17,763	96,309	13,569	39,539	8,090	0	0	5,770	1,404	182,449
1985	0	18,079	97,639	16,849	50,126	12,365	0	0	0	4	196,068
1990	0	15,720	108,780	72	50,104	17,816	0	0	2	0	192,044

Source: Migration in South Africa, Jonathan Crush, 2005

Tangie Nsoh Fonchingong in his article: “The state and development in Africa” (2006) underlines that colonization obstructed the state formation in Africa and that authoritarianism, corruption and political instability were the main obstacles in Africa’s development. Corruption was introduced by England and France and other colonial rulers by monetary economy, cash taxation and the use of the divide and impera rule method.

Both empires favored one tribe over another in order to avoid uniting groups against them and to gain loyalty of the administration. In exchange for their submission, they offered

rewards such as access to Western education, government-sponsored economic opportunities, medicine, etc.

As a form of cash taxation, the British introduced hut tax and poll tax. Hut tax was a type of taxation brought by British colonialists in Africa on a per hut or household basis. On the other hand, poll tax gave Africans the ability to vote. Money was collected by local African leaders and sometimes they would save some money in their own pockets. It was a method of accumulation of private property (Phillips, 1989).

In the colonial period, labor markets were inexistent. It took a while for the British to establish one and for the government to guarantee labor for everyone. The British transformed the waste lands into crown land with communal ownership. In order to encourage investment, occupants of a 'public land' had to obtain a certificate and pay annual rent to government. The government received 5% royalty on mineral, rubber and timber (ibid.).

In 1902, the British Cotton Growing Association was instituted with the objective of promoting cotton growing as a protected source of raw materials. The role of the government was to distribute free cotton, experiment with improving potential varieties, set up buying centers, and build ginning factories. Like so, natives were taught how to plant and manage on their own, discouraging European manufacturers (ibid.).

Confronted with these difficulties, Africa was in need of a working class. In 1930 a labor class and trade union were formed. As mentioned above, people began to move from the countryside to towns. As a result, the unemployment rate rose. The solution was to improve the living standards in the countryside. Farmers could not guarantee paying certain wages and migrant workers were regarded as 'unstable'. The British provided £5 million per year for colonial development schemes and increased to £12 million in 1945 (ibid.).

Afterwards, the organization of labor varied across region, period and type of colony. European colonialism disrupted indigenous economies and societies, driving many peasants into involuntary labor by controlling trade or agriculture. The early colonial period was marked by the use of forced labor systems in the colonies. Colonialism incorporated existing forms of labor obligation. This included debt bondage, discussed in the previous chapter,

pawn-ship, and *corvée*, common in pre-colonial states, which colonized other people by incorporating them into an integral territory (Page, 2003).

The forced labor system, termed *corvée*, consisted of penal labor, military labor and prestation labor. Males aged between 18 and 60 years were subject to an annual tax. According to prestation labor, individuals were required to provide the colonial state with a certain number of days of free labor each year. In the case where they did not have sufficient funds to pay the tax, they were forced to work on European plantations. France preferred forced labor which included public work, work that substituted for payment of taxes, work that could be traded for money, and army recruitment for public works (ibid.).

Both empires, the British and the French encountered resistance to this labor system, which later developed into organized forms of class struggle, such as labor unions and strikes. The colonizers and the colonized countries had different opinions regarding labor. The former aimed to increase its profits by exploiting the colonial population by providing the least opportunities of movement possible to the colonized regions. As a compromise in this situation, the French decided to grant Africans 5 years in which they could phase out forced labor. Simultaneously, the French instituted a ‘*service obligatoire du travail*’ for a duration of one year. This service was for all African men between the ages of 20 and 21 who were physically fit and had not been conscripted for military service (Chafer, 2002). Forced labor was abolished by the French in April 1946.

In French colonies, two types of sectors in the African society existed: the modern sector and the traditional sector. The modern sector included African groups or communities created by the policy of assimilation. The traditional sector included groups that the colonial regime regarded as related to the African pre-colonial reality (colonial chiefs, pre-colonial kings and leaders, Muslims, soldiers, etc.) (ibid.).

The ‘modern’ sector was formed with educated Africans. Education is a necessary tool with which a society provides the knowledge needed for survival and sustenance. It is necessary for establishing, maintaining, and improving the basic institutions and values of society. Such a system already existed in pre-colonial times, being influenced by means of Islam, indigenous culture and tradition, and Afro-Christianity. Sources like the Koran (Quran) or the Bible stimulated a drive for literacy and learning. However, the introduction of

Western education and colonial education policies elevate the level of education in Africa (Toyin, 2005).

The colonial policies in education have always been a subject of debate for those who focused on this topic. The French aimed at creating African elite that could cherish the metropolitan values, known as Black Frenchmen. , Contrary to this, the British focused on ‘cultural adaptation’; the adjustment of metropolitan institutions to local political and social organizations, and the creation of a group of educated Africans whose roots remain within their own culture.

In the early twentieth century, when the French colonial regime decided to establish an educational system in French West Africa designed for children, various dilemmas arose. To begin with, the local administrators were obliged to receive education. This was primarily for better communication with the metropolis. Moreover, education was considered dangerous for colonial stability because it could have potentially turned the Africans against France.

The educational system that was created was separating Africans from their society. This, in turn, resulted in Africans feeling ashamed of their roots. This leads to the following question: How can Africans receive proper education without feeling the need to leave their country and search for better living conditions? The French sought to introduce moral education in schools and extended the hours allocated to sports (Gino, 2007).

British West Africa owes the beginning of the system of education to the pioneer efforts of Christian missions. Governments supported grants-in-aid to mission schools on the condition that standards set up by the government were abided by - as determined by inspection. Christian missions established schools later on. The original purpose of these schools was to teach Africans how to read the Bible and to understand the basic concepts of Christianity.

Denis Cogneau, in his study on “Colonisation, school and development in Africa”, noticed three variables that influenced the effect of colonial policies on education: the penetration of Islam, the extent of ethnic fragmentation, and the proportion of Europeans living in the colonized countries in 1900.

Islam had a great impact on the colonial mark made on education for two major reasons. Firstly, Koranic (Quarnic) schools constituted an alternative to the schooling

provided by Western missionaries. Secondly, due to this religion, it was very difficult to convince parents that their daughters should study. The French colonized more Islamic countries (Cogneau, 2003).

Further, high levels of ethnic fragmentation had an impact on education. Certain regions did not have a pre-colonial government and population dispersion may have handicapped indigenous language teaching (ibid.).

The French insisted that their native language be the main language of instruction: This slowed down the educational process. The French education system changed education more in the eyes of talented students who struggled to improve their capabilities and knowledge. Thus, the French education system was rather elitist. The British, on the other hand, did not alienate the native culture.

By 1935, Western education was prioritized over traditional forms of education and became the very dividing factor between the elite and the uneducated majority. The French offered chances to Africans to move and study in France at a university level. However, this implied a high level of assimilation and involved merely extremely gifted individuals. Nevertheless most studies indicate that British colonies had a higher rate of education in 1960.<sup>37</sup>

The purpose of British education was the development of communities and elevation of living conditions by learning. On the other hand, the intentions of the French education policies varied from those of the British from the beginning.<sup>38</sup>

One similarity is that both countries' education expanded as independence approached.

Most of the African countries gained independence in 1960. As a conclusion, the British colonies performed and developed more than the French ones and this can still be seen nowadays. As Michael Grier (1999) concludes in his paper, the contrasting philosophies of education had a big impact on the way colonies evolved. Furthermore, after conducting several empirical tests, he discovered that the colonies that were held for longer periods of time than other countries performed better, on average, after independence.

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<sup>37</sup> <http://www.zum.de/whkmla/sp/0910/yeonhwa/yeonhwa4.html>

<sup>38</sup> idem<sup>37</sup>

Following this comparison analyzing France and England's various colonial approaches and drawing a conclusion with respect to the positive and negative aspects of these approaches seems appropriate. Education constituted an important key factor in Africa's development. Why was England more successful? A possible answer to this could be because the British did not try to eradicate the colonies' culture and they adapted more to their colonial style.

