Recensions - Book Reviews

The Politics of the Developing Areas. Gabriel A. ALMOND and James S. COLEMAN (editors), Princeton University Press, 1960, xii, 591 pp. $10.00.

Although this book is written primarily for political scientists interested in non-Western areas, its theoretical goals are more broadly based in that a general approach to the study of political behaviour is introduced and utilized, to some extent, by the various contributing authors. The book is divided into seven sections, only three of which will be treated in this review — those dealing with theory, and the section on sub-Saharan Africa. The reviewer feels that the limitations of his own competence, plus the specialized nature of this issue of the journal preclude any worthwhile assessment of those parts of the book dealing specifically with Asia and Latin America. Parenthetically, if the accounts of Asia and Latin America are as comprehensive and accurate as the one on Africa, then they are immensely valuable reference guides to the contemporary political life in these areas. Certainly they make good reading, even if it is impossible to gauge the accuracy of qualitative judgements and generalizations without specialized areal knowledge.

In the long introduction, one of the editors (Almond) lays out a conceptual and systematic approach to the study of politics based on "functions". These are said to be properties of political activity universally present in all societies and it is assumed that there may be more or less articulated and specialized social structures through which these functions are carried out in any given social milieu. This obviates the need for any state/stateless dichotomy, and lays the way open for comparative work. The functions themselves are as follows: (1) political socialization and recruitment, (2) interest articulation, values, attitudes, and claims which may or may not develop into political activity, (3) aggregation, the means of "aggregating the interests, claims, and demands which have been articulated by the interest groups of the polity" (pages 38-9), (4) political communication, the communication of information dealing with political activity, (5) governmental functions, under three sub-headings (a) rule-making, (b) rule application, and (c) rule adjudication. The first four of these are called input functions and the fifth is conceived as output in the political system. It should be noted that all functions are not thought of as being at the same level of abstraction, e.g. communication takes place from, to, and between all aspects of politics. However the categories are thought of as mutually exclusive areas of political behaviour which represent possible pathways

for the development of separate institutions, such as political parties, labour unions, legislatures, judiciaries, the press, and so on.

In a fairly extensive chapter (pages 247-368) Coleman describes and analyses "territorial" (national) and "regional" (delineated sub-sections of national states) in Africa south of the Sahara. He first describes the traditional political systems and classifies them into large-scaled states, centralized chiefdoms, dispersed tribal societies and small autonomous local communities. He then describes briefly how these different traditional backgrounds affect national modern politics and generalizes on the subject. His most interesting suggestion here is that there is a tendency in some areas of Africa for the nationalist leaders to come from smaller tribal societies, or autonomous local communities rather than larger traditional political entities because these people represent groups that do not threaten others in the emerging nation. Coleman then classifies African states into European controlled, transitional, and African controlled, dividing the last category into three sub-types, historic African states, new states, and emergent states. He uses this classification to describe the changes occurring in political activity in each of the three types by the action of urbanization, the commercialization of land and labour, and the impact of Western education. A number of generalizations about change emerge, among them an interesting one on education. Coleman suggests that colonial rulers placed so much emphasis on education, that the educated African is now convinced that "the educated have a divine right to rule" (page 283). The processes of change have also brought rapid social mobility to a few at the top during the period of emergent nationhood, and a general spread of secularism as well as an almost religious belief in the inevitability of progress, on the part of the political elites. The author also reviews political parties and interest groups in the various African states, treating each of four types of party systems separately. He comments (pages 315, 362-3) that in most of colonial Africa the administrators did the governmental work, and "politics" was always considered somewhat "seditious". This bureaucratic legacy portends "the continued application of rules by a distinctive bureaucratic structure, but one highly responsive to, if not the personal instrument of, the political leaders in power" (page 363).

In the final chapter of the book, Professor Coleman difines the word "modern" in operational terms and sums up the underdeveloped areas as having relatively low social and geographic mobility, lack of integration or cohesion as territorial units, and a large gap between the traditional mass and the essentially Westernized political elite who are in control, or who will be shortly. He then tests the general hypothesis first developed by Lipset that there is a positive correlation between economic development and political competitiveness (as opposed to some form of one-party or no-party totalitarianism). Except for a few anomalies such as Cuba (pre-Castro), the United Arab Republic, and Venezuela, the correlation seems to be substantiated by the data presented in this book. He then reviews each of the functions outlined by Almond, and generalizes about the con-

ditions affecting the development of modernity in each one of them. Here again, this reviewer sensed a definite amount of repetition and marshalling of evidence to suggest that highly centralized bureaucratic states were the point towards which many of these systems are evolving.

