

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Communalism is one of the major topics of discussion in African Philosophy, which was seen as a way of life and foundation that forms the nucleus of the traditional and contemporary African communities, but as a result of western infiltration into Africa that forces the African cultures into depression, and communalism was in question in contemporary Africa. One of the major setbacks of communalism in Africa is that the concept 'communalism' is not seen as a means of production, which would have gone a long way to alleviate the continent from its current predicament of underdevelopment, but communalism in Africa is seen as a psychological state instead of as a means of production, which the research tries to point out as the bane factor behind the progress of African development and prompted the researcher to ask the existential question of African communalism in contemporary Africa to know if Africans was ever communal and the basic tenets and foundation that forms the nucleus of African communalism was it design to accommodate any developmental changes at all. The research will try to examine the principles and ontology of communalism in traditional African communities, the underlying philosophical issues and the influence that it has continued to exert on the continent since the end of colonialism, and despite the enormous changes done by globalization one can still see the practice of communalism in both in Africa and outside Africa. One can argue that the 'West' is more communal than the African that claims to be more communalistic, in the sense that their idea of communalism is tinted towards development and how to accommodate the older ones among them; government of the day is their community and their idea of communalism works towards globalization, which is the working system of the day. But in Africa communalism is merely a psychological state that hinders developmental strides in Africa; before communalism can be workable in Africa, it has to be modified in such a way to suit globalization. This research in that regard

will examine the extent of communalism in contemporary Africa and communalism in other continent, to know the workability of communalism in contemporary Africa towards development.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The view of man as a communal element primarily applied to his identification as a member of a united community in pursuit of collective prosperity with regards to his individual happiness. However, globalization of Africa during colonialism gradually led the Africans to individualism, and conflict of interests among groups and individuals, which led to the gradual disassociation from the usual collective interest. The research questions of this dissertation are: how did Africans respond to developmental crisis in Africa? How practicable is communalism in contemporary Africa? Was the traditional African which is said to be communal, ever communal? Between individualism and communalism which one is more practicable in contemporary Africa? Why are there still traces of communalism in some parts of contemporary Africa, despite enormous changes made by globalisation? What are the effects of globalisation on Africans and the research will show how African communalism is more of a psychological state instead of as a means of production.

1.3 Purpose of Study

The research tries to bring to lime light various views of African scholars on communalism and the question of identity in African philosophy. The research critically reviews individualism which was a product of globalisation by looking at the positive and negative effects in contemporary Africa, and to know if communalism practised in Africa which was cherished so much in Africa has any communal development in capitalism, and why was African culture influenced by globalisation, is it that the African culture was not superior to the western culture.

1.4 Scope of Study

This research discusses African Philosophy in respect of communalism in a global world; and special references were made to western culture in some parts of Africa as regards to African communalism. Dialectics as a philosophical tool targeted at religious, economic, political, social life of Africans in general, and the positive and negative influence of globalisation in Africa is discussed to shape the horizon of this research in the light of recent development in Africa.

1.5 Significance of Study

The significance of every philosophical enterprise lies in the attainment of what is morally good for mankind, the following are research objectives: Firstly, it will help in clarifying the African concept of communalism, the relationship between the individual and community, this will enable us to have a clear understanding of these terms before we apply them to the contemporary African society. Secondly, it intends exploring the different aspects of African culture with a view to ascertaining the reasons behind African communal life, especially the assertion that the individual actualizes and realizes his existence in being with others, that is, the individual attains self-fulfilment because he lives in a community with others. Thirdly, to demonstrate in clear logical terms why individualism which was as a result of globalisation, structurally contradicts African communal life, since the needs of the community is defined in such a way that the egalitarian existence of individuals becomes the intrinsic principle and operation of the African community. Finally, it will help in distinguishing the position of the individual in traditional period and where the individual is placed in modern African setting, and shows that globalisation contains within its framework both positive and negative principles that will contribute to the free growth of the contemporary African society, so there is need to evolve a contemporary African society that can afford a better opportunity for the

proper realization of the dignity and self-identity of the individual as well as the communal integrity and development of the contemporary African society.