In my opinion, England mainly entered Africa to exploit their natural resources and to use them in the slave trade. On the other hand, the French aspired to indoctrinate Africans with French beliefs. The French also enforced Africans to respect the French people and their history. For this reason, the French agreed to give the African people full citizenship. In fact, the African people did not care for independence to that degree; they merely had a desire to stay under the French protectorate. Moreover, nowadays, French colonies maintain their relations with the metropolis.

Based on the economic perspective, the forced labor system was unsuccessful because the Africans did not realize any benefit from it. They were obliged to work for low wages, and produce and export most of the products. The Africans seemed to be running in a vicious circle and most of the people that were governing them were corrupted; this resulted in distrust among citizens.

Conversely had the colonial period lasted longer, more positive outcomes could have resulted since the population would have been more educated, the infrastructure would have been more developed, and the political and economic systems would have been more organized.

## **Chapter 4: Former colonies and independent countries**

The following section of this thesis represents a study case that will consist in a brief glance at the situation of the three countries chosen and a comparison between them according to a series of key factors that influenced their economic development. The purpose of this case study is to determine which model was more efficient: the French colonial style, the British one or no colonial ties.

### **4.1. Description of the countries**

Over the years Ethiopia, Senegal and Uganda have experienced periods of foreign occupation, droughts and famine. Senegal is France's oldest colony in Africa. The four communes: Dakar, Saint Louis, Gorée and Rufisque were 'experimental laboratory' for the theory of assimilation (Gino, 2007). Uganda was under British protectorate from 1894 to 1962. Colonial rule affected local economic systems in Uganda due to the fact that British were mainly financially concerned.

The sample of the countries that never went under colonial rule is small, consisting in Liberia and Ethiopia. Judging by the past and by economic figures, the situation of the two countries was not very flourishing without any colonial guidance. Both countries went through years of instability due to long civil conflicts and disagreements. Ethiopia is the oldest independent country. Apart from a five years occupation by Mussolini's Italy, it has never been colonised.<sup>39</sup>

#### **4.1.1. Senegal**

##### **4.1.1.1. General information**

Senegal is considered to be one of Africa's model democracies. Although poverty is widespread and unemployment is high, the country has one of the region's most stable economies. After 1960's, France remained one of the key aid donor and trade partner, fact that helped Senegal to gain political stability and monetary stability by joining the Franc zone (Chafer, 2003).

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<sup>39</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13349398>

Senegal is situated in the Western Africa with a total area of 196,000 square kilometres and includes desert in the north and a moist, tropical south. Only 12.51 per cent represents arable land from which 0.24 per cent is considered permanent crops.

Senegal has a population estimated at about 12.5 millions. Wolof is the most spoken language and only 20 per cent of the population is actually literate in French, fact that exclude the majority of the population from best jobs in the public and private sectors and from participation in politics (Chafer, 2003). 42 per cent of population lives in the urban area.

#### **4.1.1.2. Economy**

Senegal relies largely on donor assistance. The country's key export industries are phosphate mining, fertilizer production, and commercial fishing. The country is also working on iron ore and oil exploration projects.<sup>40</sup> Senegal's economy is dominated by a few strategic sectors, including groundnuts, fisheries and services.<sup>41</sup>

Table 4.1 illustrates the main economic indicators that are taken into account in assessing a country's economic situation. The GDP fluctuated over the last three years; however it has registered a considerable growth in 2010. In 1994, Senegal undertook an ambitious economic reform program with the support of the international donor community. Annual inflation has been pushed down to single digits and in 2009, Senegal went through a deflation.

Moreover, two million or more Senegalese-born persons live abroad, especially in Europe. Senegal's economy is closely linked to and highly dependent on the economic activity in Europe. In better times, immigrant remittances of over a billion dollars per year were important sources of foreign exchange and support for family members still in Senegal.<sup>42</sup>

Senegal imports mainly food and beverages from France 15.9 per cent and UK 13.6 per cent and exports fish, groundnuts, petroleum products to Mali mostly (21.6 per cent).<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sg.html>

<sup>41</sup> <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/SENEGAEXTN/0,,menuPK:296308~pagePK:141159~piPK:141110~theSitePK:296303,00.html>

<sup>42</sup> [http://www.unaids.org/en/media/unaids/contentassets/dataimport/pub/report/2010/20100204\\_summary\\_intro\\_final\\_040210\\_en.pdf](http://www.unaids.org/en/media/unaids/contentassets/dataimport/pub/report/2010/20100204_summary_intro_final_040210_en.pdf)

<sup>43</sup> Idem<sup>32</sup>

**Table 4.1. Senegal’s economic situation over the last three years**

<b>Senegal</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>
GDP (current US\$) (billions)	13.21	12.79	12.95
GDP growth (annual %)	3.3	2.2	4.2
Inflation, GDP deflator (annual %)	6.2	-1.0	1.4
Agriculture, value added (% of GDP)	15	17	17
Industry, value added (% of GDP)	22	22	22
Services, etc., value added (% of GDP)	63	62	61
Exports of goods and services (% of GDP)	26	24	25
Imports of goods and services (% of GDP)	53	44	44
Foreign Direct Investment, net inflows (BoP, current US \$) (millions)	398	208	237

Source: Data has been taken from World Bank’s website

## **4.1.2. Uganda**

### **4.1.2.1. General information**

The colonial boundaries created by Britain to delimit Uganda brought together people with different cultures and political views, which made difficult the establishment of a proper working political community after gaining independence in 1962. As a matter of fact, Uganda had to recover after a long period of civil war and economic catastrophe.

Uganda is a landlocked country situated in the Eastern Africa with a total area of 241.038 square kilometres. 21.57 per cent represents arable land from which 8.92 per cent is used as permanent crops.<sup>44</sup>

Uganda has a population estimated at 34,612,250 people, figure that takes into account the effects of excessive mortality due to AIDS. English is the official language taught

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<sup>44</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ug.html>

in schools and used in the courts of law. Only 13 per cent of population lives in the urban area.<sup>45</sup>

#### 4.1.2.2. Economy

After colonization, Uganda was integrated by Britain into the capitalist world system. Uganda's economic structures were transformed as the country became the producer of raw materials. By 1922 the Uganda Protectorate was a successful colony because it satisfied the colonial measures of progress, for example increased exports and a self-financing administration. The new economy was based on peasant production of primary commodities for the world market, fact that made the economy dependent on Britain's economy for processing raw materials in consumable goods (Obbo, 1982).

Uganda is rich in natural resources, including fertile soils, small deposits of copper, gold and other minerals and oil. This country is based on agriculture, employing over 80 per cent of the work force. It exports mainly coffee, fish and fish products to the neighbouring countries. The imports consist in capital equipment, vehicles, medical supplies and petroleum (ibid.).

**Table 4.2. Uganda's economic situation over the last three years**

<b>Uganda</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>
GDP (current US\$) (billions)	14.44	15.80	17.01
GDP growth (annual %)	8.7	7.2	5.2
Inflation, GDP deflator (annual %)	6.4	14.6	9.1
Agriculture, value added (% of GDP)	23	25	24
Industry, value added (% of GDP)	27	26	25
Services, etc., value added (% of GDP)	50	50	50
Exports of goods and services (% of GDP)	24	24	24
Imports of goods and services (% of GDP)	32	35	34
Foreign Direct Investment, net inflows (BoP, current US \$) (millions)	729	789	817

Source: Data has been taken from World Bank's website

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<sup>45</sup> Idem<sup>44</sup>

Since 1986, the government has struggled to stabilize the economy by undertaking currency reforms, raising producer prices on export crops, increasing prices of petroleum. The aim of all these policy changes is to boost production, diminish inflation and obtain more money from exports. The economic crisis from 2009 affected Uganda's exports. However, due to past reforms and good management, Uganda's GDP growth is still strong as Table 4.2 points out.

### **4.1.3. Ethiopia**

#### **4.1.3.1. General information**

Ethiopia is a landlocked country situated in the Eastern Africa with a total area of 1,104,300 square kilometres. 10.01 per cent of the land is considered arable land and only 0.65 per cent was transformed in permanent crops.<sup>46</sup>

The nation is known for its periodic droughts, famine, civil conflicts and a border war with Eritrea. Ethiopia is one of Africa's poorest states. The country has a population estimated at 90,873,739 people, from which almost two-thirds of its people are illiterate. 17 per cent of total population is concentrated in the urban areas<sup>47</sup>.

