

More importantly, with regard to colonial settler forms of rule, this framework provides great insights into an area largely ignored or misunderstood by traditional Marxists, namely, the relationship between colonial policies, the ideology of the dominant settler class and the mode of production. The articulation model provides a comprehensive approach, tying together ideology, policy and the colonial state with the predominant mode of production.

In his discussion of the articulation approach Wolpe writes:

[R]acist ideology and policy and the state..not only appear as the means for the reproduction of segregation and racial discrimination generally, but also as what they really are, the means for the reproduction of a particular mode of production. (Wolpe, 1980:293)

Nonetheless, the notion of articulation is subject to various criticisms, some of which are theoretical in nature and some of which have historical empirical implications. The major problem posed by the notion of articulation is its functionalist treatment of the process of capitalism, particularly with regard to the relationship between capitalism and migrant labour. This problem, discussed earlier, pertains to the justification of the persistence of pre-capitalist relations of production simply because they are economically functional to capitalism. This functionalist approach, which basically describes but fails to explain, was in fact admitted and criticised by articulationists themselves (Wolpe,1980; Burawoy,1976).

Burawoy criticised 'Wolpe's functionalist approach for the latter's failure to specify the institution concerned (i.e., state, or industrial capitalism)' (Burawoy,1976:1056). For Burawoy, in other words, the problem was not "functionalism" or the "economic needs" of