1.6 Methodology

The research uses the method of Dialectics on available literatures on globalisation, African communalism, and other relevant aspects of individualism in African communal life. The study shall derive much of its material from books, journals and internet sources. Finally, the researcher shall draw from the wealth of elders who are the repository of African traditional history addendum. The author as an African researcher will also have his experience to clear on this research having been part of contemporary Africa. In order to do a thorough work on this dissertation, it is divided into six chapters. Chapter one is the introduction. Chapter two is the review of related literature. Chapter three discusses African communalism and evolution of communism through feudalism to capitalism by looking at the following: principles of African communalism (good-name, familyhood, commitment and co-operation, openness, community of existence, unity of being), the extended family as a Cardinal Feature of African communalism, justice in African communalism, rights of Individual in African communalism, relationship between the individual and community in African Communalism and Evolution of communism to capitalism and the Third World economic development in capitalism. Chapter four dwells on theories of globalization and its influence in Africa: theories of Globalization, world-system theory, theories of global capitalism, theories of space, place and globalization, theories of transnationality and transnationalism, modernity, postmodernity and globalization, theories of global culture and impact of globalization to contemporary Africa. Chapter five is effects of globalization to communalism in contemporary Africa; with the following sub-heading: African communalism and globalization, bastardization of African communalism, social implications of globalism to communalism and the future of African culture, the effects of globalization and the politics of western patronage to Africa, globalisation and sustainable Development in Africa. Chapter six: recommendation and conclusion.

1.7 Definition of Terms

The essence of setting of bound to the terms we shall come across in this work is for clarity and proper understanding of the concepts.

Africa

The total number of independent states in Africa is 54. The transcontinental country in this region is Egypt, having also a small part of its territory in Asia, on the other side of the Suez Canal, but politically it is a member of the African Union. “Among the African countries, the biggest one is Algeria, occupying around 7% of the continent's territory. And the smallest nation is the Seychelles, the worldwide famous luxurious beach holiday destination, occupying 115 islands stretching along the mainland's eastern coast.”¹ However, few of the African countries have been able to sustain democratic governments on a permanent basis, and many have instead cycled through a series of coups, producing military dictatorships. Africans hold some of their inherited cultural traits to be of great value; it is these values which give them a distinct cultural personality and enables them to make some contribution to world knowledge, history and civilization. Accordly Chukwudum Barnabas Okolo in his essay, *what is to be an African? Essay on African Identity*, further identification of communalism with African essential feature, which okolo uses the term “Being-with”², to characterise the African way of ontological existence. For him, existence for the individual is ‘we-existence’ this is viewed as a defining quality of the self in Africa. For purpose of this dissertation “Africa” will be limited to people of the African culture and ethnic origin.

Communalism

Before Africa was colonised, the continent was characterised by a large degree of pluralism and flexibility. Communalism in traditional African Societies has become a common theme in most discourses on African Philosophy. This has made it crucial that detailed studies be done

on this way of life to establish its underlying philosophical tenets and its impact on the people and societies in Africa. The word communalism or communitarian will be used interchangeably, “social organization on a communal basis or loyalty to a socio-political grouping based on religious ethnic affiliation.”³ It can be said that communalism is the bedrock of the wonderful relationship which exists in the traditional African society. Communitarianism sees the human person as an inherently communal being, embedded in a context of social relationships and interdependence, never as an isolated individual. The life of an individual, his well-being is not separable from the community in which he lives. J.S. Mbiti popularizes communalism with the saying “I am because we are, and since we are, therefore, I am.”⁴ J.M. Wafula notes that:

A number of contemporary African problems appear to have their roots in traditional communal ways of life. And finally, the reality of communalism in Africa, as it appears, lies not in its existence but in the fact that it was institutionalized, intensified and lasted longer in Africa than anywhere else and, thus, the impact it has had on the continent.⁵

In communalism, community is a social unit of any size that shares common values. Although embodied or face-to-face communities are usually small, larger or more extended communities such as a national community, international community and virtual community are also studied. In human communities, intent, belief, resources, preferences, needs, risks, and a number of other conditions may be present and common, affecting the identity of the participants and their degree of cohesiveness. For the researcher Communalism is seen from African perspective of communal existence of individuals solely dependent on the community, and cannot exist outside the community.