It is difficult in the space of a short review to comment critically and responsibly on as much work as there is in this book. The theoretical approach, the hunches, and the generalizations which develop from it are fascinating. Professor Coleman's ability to systematize, describe, and analyse are so prodigious that any criticism should be tempered with admiration. The African material is exceedingly well presented. Anthropologists might well quibble about a point or two, but in general Coleman's concentration on classification before discussion narrows the possibility of over-generalization even when he is aiming at a level of social scale at which most anthropologists would find generalizations hazardous. It may be unfair to comment about the use of theory, since we are told in the preface (page viii) that the functional system (*qua* system) was worked out in detail after the area sections were completed. However, the section on sub-Saharan Africa seems to be divided into two parts. The first section deals with groupings of African polities and the second considers the material, some of it repeated from the first section, using Almond's functional categories. This gives the analysis greater depth from the areal point of view, but is somewhat regrettable from a theoretical standpoint, since it is difficult to see whether the theory can stand on its own feet as a method of describing and analysing political activity.

The theory and its application point up a difference in emphasis that is of importance to social anthropolgists, especially those interested in political organization, although it has much deeper consequences for our discipline as a whole. Almond and Coleman have decided to ask questions about the nature of political activity. In doing so they are making political behaviour, attitudes, values, and demands the independent variable, and political structures the dependent variable. If there is any implied causality here, then structure seems to be more a result than a cause. Much of the work in social anthropology seems to be the converse, in that behaviour and functions in terms of attitudes, values, or pre-requisites of the system, to speak in a Malinowskian manner, are implied to be more often than not, the result of structure. There is, of course, some truth, in both these approaches; activities, attitudes, goals, etc. do produce structures and structures do in turn determine and limit behaviour. However this reviewer would contend that a different kind of study results from a theoretical approach which stresses first of all function as opposed to one that starts with structure. The latter type of analysis was given to us by the followers of Radcliffe-Brown, the latest version of which is in Middleton and Tait's *Tribes Without Rulers*. Now Almond and Coleman have shown us, at a different level of scale, what a stress on function can produce. It is this reviewer's bias that the functional stress rather than the structural will in the end

prove more fruitful, but only time and the continued research efforts of workers using both approaches will give us the answer.

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Government in Zazzau: A Study of Government in the Hausa Chiefdom of Zaria in Northern Nigeria from 1800 to 1950. M. G. SMITH, international African Institute, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, xii, 371 pp., 3 maps. $7.50.

Government in Zazzau is a detailed analysis of historical changes in the administration and power structure of the kingdoms of Zaria, Northern Nigeria, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The author, M.G. Smith, one of the leading anthropologists of the area, sets himself a nobly complex task: to analyse the historical data, to account for detectable changes, and in so doing, to set forth a general theory of government. It should be said first that Smith makes as fine a scrutiny of the data as one could wish. Second, the explanatory theoretical framework is forcefully, if somewhat elaborately, argued. And third, Smith fails to convince this reviewer, at least, that his general theory of government is sufficiently self-sustaining to permit the exclusion of data other than the kind which the author so competently presents and analyses. This may be so because both the data and the conceptual framework are overwhelmingly concerned with the rulers, and not the ruled.

Smith is fortunate in having two sources of data. These are, first, statements of Hausa-Fulani informants gathered during Smith's own extensive experience in Zaria Province. Smith judges this data to be reliable because of the high degree of internal correlation of statements gathered from different informants in different contexts. This material was gathered incidentally to the major focus of his 1949-50 fieldwork, which was a socio-economic survey of Zaria Province — a survey which resulted in the publication of a classic study in economic anthropology.[1] At the time, Smith writes, he was mainly interested in the Fulani-Zaria (= "Zazzau") government as a "self-contained system, the development of which could be studied in isolation to determine continuties of governmental form and process from the Fulani conquest until the present day" (p. 13).

The second source of data for the present work is independent of Smith's own fieldwork. These data are contained in the account by Mallamai Hassan and Shu'aibu of the governmental system of the kingdom of Abuja in Zaria. This kingdom was established by the Zaria Habe (= "Hausa speakers"), following the conquest of the area by the Fulani in 1804. The statements of Smith's own Hausa-Fulani informants, already credited with