#### **4.1.3.2. Economy**

The economy revolves around agriculture which depends much on the quantity of rainfall. The country is one of Africa's leading coffee producers.<sup>48</sup> It exports mainly coffee, qat, gold and leather products to China (13.9 per cent), Germany (10.5 per cent), and Belgium (7.5 per cent). On the other hand, Ethiopia imports food and live animals, petroleum and petroleum products, chemicals, machinery, motor vehicles and textiles from China (15.1 per cent), US (9.5 per cent) and Saudi Arabia (8.8 per cent).<sup>49</sup>

Under Ethiopia's constitution, the state owns all the land and provides long term leases to people. This system does not encourage entrepreneurs to come and invest in the industrial sector since they are unable to use the land without renting it.

#### **Table 4.3. Ethiopia's economic situation over the last three years**

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<sup>46</sup> <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/et.html>

<sup>47</sup> Idem<sup>46</sup>

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13349398>

<sup>49</sup> Idem<sup>46</sup>

<b>Ethiopia</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>
GDP (current US\$) (billions)	26.64	31.96	29.72
GDP growth (annual %)	10.8	8.8	10.1
Inflation, GDP deflator (annual %)	30.3	24.2	3.8
Agriculture, value added (% of GDP)	44	51	48
Industry, value added (% of GDP)	13	11	14
Services, etc., value added (% of GDP)	43	38	38
Exports of goods and services (% of GDP)	11	11	11
Imports of goods and services (% of GDP)	31	29	32
Foreign Direct Investment, net inflows (BoP, current US \$) (millions)	109	221	184

Source: Data has been taken from World Bank's website

Until recently, agriculture was the most dominant sector. The expansion in agriculture production has been driven by increases in the numbers of area cultivated, rather than major improvements made in productivity. However, government is trying to change this situation (Mwanakatwe, 2010). As illustrated in Table 4.3, the growth base is broadening, with increasing contributors to GDP from services and industry. In recent years, the government has adopted a robust growth and poverty reduction strategy, focusing on improving the access to basic service, developing infrastructure, creating the proper institutional frameworks for investors.

## **4.2. Comparison of the three countries**

By the 1960's, after years of fighting for independence, most of the African colonial countries had gained independence. However, sovereignty did not bring with it freedom as most of the Africans would have expected. New governments expressed their desire to keep the colonial boundaries that were created during that period. Moreover, the governmental institutions, good governance skills and the experience needed to rule the nations lacked.

Borders in Africa were introduced randomly during colonialism. After the end of colonialism a border dispute has become one of the causes of conflicts in Africa as manifested in boundary disputes between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Nigeria and Cameroon, Ethiopia and Somalia and so on and so forth (Teshome, 2009). These long periods of war, famine and droughts affected the economy and the population's well-being.

As a consequence, the output per head in Africa is the lowest of any major world region and has expanded slowly since 1960. Since then many changes and variations took place in policy and performance. One of the important shifts was from administrative to market means of resource allocation. The former French colonies had suffered less from these changes being inside the franc zone as seen also in the Senegal's case. Maintaining a convertible currency helped the governments to avoid some supplementary price and quantity controls which were imposed mostly to former British colonies (Austin, 2010). At the beginning of colonial rule, Africa was characterised by an abundance of cultivable land. However, most of Africa's resource endowments were inaccessible due to the lack of technology. As a matter of fact, the recent discovery of oil and gas in the west of Uganda draw new perspectives for its economy.

Moreover, the fertility of much of the land was relatively low, making it costly to irrigate and fertilize it. As shown in the above description of the countries, the three of them have less than 25 per cent arable land. The uneven distribution of rainfall throughout the continent makes the dry season to represent an obstacle to agricultural work. The abundance of land made political centralisation difficult to achieve and sustain. This fact facilitated the European settlement. However, Ethiopia with its fertile provinces and large agricultural surplus managed to resist Europe's domination by having a solid economic base (Austin, 2010).

Senegal, Uganda and Ethiopia are cursed with a tropical climate unfavourable to agriculture. Moreover, Uganda and Ethiopia are landlocked which constitutes a barrier to trade. Except for Senegal which relies mostly on services (approximate 60 per cent), the other two countries count on agriculture to boost the GDP's growth. Furthermore, most of the population lives in the rural area which influences the per cent of literate population.

In order to dig deeper in the comparison of these three countries a series of factors will be taken into account in the following section of this chapter.

#### **4.2.1. Education systems**

Education is a keystone to a nation's socio-economic development since it provides a fundamental base for human development. The educational system underwent major changes after 1960. Many Africa countries reshaped their educational systems by changing the

curriculum content, adjusting the length of years spend in school, adapting to the requirements of the labour market.

The most outstanding issues facing African education systems are: high dropout rates at almost all levels, illiteracy, unqualified teachers and a big gap between educational preparation and what actually employers demand (Odaet, 1990).

Uganda was the most advanced British colony regarding its educational system. During colonialism, Uganda had the only college university in Eastern Africa at that time, Makerere. In spite of this fact, the government was not satisfied since the country's educational system was similar to the education in the rest of the British colonies.

The Ethiopian educational system faced many difficulties due to history of educational traditions. For a long period of time religion was spread by Christian and Islamic missionaries. During the Second World War when Italy invaded the country, the educational system collapsed and the government had to struggle and rebuild the system from scratch. By 1974 only 15.3 per cent of the children were attending primary schools.<sup>50</sup> Girls' participation rates were much lower than those of boys, especially in rural areas. The main problems were related to the issues of quality, access, equity and relevance. Nowadays, the Ethiopian system encounters both formal and non-formal education. The non-formal one covers wide areas of training for the primary school children as well as for the adults who dropped out from school. The formal programme is divided into kindergarten, general, technical-vocational and tertiary education programmes.<sup>51</sup>

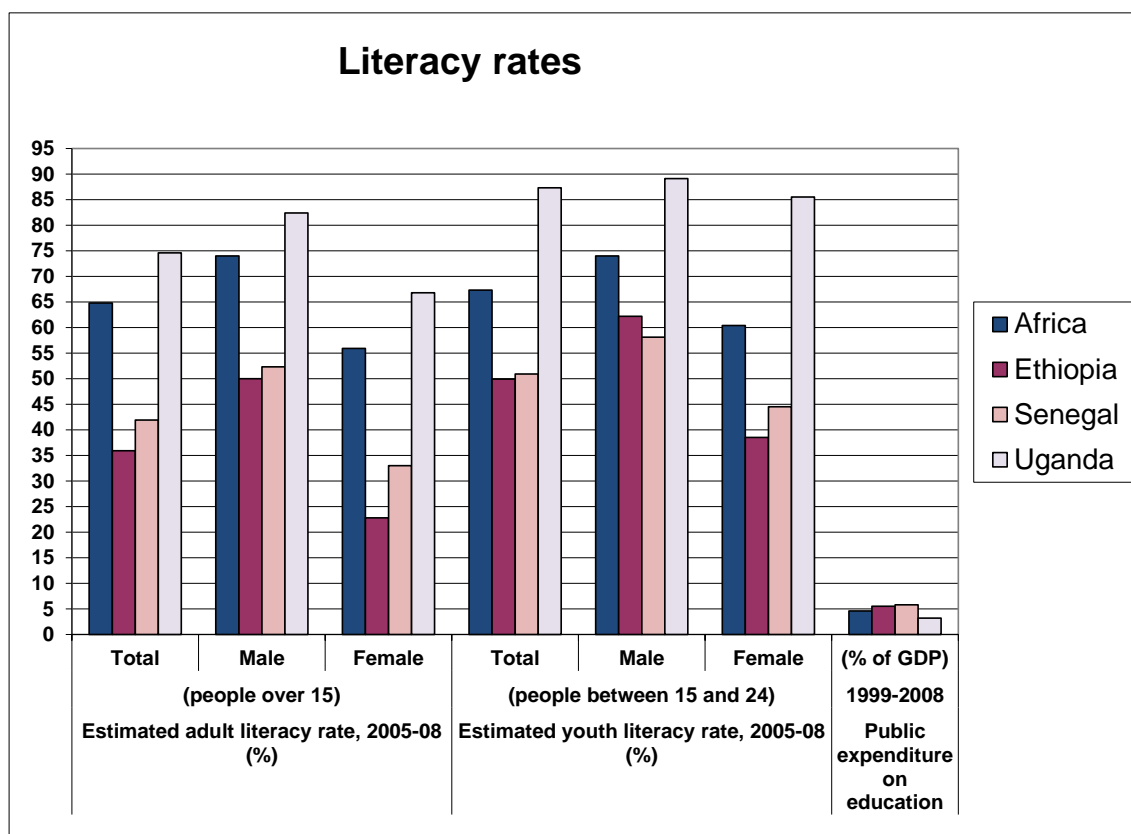
In a world in which education is a country's "competitive success", Senegal is the best example to demonstrate how little is possible when education fails. Statistics show that two-thirds of Senegalese children enrol in primary school and nearly a quarter of that drop out later. Further on, while the literacy for children was 49.1 per cent in 2004, the literacy for adults in the same year was 39.3 per cent (Jacobsen, 2007). Six Senegalese out of ten are not able read and write in French, which means that more than half of the population is not able to find a proper job. The reality is that the economy has been in decline since the country became independent, despite millions of dollars received as aid.