Globalization

Globalization is primarily an economic process of integration that has social and cultural aspects, but conflicts and diplomacy are also large parts of the history of globalization.

“Though many scholars place the origins of globalization in modern times, others trace its history long before the European Age of Discovery and voyages to the New World, some even to the third millennium BC.”⁶ The term “*globalization* derives from the word *globalize*, which refers to the emergence of an international network of economic systems”⁷ globalisation implies the opening of local and nationalistic perspective to a broader outlook of interconnected and interdependent world. Globalization’s contribution to the alienation of individuals from their traditions may be modest compared to the impact of modernity itself, as alleged by existentialists such as Sartre and Camus. Globalization has expanded recreational opportunities by spreading pop culture, particularly via the Internet and satellite television. “Religions were among the earliest cultural elements to globalize, being spread by force, migration, evangelist, imperialists, and traders. Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and more recently sects such as Mormonism are among those religions which have taken root and influenced endemic cultures in places far from their origins.”⁸ For the researcher, the term globalisation implies transformation, which could be in economical, cultural or socio-political.

Dialectics

The word dialectic derives from the Greek word for “conversation” and refers to the way our ideas develop through a process of conflict and opposition. “Dialectics is a term used to describe a method of philosophical argument that involves some sort of contradictory process between opposing sides.”⁹ In what is perhaps the most classic version of dialectics, the ancient Greek philosopher Plato, “for instance, presented his philosophical argument as a back-and-forth dialogue or debate, generally between the character of Socrates, on one side, and some person or group of people to whom Socrates was talking (his interlocutors), on the other.”¹⁰ In the course of the dialogues, Socrates’ interlocutors propose definitions of philosophical concepts or express views that Socrates challenges or opposes. “Hegel’s dialectics” refers to

the particular dialectical method of argument employed by the 19th Century German philosopher, G.W.F. Hegel, which, like other “dialectical” methods, relies on a contradictory process between opposing sides. Whereas Plato’s “opposing sides” were people (Socrates and his interlocutors), however, “what the ‘opposing sides’ are in Hegel’s work depends on the subject matter he discusses. In his work on logic, for instance, the “opposing sides” are different definitions of logical concepts that are opposed to one another.”¹¹ Hegel regarded this dialectical method or “speculative mode of cognition” as the hallmark of his philosophy, and used the same method in the *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Many commentators describe Hegel’s dialectic as a “triadic process starting with an initial idea, called the thesis, which is then opposed by other standpoint called the antithesis. The tension between these two is then resolved by moving to a higher-order perspective called the synthesis. But this third stage now becomes a thesis, which produces its own antithesis, and the process continues.”¹² For the purpose of this research, Dialectical method is employed using communalism as the thesis, globalization as the anti-thesis, then the effects which are both positive and negative factor as the synthesis.

Endnotes

1. <http://www.Countries-of-the-world.com/countries-of-African.html>.
2. C.B. Okolo, *What is to be African? Essay on African Identity*, (Enugu: Cepta Nig. Ltd, 1993), p. 2-3.
3. F.C. Mish, *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, (USA: Merriam Webster, Inc, 1993), p. 232.
4. J.S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1970), p. 141.
5. J.M. Wafula, *Traditional African Communalism and the neo-Communal spirit in African*, Published dissertation of University of Nairobi; 2003, p. vii-x.
6. A.G. Frank, *Reorient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 97.
7. "Globalization" online etymology Dictionary. Retrieved 7 July 2012.
8. E. McAlister, "Globalization and the Religious Production of space" in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol.44 No. 3 Sept. 2005, p. 249-255.
9. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hegel-dialectics>
10. *Loc. Cit.*
11. *Loc. Cit.*
12. W.F. Lawhead, *The Voyage of Discovery: A Historical Introduction to philosophy*, (Belmont: Thomson learning Inc., 2002), p. 362.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

A review of literature by various scholars on the question of communalism and its place in the globalisation of contemporary Africa, with special reference to the relationship between the individual and community in Africa communalism. An evaluative report of the lacuna found in this review of literature in relation to the area of study will be summarised, and the gap in knowledge filled to clarify the literatures in this research.

According to E.E. Emmanuel, D.O. Esowe and O.O. Asukwo, in their Journal article “African Communalism and Globalization” after a critical review of the concept of communalism, African communalism, merits of African communalism, effects of African communalism on economic underdevelopment in Africa, globalization, advantages and disadvantages of globalization, and effects of economic globalization on African communalism, in their concluding reflection states that:

Globalization is seen as a suspect, which acts as a vehicle of western cultural and economic imperialism in a nuanced fashion. But if globalization with its individualistic fashion is based on right intension, then, one could say that globalization is a form of communism or communalism, which professes to make or considers the world as a global village. This of course may not be different from African communalism whose basic ideology is community identity with the aim of producing as well as presenting the individual as a community and a culture bearer.¹

Olasunkanmi acknowledges that African communalism guarantees individual responsibility within the communal ownership and relationship. However, by way of juxtaposition, it would be germane to examine the concept of individuality in relation to social cohesion. In this light, therefore, individuality may be referred to as metaphysical freedom. Infact, David Bidney as quoted by J. K. Kigongo, defines it as the autonomous power of choice and the decision of the will as essential conditions for the exercise of other freedoms. Accordingly, the essence of a human being notwithstanding any form of constraint, control or influence, is inherent in the

desire to survive any form of external influence to one's self or conscience. Kigongo explains further that:

The concept of individuality or individual freedom is fundamental in determining human life in society, and underlies human thought and behaviour. On the other hand, social cohesion in African traditional setting implies African communalism. Here, social cohesion it is argued was instrumental in society's evolution which involved positive inner social and institutional changes. These changes as explained have occurred over time and they provided opportunities for social challenges to ensure social order, integrity and the present and future survival of the society.²

In reconciling the two concepts, they agree with J. K. Kigongo, that individuality co-exists with social cohesion as they turn out to be basic components of human life in society. Hence, they constitute a dichotomy, without any essential opposites. This is because both concepts exist in the particular epoch of a people's existence theory in subtly different relationships.

Olasunkanmi in supporting the above argues that:

The sociological study of rural communities shows that even in Africa that is proclaimed as being communalistic, individualistic orientation is still noticeable in their lifestyles. He posits further that those factors which gave rise to the need for constitutional guarantee that led to the growth of the philosophy of human rights in Western societies are also applicable and relevant in traditional African societies. On the other hand, J. K. Kigongo avers that social cohesion was instrumental in society's evolution which involved positive inner social and institutional changes. These changes he explained occurred over time and provided opportunities for social challenges to ensure social order, integrity and the present and future survival of the society.³

At a point, one cannot say categorically that individualism is entirely a Western concept, or that social cohesion communalism is entirely an African concept rather, it would be more reasonable to argue that they complement each other in all societies. Their concluding position is that "individualism and/or globalization with its numerous merits and demerits have

affected different societies in various ways. Likewise, communalism (African) with its merits and demerits has also affected societies in different ways. This is because over time cultural diffusion has taken place in almost all societies.”⁴ Thus, whatever may be the effect of economic globalization on communalism, the fact remains that changes are inevitable. And that today Africa has been influenced culturally through cultural diffusion.

This is healthy because since culture is dynamic, those obsolete aspects of culture have been removed and new ones put in place. However, this paper would further argue that African communalism remains original to Africa and is foundational to our development and would always be fundamental for the future survival of Africa.⁵

Here, they argue that whatever obstacle it may pose to economic globalization is secondary and should be seen as a necessary evil. However, globalization with its individualistic tendencies should see communalism as complementary in its bid to make the world a global village rather than attempt to destroy basic structures of African communalism like the extended family system and others.