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<sup>50</sup> <http://home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/cice/forum/paper67.pdf>

<sup>51</sup> [http://www.ibe.unesco.org/International/ICE47/English/Natreps/reports/ethiopia\\_scan.pdf](http://www.ibe.unesco.org/International/ICE47/English/Natreps/reports/ethiopia_scan.pdf)

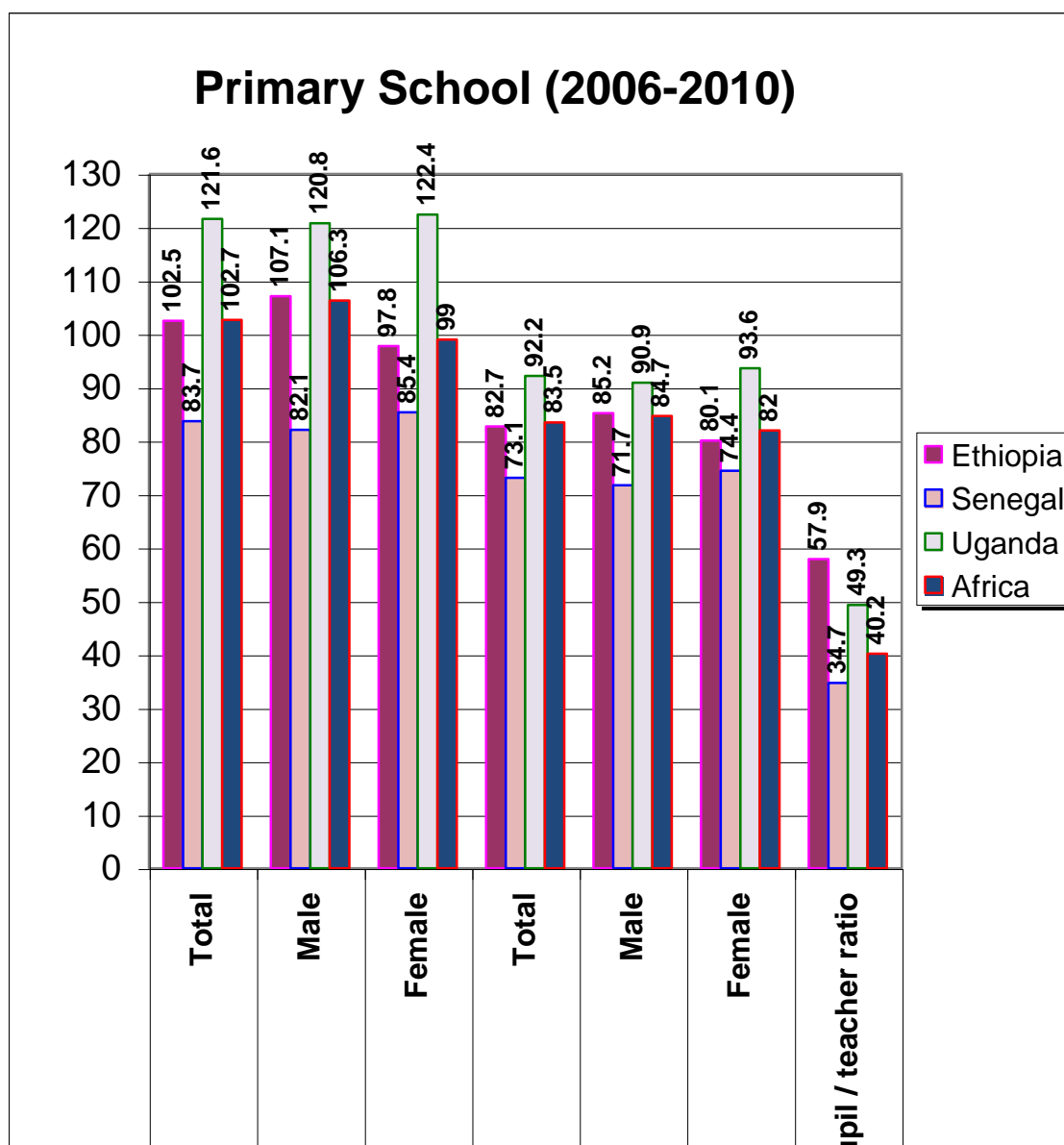
**Graph 4.1. Estimated literacy rates**



Sources: AFDB Statistics Department; UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) Database; Domestic Authorities

Graph 4.1 shows that Uganda has the smallest public expenditure on education, 3.2 per cent of GDP compared to 5.8 per cent spent by Senegal. In spite of this figure, the literacy rate is the highest 89.1 per cent of the masculine young generation knows how to write and read. However, the literacy rate is very low in the case of women. In Ethiopia only 22.8 per cent of adult females are literate, mainly because they have to respect traditions and Islamic religion.

Graph 4.2. The per cent of primary school enrolment for 2006-2010



Sources: AFDB Statistics Department; UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) Database; Domestic Authorities

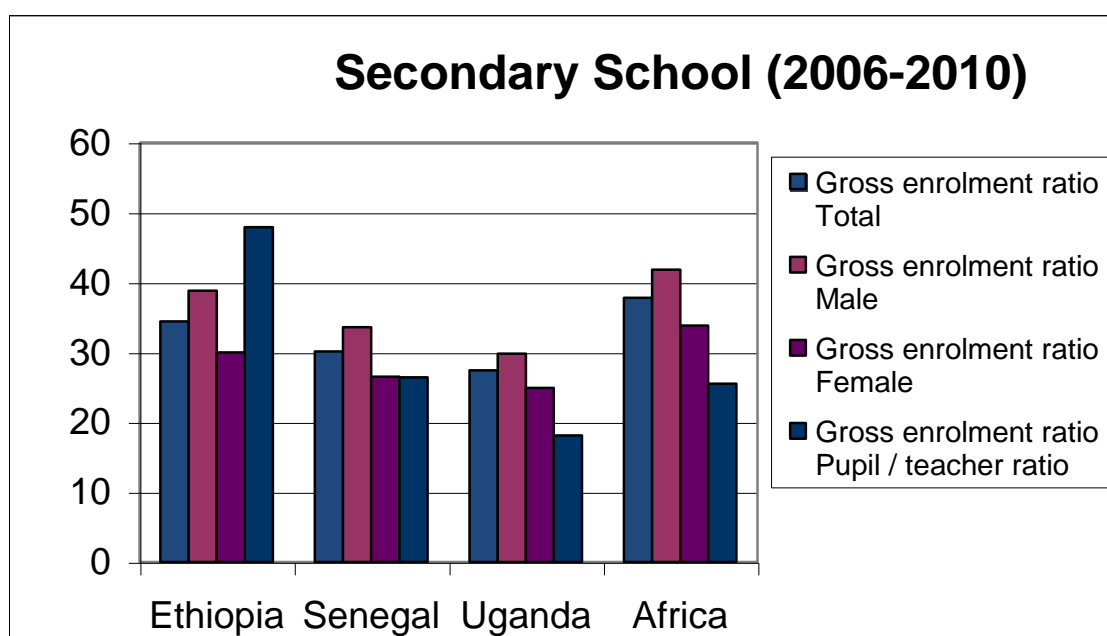
The enrolment ratios for Uganda are very high as well as the per cent of pupils attending primary school. Compared to Ethiopia and Senegal, Uganda offers a bigger chance for girls than for boys to attend classes. However, the situation is not as good for the net enrolment ratio, which shows that the government offers enough places to children to study, but the interest in going to school is not so high. According to the pupil/teacher ratio, 40 pupils are appointed to a teacher in Africa. This point out that there are not enough teachers, the quality of education is low and the expenditures on education are not enough.

**Table 4.4. Secondary school enrolment for 2006-2010**

	Gross enrolment ratio			
	Total	Male	Female	Pupil / teacher ratio
<b>Ethiopia</b>	34.4	38.8	30	47.9
<b>Senegal</b>	30.1	33.6	26.5	26.4
<b>Uganda</b>	27.4	29.8	24.9	18.1
<b>Africa</b>	37.8	41.8	33.8	25.5

Sources: AFDB Statistics Department; UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) Database; Domestic Authorities

**Graph 4.3. The per cent of secondary school enrolment for 2006-2010**



Sources: AFDB Statistics Department; UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) Database; Domestic Authorities

Graph 4.3. illustrates the situation of secondary school enrolments. Compared to the level of enrolment in primary school, the rate of drop out between the two of them is very high and the most affected country is Uganda. In terms of pupil/teacher ratio, the per cents are smaller. 25 pupils are educated by only one teacher in Africa.

The obstacles to progress are related to the cultural and religious characteristics of these developing states. Girls continue to be discriminated regarding school access. Fees charged for school, early marriages, health issues, civil wars, and Islamic tradition, poor conditions in schools are just some of the factors that stand for the low rates in school enrolment. From the author's point of view, Islam had and continues to have a great impact

on the way the education system presents today. Judging by the figures, British colonies had a higher rate of education.

### **4.2.2. Infrastructure**

Infrastructure is related to the success of manufacturing and agriculture activities. Investment in transport, sanitation, water, energy improves the living standards and reduces poverty. Furthermore, communication technologies as internet and mobile phones support economic, social and cultural advances. In this section of the thesis, the infrastructure of these three countries will be compared.

Inadequate public infrastructure is considered one of the factors curtailing growth in the developing countries. In Africa, public infrastructure investments have been victims of fiscal contraction policies promoted by the Bretton Woods institutions (Musisi, 2006).

Senegal has a well-organized infrastructure compared to most of the African developing countries. Ethiopia is the opposite. According to the U.S. Department of State's Country Commercial Guide 2000, Ethiopia's surface and transport infrastructure is extremely underdeveloped and poor.<sup>52</sup> Uganda's case is special since it is a landlocked country, the focus is mainly on the transportation systems which facilitate the population's movement from one place to another and also the commerce between regions and the rest of the countries.

#### **4.2.2.1. Road sector**

Senegal has 14,576 kilometres of highway, 4,271 kilometres of which are paved.<sup>53</sup> Uganda has a network of 27,000 kilometres of roads and only 1,800 kilometres are paved.<sup>54</sup> Ethiopia has the lowest road density in the world, only 13.3 per cent of all roads are paved according to 1999 estimates.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Ethiopia-INFRASTRUCTURE-POWER-AND-COMMUNICATIONS.html>

<sup>53</sup> *Idem* <sup>41</sup>

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Uganda-INFRASTRUCTURE-POWER-AND-COMMUNICATIONS.html>

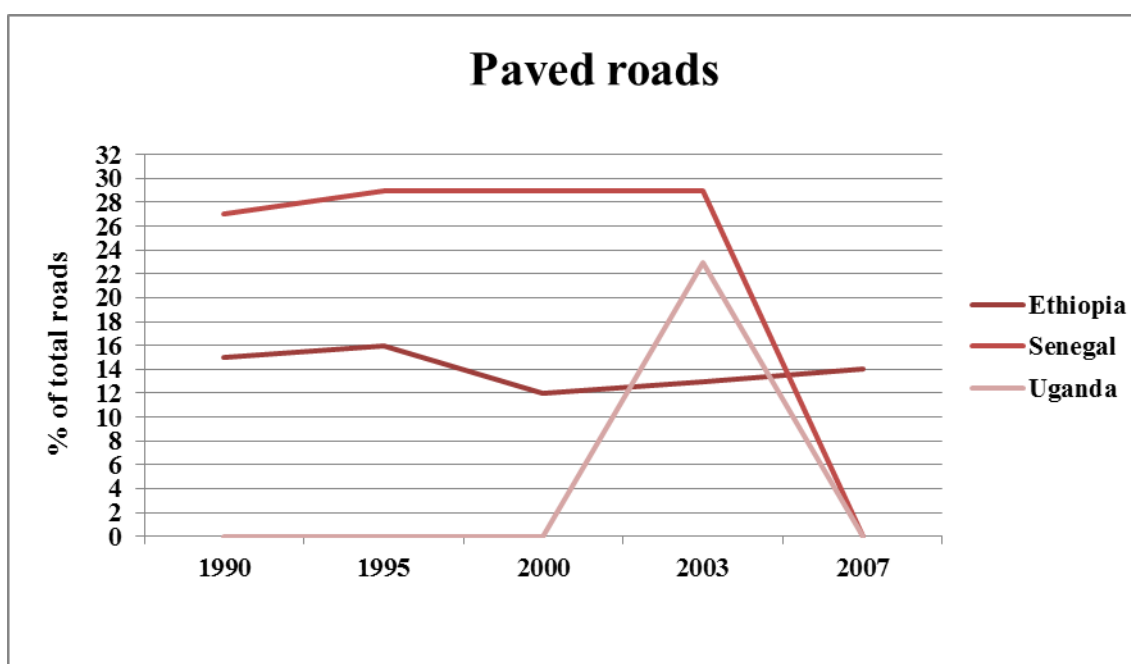
<sup>55</sup> <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Africa/Ethiopia-INFRASTRUCTURE-POWER-AND-COMMUNICATIONS.html>

**Table 4.5. Paved roads (% of total roads)**

	1990	1995	2000	2003	2007
Ethiopia	15	16	12	13	14
Senegal	27	29	29	29	-
Uganda	-	-	-	23	-

Source: World Bank.

**Graph 4.4. Paved roads (% of total roads)**



Source: author's illustration using data from World Bank's website

#### **4.2.2.2. Railway sector**

Senegal's railway system is considered antic. The railway network extends on a surface of 906 kilometres, providing links between capital and major cities and also Mali. The rail system in Uganda lacked investment since decolonization. The government has plans to privatize the network. On the other hand, Ethiopia is making efforts to maintain and repair the railroad lines with the help of various donors.

**Table 4.6. Rail lines (total route kilometres)**

	1990	1995	2000	2003
Ethiopia	781	-	-	-
Senegal	906	906	906	-
Uganda	1,232	1,250	261	259

Source: Data taken from the World Bank's website.

#### 4.2.2.3. Electricity sector

The National Electricity Company of Senegal (SENELEC) supplies electricity in Senegal. France has invested heavily in this sector of economy. The electricity is created domestically by fossil fuel which helps the country to be in no need of importing electricity from abroad.<sup>56</sup> Uganda benefits from a wide hydrographic network, which favours the production of hydropower. This natural resource produces enough power to satisfy the population's needs and also to export 115 million kWh of electricity (1998).<sup>57</sup> Ethiopia's case is similar to that of Uganda, 90 per cent of the supplied electricity being derived from hydropower.

**Table 4.7. Electric power consumption<sup>58</sup> (kWh per capita)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2008
Ethiopia	22	24	23	34	43
Senegal	108	114	106	163	164
Uganda	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Data taken from the World Bank's website.

#### 4.2.2.4. Communication technology

The development of information and communication technologies, including access to the Internet, mobile phones, and satellite networks is no longer a fad; it represents a necessity to keep the pace with globalization and developed nations.

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<sup>56</sup> Idem<sup>41</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Idem<sup>43</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Electric power consumption measures the production of power plants and combined heat and power plants less transmission, distribution, and transformation losses and own use by heat and power plants.