For Solomon Laleye, “Globalization is one of the concepts used to describe the relationship that conglomerates countries of the contemporary world. Although it has a long history, the concept has however assumed a household name as its effects are being felt across the length and breadth of every field of human endeavour.”⁶ Put within the African context, globalization appears to be a Trojan horse, aimed at achieving certain goals, all of which are inimical to the African chances of winning in the global game. “Globalization, what else it may be, is marked by the centrality of capitalism, the expansion of the capitalist world market into areas previously excluded from it.”⁷ As a capitalist ideology, globalization is ridden with the attendant problem of survival of the fittest, which, if applied to relations between the countries of the world, breeds inequality among these countries. This creates a class-based globalized world, where the survival of those countries occupying the bottom ladder (in which Africa is a

leading continent) solely depends on their developed counterparts mainly the West. For Solomon Laleye, further notes that “Globalization, like chameleon appears in myriad of colours, the only noticeable denominator is the destructive landmark it has to African years for development.”⁸ While the phenomenon appears fascinating as it promises wealth and reduction in the level of poverty for all, in reality, it is the enactment of imperialism in all facets of the African life. Only the strong and powerful nations can withstand and control the invisible forces of globalization in maximizing profit at the expense of their weak counterparts.

It is cognitively appropriate to say it is a game for the “swifter, higher and stronger” like the Olympic Games. How then can Africa benefit from globalization? The answer seems to be for Africa to improve her level of fitness in the global game. But how can this be attained, especially since for nearly two decades, the continent has been ravaged with different globalization ‘doses’, which instead of resulting in the expected upward movement on the continuum of development, have worked against development in Africa? To suggest, pulling out of the global game is to embark on an impossible mission. To suggest on the other hand, that Africa should break off all forms of relationship with foreign powers is again another way of alienating from the globalize world. It is a situation with grave complexity. Thus, the only option left for Africa in harnessing the opportunities offered by globalization to her own advantage consists in African developing a specific attitude towards their own culture; Africans must learn that understanding a different culture should not imply dogmatic acceptance even, if it has some assumed value that should command attention and respect, such culture should pass the acid test of criticism before being swallowed hook, line and sinker.⁹

This does not suggest clinging obstinately to cultural dictates that would be a clog in the wheel of development. The suggestion here has a striking similarity with the spirit of give and take among individuals and cultures which Hans-Georg Gadamer refers to as “Horizon fusion”.¹⁰ By Horizon fusion, it implies that my own particular horizon, converse with others’ from a completely different cultural horizon without completely colonizing his own horizon,

or being colonized. In addition to the above, Africans must develop and take pride in their own products as a basis for interactions; they must look inward for their development as a spring board for contributing uniquely to world development. It is pertinent to note that one can meaningfully contribute to others development when one has discover himself, this is what Kolawole Ogundowole refers to as self-reliancism; “striving for self-reliancism leads to the discovery of the other people.”¹¹ This transcends individuals, succinctly put; it equally requires good leadership and committed citizenship, which manifest in the appreciation of goods and services that have local origin, coupled with a right attitude of the Africans toward the African experiences. “Ultimately, the global initiatives for Africa’s development must not only involve the people, they must originate from the people and sustained by the people, and not the foreign benevolent guardians or partners.”¹² Then, Africans will be able to make their mistakes and learn from them. S. Laleye concludes that:

Like the Olympic game, globalization is a game for the *citius, altius* and *fortius* that is, the swifter, higher and stronger; Africa is capable of achieving this feat. The analysis given in the article opines that Africa is capable of harnessing the dividends of globalization when she looks more within rather than without in her quest for development, this should be complemented with the synthesis of appreciated cultural values of others within the globalize world. What makes nations and by extension people to be developed cannot be solely based on exogenous sources, the relevant exogenous sources must be complemented by the peoples’ endogenous source. To forestall unnecessary dissipation of energies on technological development and democracy, Africans must be introspective with a view of harnessing the culturally beneficial and rewarding heritage.¹³

E.E. Amaku contends that attributes of African communalism by some African scholars are exaggerated virtues judged to be African. Africans are not by nature communalistic and socialistic as has been claimed and over-flogged by most African scholars, but communalism

or socialism is a dream that can still be Africanized if Africa can substitute tribal hatred with enlightened self-consciousness. Amaku notes in his article that:

The regular tendency among some African thinkers to universalise or generalize from particularity-pretending that what takes place at particular instances defines and shapes the whole. Indeed, to generalize from particularities commits the fallacy of over-composition-attributing the qualities of a particular to a whole. That the members of a family or village associate amicably and peacefully among themselves, as it is experienced in all parts of Africa, does not necessarily imply that Africans, as a whole, exercise brotherly attitudes towards themselves. Experience has not really shown that Africans appreciate and love themselves as some African intellectuals pretend to demonstrate. For there to be authentic African communalism we must pan-Africanize the virtues of particular communalism.¹⁴

His line of argument is that African are yet to be communal or socialist in nature, that the African mind is tinting towards socialism and communalism to pan-Africanize different tribes differences in the African race.