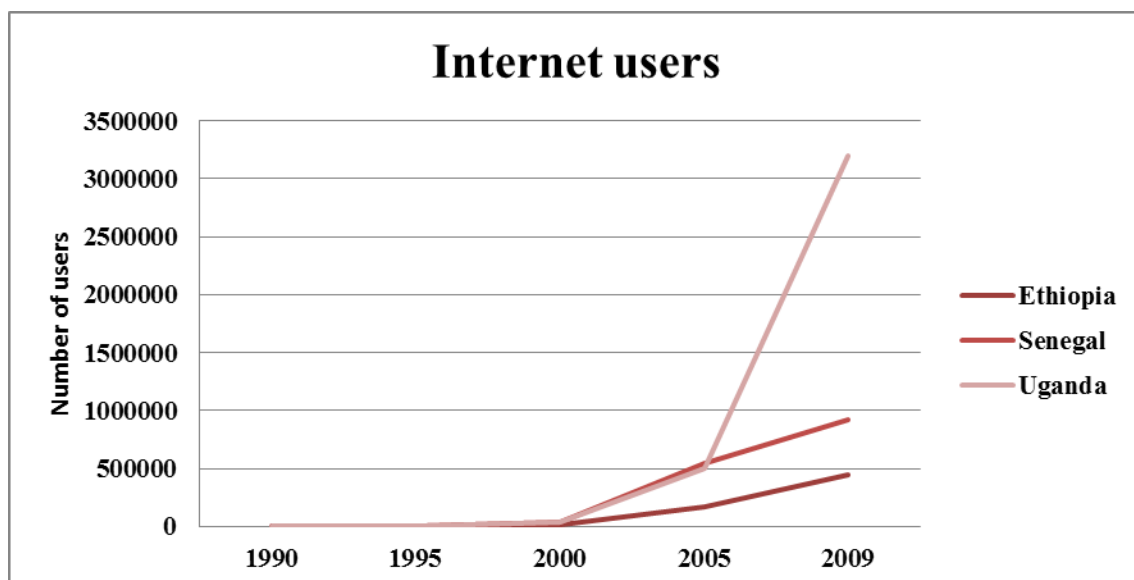
Not being able to have access to information has a direct impact not only on poverty reduction, but also on other aspects. First of all, there is the educational aspect. Information and knowledge enable the poor to understand better their own circumstances and to understand better their needs. The second impact is on health. The lack of Internet connection slows down the flow of information regarding diseases and cures. The third impact is on productivity by not giving access to market information to small enterprises. Table 4.8 illustrates the evolution of access to internet and as it can be noticed from Graph 4.5., the internet access was severely restricted during 1995.

**Table 4.8. Internet users**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2009
Ethiopia	0	10	10,000	164,000	445,400
Senegal	0	60	40,000	540,000	923,031
Uganda	0	600	40,000	500,000	3,200,000

Source: World Bank.

**Graph 4.5. Internet users**



Source: author's illustration using data from World Bank's website

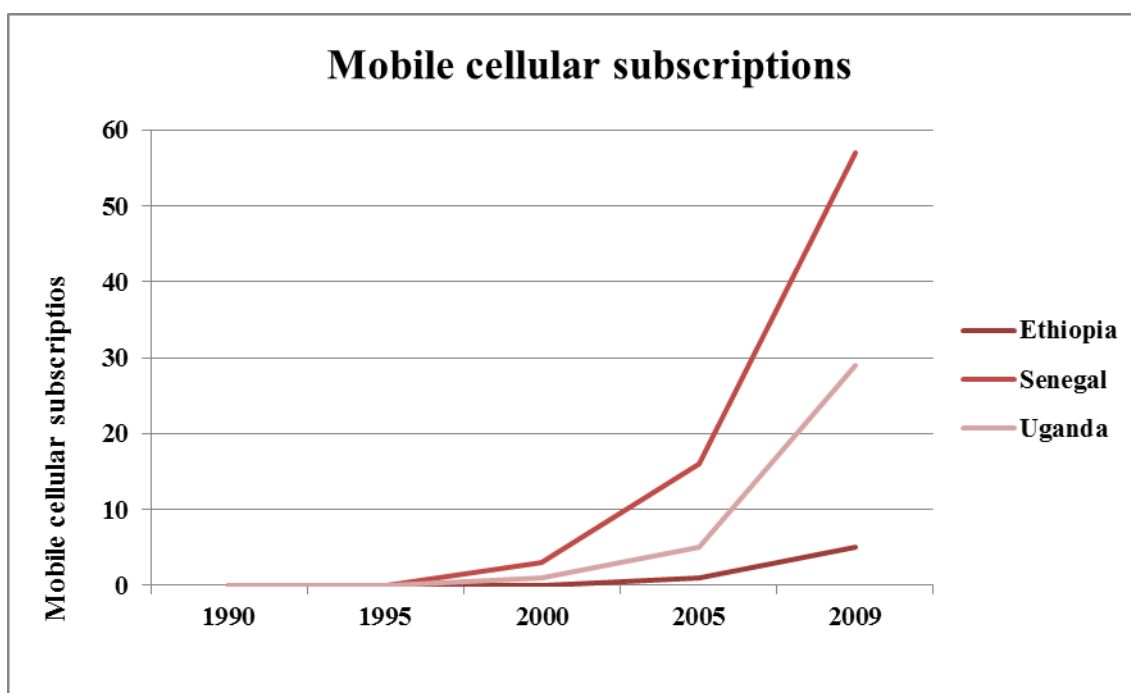
The situation is more dramatic in what concerns the mobile telephone services. Until 2000, there were no companies to provide mobile communications between the inhabitants of the three countries. In 2009, the situation has improved, mostly for Senegal due to the investment made by French companies in the telecommunications network.

**Table 4.9. Mobile cellular subscription<sup>59</sup> (per 100 people)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2009
Ethiopia	0	0	0	1	5
Senegal	0	0	3	16	57
Uganda	0	0	1	5	29

Source: World Bank.

**Graph 4.6. Mobile cellular subscription (per 100 people)**



Source: author's illustration using data from World Bank's website

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in Africa. Its situation compares unfavourably with other African nations. However, judging by figures showed in table 4.9, Ethiopia is struggling to improve their living standards by importing technology. One of the main reasons for these figures to be so low is that most of the population does not have adequate skills to use the new technology as Internet and computer. The access to technology and information is related to the degree of literacy, which is higher among women.

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<sup>59</sup> Mobile cellular telephone subscriptions are subscriptions to a public mobile telephone service using cellular technology, which provide access to the public switched telephone network. Post-paid and prepaid subscriptions are included.

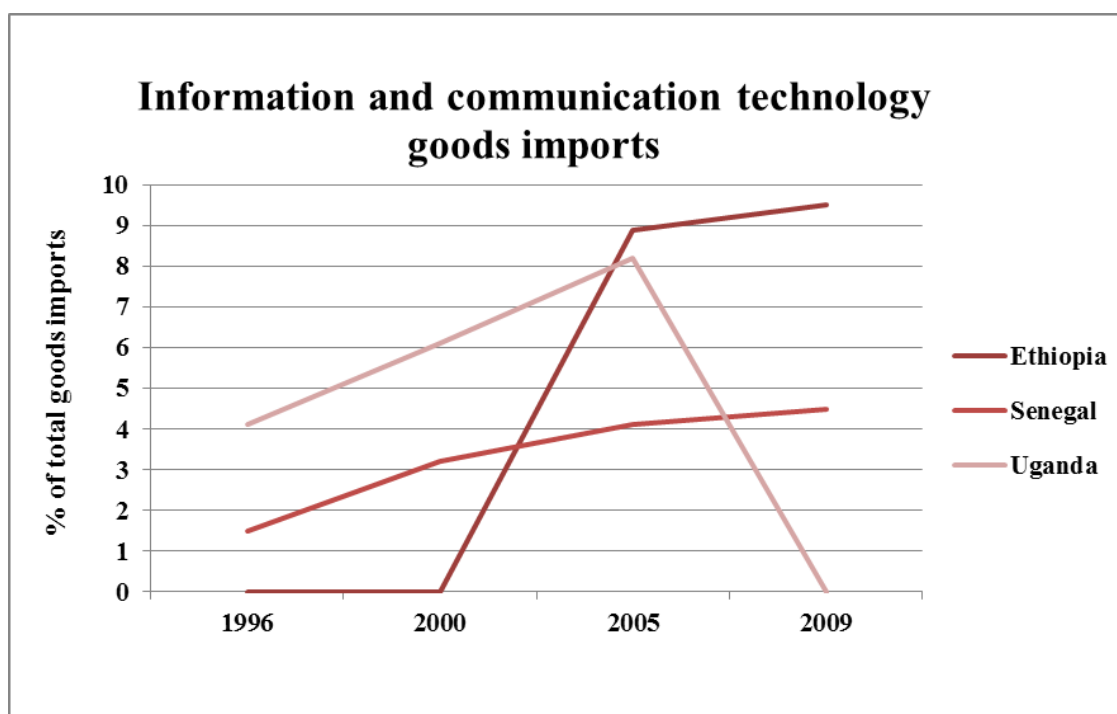
In most developing countries the vast majority of the female labour force remains confined to rural areas partaking in predominantly subsistence agriculture, while men tend to dominate in industrial and service-based employment (Pigato, 2001).

**Table 4.10. Information and communication technology goods imports<sup>60</sup> (% of total goods imports)**

	1996	2000	2005	2009
Ethiopia	-	-	8.9	9.5
Senegal	1.5	3.2	4.1	4.5
Uganda	4.1	6.1	8.2	-

Source: World Bank.

**Graph 4.7. Information and communication technology goods imports (% of total goods imports)**



Source: author's illustration using data from World Bank's website

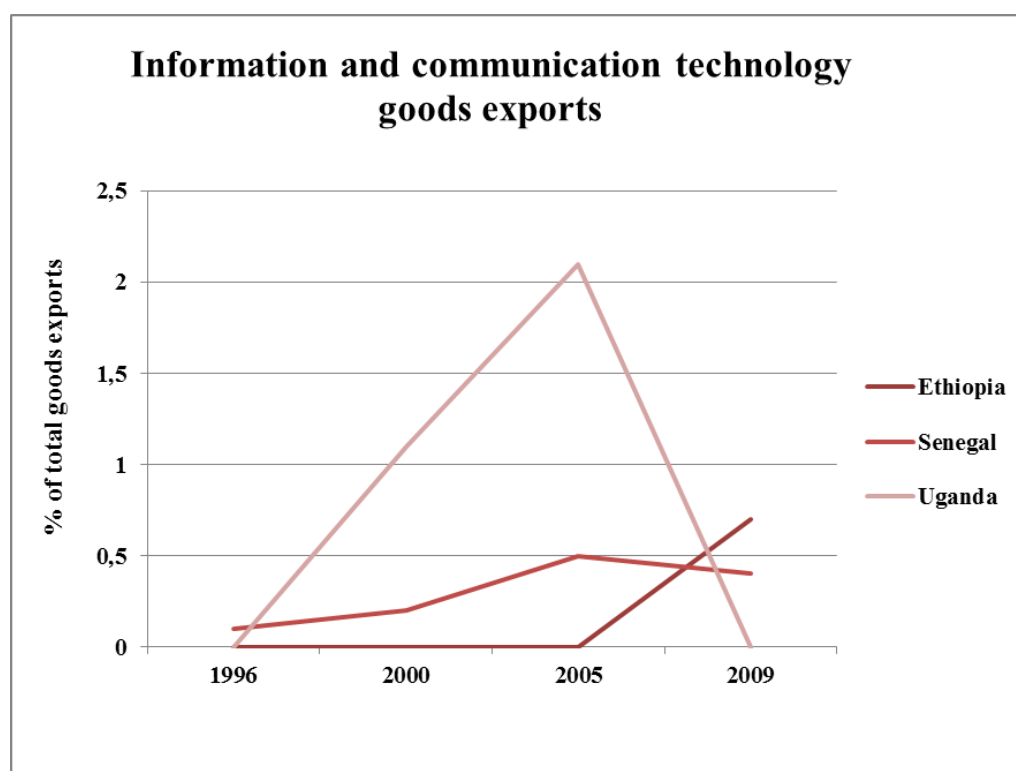
<sup>60</sup> Information and communication technology goods imports include telecommunications, audio and video, computer and related equipment; electronic components; and other information and communication technology goods. Software is excluded.

**Table 4.11. Information and communication technology goods exports<sup>61</sup> (% of total goods exports)**

	1996	2000	2005	2009
Ethiopia	-	-	0.0	0.7
Senegal	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.4
Uganda	0.0	1.1	2.1	-

Source: World Bank.

**Graph 4.8. Information and communication technology goods exports (% of total goods exports)**



Source: author's illustration using data from World Bank's website

#### 4.2.2.5. Water source access

The water supply and sanitation sector has made considerable progress in rural and urban areas since 1990, with substantial increases in coverage as well as in operational field.

<sup>61</sup> Information and communication technology goods exports include telecommunications, audio and video, computer and related equipment; electronic components; and other information and communication technology goods. Software is excluded.

This sector is considered as a key area in fighting poverty. External donors, the national governments and NGO's are offering financial support to improve this sector and to offer 100 per cent access to water sources to all the populated areas. One indicator of poor access or quality is that water-borne diseases have been identified as the main cause of infant mortality.

The tables below show that the access to water sources is lower in the rural areas than in the urban ones. However, there is a clear improvement from 1990 until nowadays. Uganda benefited from the first piped water systems during the colonial period in the 1930's. The construction of new facilities increased from 1950 to 1965 under the framework of national development programs (Nilsson, 2006). Yet, the systems created were maintained in good conditions and no facilities were constructed until 1990.

Access to water supply in Ethiopia is amongst the lowest in the entire world. The access increased since 1990 due to funding from external aid. On the contrary, Senegal is characterized by a high level of access in the Sub-Saharan Africa. The country has a public-private partnership between the government and Senegalaise des Eaux, a subsidiary of Saur International, as private investor.<sup>62</sup>

**Table 4.12. Improved water source, rural<sup>63</sup> (% of rural population with access)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2008
Ethiopia	8	12	18	24	26
Senegal	43	46	70	51	52
Uganda	39	46	53	60	64

Source: World Bank.

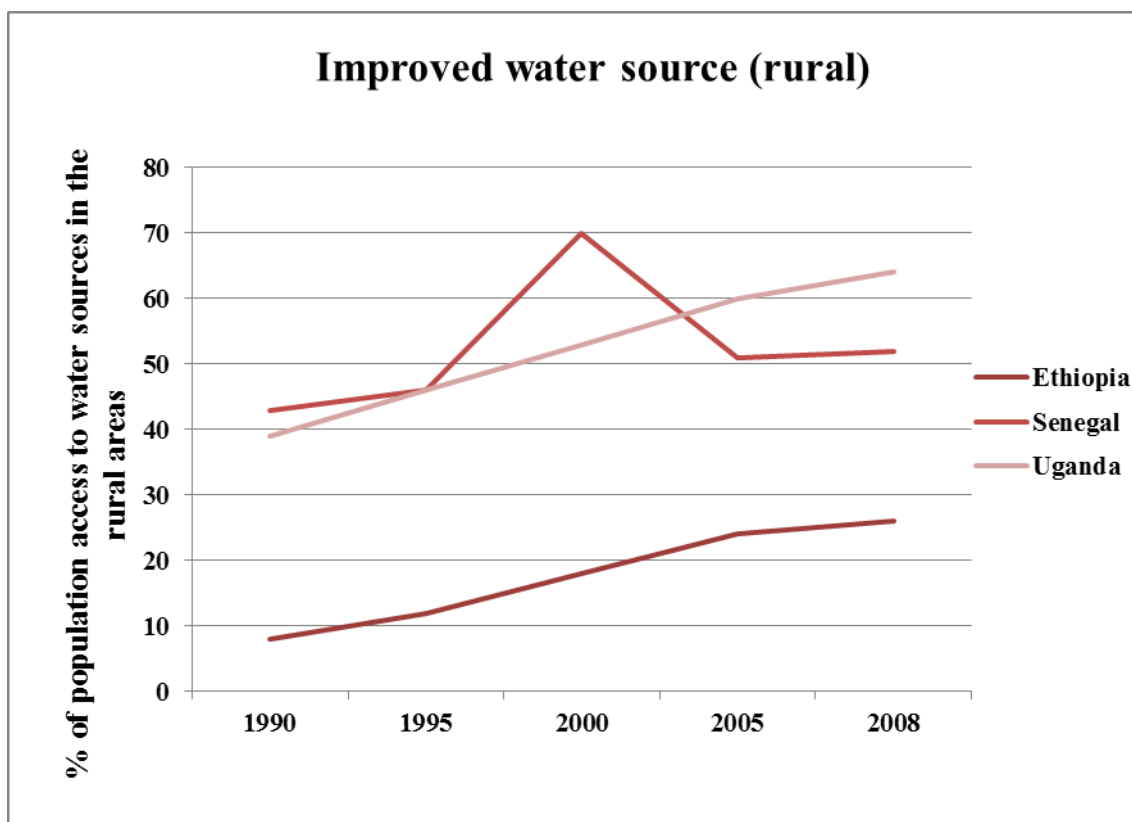
The graphs suggest that there is a big gap between rural and urban areas, especially in Senegal and Ethiopia.

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<sup>62</sup> <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=53542>

<sup>63</sup> Access to an improved water source refers to the percentage of the population with reasonable access to an adequate amount of water from an improved source, such as a household connection, public standpipe, borehole, protected well or spring, and rainwater collection. Unimproved sources include vendors, tanker trucks, and unprotected wells and springs. Reasonable access is defined as the availability of at least 20 litres a person a day from a source within one kilometre of the dwelling.

**Graph 4.9. Improved water source, rural (% of rural population with access)**



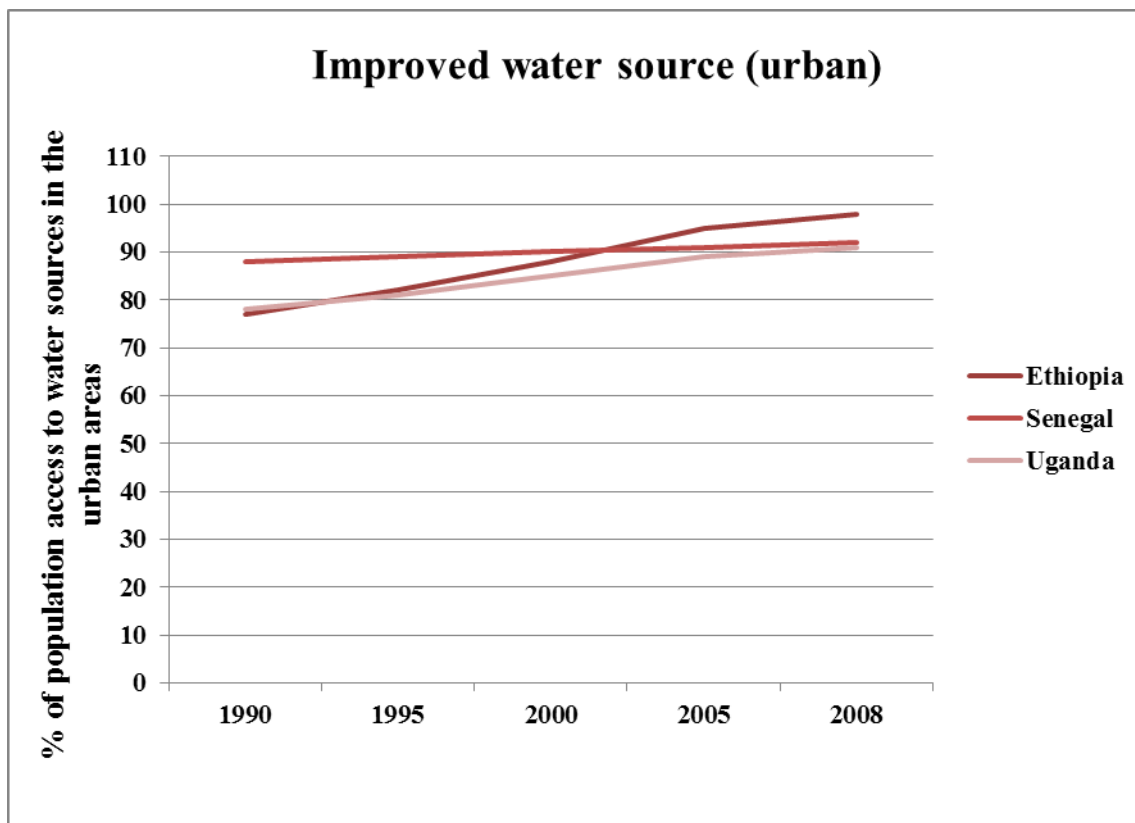
Source: author's illustration using data from World Bank's website

**Table 4.13. Improved water source, urban (% of urban population with access)**

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2008
Ethiopia	77	82	88	95	98
Senegal	88	89	90	91	92
Uganda	78	81	85	89	91

Source: Data taken from the World Bank's website.

**Graph 4.10. Improved water source, urban (% of urban population with access)**



Source: author's illustration using data from World Bank's website

All of these point out towards the fact that development deals mainly with the eradication of poverty in Africa. Poverty is connected to a wide range of underdevelopment problems like access to water sources, education and so on and so forth. There is a big difference between urban and rural areas. In urban areas, people often have access to health and education, better means of transport and plenty of jobs. On the contrary, people from rural areas are confronted with poor water access, poor medical health services.

Uganda, Senegal and Ethiopia have different backgrounds, but they have to deal with similar problems. Women and children are the most affected groups regarding poverty. Due to culture and religion, women have less access to education and paid jobs. Most of them perform unpaid work as mothers and housewives. Uganda has the highest percentage of literate people between the three countries. However a big number of children enrol in primary school, but they do not manage to get to secondary school.

In what matters the infrastructure of these three countries, Senegal is considered to be the best equipped. France had a big role in its development, investing a lot in communication technologies and transportation.

From the author's point of view, colonialism had a very profound impact on the future development of the countries. Without any foreign aid, Ethiopia seems that there was no benchmark by which to govern. Britain's modality of ruling was the most suitable one. British were guiding from outside the colonies and they let the colonized regions to manage on their own keeping their traditions and cultures. Even so, one of the reasons why Africa is behind the developing world is the rapid growth of population. Developing countries are unable to produce enough food for their large populations and they find it hard to sustain economic growth. Economic growth takes place when the growth in production is bigger than the growth in population.

## **Chapter 5: Critical review and conclusion**

This paper analyses Africa's development during the colonial period, analysing the evolution of French and British colonies. In the last chapter, a comparative analysis on a former British colony, a former French one and Ethiopia an independent country is conducted to draw conclusions on how they managed after decolonisation. The last 20 years are taken into account in this analysis.

What was the contribution made by colonial powers in the development of African colonies? Did they bring their institutions, mentality and religion, economic and political systems in the colonies?

During the twentieth century, Africa suffered from the consequences of colonialism. The French and British empires covered huge areas with a range of cultures and people at different stages of evolution. In order to rule the new territories, both of them had to implement various policies and bring institutions to every corner of the empire. Colonizers divided the land and set up private property rights that did not exist before. They invested in education, health care system, and infrastructure and so on and so forth.

British tried to adapt more to the African culture by not eradicating the colonies' culture, while French forced Africans to learn facts about the metropolis, speak their language and trade only with the French empire. The strategies used by the two main colonizers were different. The French used direct ruling, while the British ones used indirect ruling which was cheaper and easier for colonial powers.

Did independent countries develop easier and faster than the colonized countries? What were the differences between a French colonized country, a British colonized countries and an independent one?

According to the finding in the study case, the independent countries did not develop easier or faster. British colonies developed more than the rest and this can be seen even nowadays due to the investment made. Uganda has benefited from higher educational investments during the colonial period and as a result the percentage of literate people is bigger in this country than in Senegal and Ethiopia. Furthermore, the former British colonies are more competitive in political terms, inheriting a decentralised state structure.

On the other hand, Senegal kept contact with France even after decolonisation benefiting from political stability, aid donor and trade relations. French invested more in communication technologies and in means of transport, providing education opportunities only to those from the upper class.

At first glance, Ethiopia's situation is not outstanding. The country passed through continuous periods of droughts and famines, long civil conflicts and a border war with Eritrea. Nowadays, Ethiopia is considered one of the poorest states in Africa and the population depends on food aid from abroad. Ethiopian government is struggling to improve the living standards by importing technology, improving the educational system, eradicating corruption, enabling the access to invest for foreigners.

The question that arises now is: Will be Africa capable to self-develop or will have to continue relying on external aid?

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