The drive for tribal purity-fear of contamination by other tribes renders inter-tribal integration almost impossible in traditional African communities. It is the cause of exclusivism, marginalization and the regard and treatment of the other as an enemy instead of a brother/sister. The problem of integration into a non-native tribe has two dimensions. Firstly, the host community would ever treat the outsider as a stranger in that land till ages run. Invariably, no degree of familiarity would make a stranger in another tribe, no matter the number of years that passed on, to think of undertaking political leadership in a non-native tribe. The stranger would hardly be granted such a privilege. The second dimension is on the part of the stranger. Tribal attachment is so strong that where one is compelled, due to work or employment, to live in another tribe, one would still nurse the hope of one day going back to one's native homeland. In other words, the stranger would hardly accept integration into a non-consanguine tribe. Africans tribally segregate among themselves. How, then, do we talk of African co-natural confraternity in a continent ruggedly defined by tribalism?¹⁵

The main aim for colonization of Africa rich continent is for economic reasons and also to dehumanize the African mind of their rich cultural heritage. For Amaku, “the termination of active colonization and slavery and the universal declaration of human rights have not truly emancipated the black race from the danger of extinction. The black race inhabits the naturally richest continent in the world at the envy of her external neighbours. Part of the intention of the colonizers was to wipe out the blacks in order to make Africa an agricultural land.”¹⁶

African is in the process of becoming communal, but due to tribal differences in Africa as a result of westernization. Amaku concludes by taken the contrary position, judging from the African context:

That Africans are not by nature generally friendly, hospitable and brotherly to themselves. Pan-African communalism is still the fiction of the mind. The fact that the members of a particular African community show sympathy to themselves as belonging to the same ancestral family or tribe does not prove that Africans as a whole exhibit the spirit of brotherhood among themselves. We are convinced that family friendship is quite different from pan-African unity and confraternity. Inter-tribal wars and often hostilities among some African countries paralyzes such claims. However, the pockets of socialistic life found in all African societies can become a platform for pan-African socialism. Indeed, pan-African socialism has become a necessity if Africans must survive in the future. Africans require collective efforts to fight against internal inter-tribal hostilities through which Africans are daily dying at the very machinations of their fellow Africans. Lastly, Africa’s unity is non-negotiable in order for Africans to survive unwholesome external politics that is endangering the African black race. Though communalism is not a natural African general virtue, it can foster, when scientifically purified, the spirit of African resilient consciousness engineered towards the protection of the whole African black race.¹⁷

For Oguejiofor, communalism is one of the most frequently used terms to describe traditional African socio-political, cultural and economic system. He made a conceptual analysis of the traditional and contemporary African communalism. Communalism or communitarianism is

thus taken to be a special and original characteristic of traditional Africa; very often this position is taken without critical reflection. "There are several attempts to explain its origin, its raison d'être, and its suitability for the African condition, but this is under the background of an overwhelming agreement that here one has one of the distinguishing positive qualities bequeathed by traditional Africa to humanity, to modernity and to socio-political philosophy."¹⁸ The main aim for Oguejiofor is to ask in what sense communalism is African and inquire on the justification of attributing this system to traditional Africa. The pitfalls of communalism in his article are:

That traces of communalism still exist among Africans in spite of enormous changes in circumstances is due to the long period of time in which societies were nurtured in communalist spirit. This creates strong group identity. Group identity operates in seams. There is always the tendency to further sub-divide into smaller groups with the sense of identity transferred to the smaller units. Thus the continuous division of administrative units in a country like Nigeria has not put an end to irrational sectional sentiments. Part of the problem is that psychologically the consciousness of the individual is projected into sort of communal consciousness. Individual self-worth is for example, projected into the community, in such a way that those perceived to represent the community, to be its face in relation to other communities bequeath pride and some sense of self-worth to the members of the particular community. It is for instance a special pride to members of an ethnic group that the president the country is from their ethnic group, even though his misrule brings them misery, they will be ready to defend him in times of trouble without even considering his culpability. It is therefore of great concern who becomes what, and this is not just a struggle scarce resources. Accession to high office of a member of one's clan is seen as a booster to the confidence of other members of the clan or the home town of the power holders. Whereas in Africa, such sentiments predominate, the first consideration for choice of leaders is everything but competence. Continuation of communal spirit in this form is also propelled by a sense of insecurity. The African projected into modern society with colonialism still feels insecure in the face of an inefficient and corrupt new order. With such feeling of insecurity, there develops the sentiment of banding together in a sort

of psychological tribal enclaves. Thus ethnic and sectional origin replaces the politics of idea and vision.¹⁹

Most African scholars in his review of African communalism, sees communalism as essentially African, and that is pertinent to the African continent, but Oguejiofor in his concluding reflection of “*How African is Communalism?*” Argues that:

The numerous adulation of communalism among African writers often blurs the sense in which the continent is communalistic. We have tried to show that Africans cannot be said to be essentially communalistic, given that communalism like most other human factors are qualities which are context-based, and which change with the change of their context. The fact that individualism is increasing today in Africa due to changes and slight improvement in living conditions is a further proof of this position. African communalism, in the degree in which it has survived today in the psyche of the African is not an unmitigated good. On the contrary the communalist sentiment is at the foundation of many social ills African societies, especially when it becomes a ploy for the hegemony of the holder of power and the cohorts of his kinsmen over the powerless.²⁰

Odimegwu reacting to the above claims of Oguejiofor’s “*How African is Communalism?*” in his concluding reflections of “*How Communalist Is Africa?*” notes that:

When the contemporary African person and society are evaluated on these standards, i.e. being cognizant of the deficiencies and or deformations of the socio-structural dimensions, the psycho-spiritual dimensions of communalism avail themselves for dialogue in the moral inquiry. We may as well conclude with such sceptical dialogues or psychological probes. Does African communalism today consist in feeling of belonging where with the individual in need feels he belongs together with the benefactor? Does the benefactor feel likewise? Does he feel and accept likewise or does he grudgingly trudge along under the compulsive pressure of social opinions and expectations? Beyond this volitional level however is the level of instinctive behaviour that I adverted to earlier. The ultimate question of and as well, answer to the level of African communalism may be meaningfully raised, probably not on the socio-cultural level, may be also not on the moral level but at this level of ‘act of man’ where

the human person resides more in the subconscious reserve than in the conscious articulation of choice and purposive action. My experience of relating with many fellow Africans persuades me to the position that on this level, Africa is still largely communalistic.²¹

For Okodo, communalism is a ubiquitous feature of African communities. Though it is practiced in Europe (albeit minutely) and indeed in some parts of Asia, its greatest manifestation in Africa.

Western civilization is not favourable to communalism. It promotes individualism which is antithetical to communalism, as the influence of western civilization keeps dominating our cultural milieu, communalism suffers a decline. This is attested to by the fact that many an Igbo child today lives an individualistic life. The ugly scenario is that they will pass on this individualistic attitude to posterity to the further dwindling of communalism.²²

Okodo further notes that communalism is a cherished value in “Igboland” it has woven the socio-political life of the Igbo together. This bond of communalism is sustained by various cultural practices which include yearly festive activities that bring the people together. “However, communalism is dragged backwards by some factors that promote individualism. A lot of people keep to themselves, thus withering away the practices of communalism. The children who are prevented from enjoying communal life will grow up to become believers in individualism.”²³

Ogbujah remarks that:

African communalism as a theory assumes a stunning concern for communal values, for common good, and for the good of the wider society. In doing so, it attempts to provide a conducive atmosphere that will enable each individual to function adequately in a human community, with the interest of the community as the over-riding rule. Generally speaking, the idea of individuality is not antithetical to that of community; it even advocates that individual interest be subordinated to that of the community when the two conflict. Even in 'egocentric' societies, it is recognized that the interest of the state, the

incarnation of the general will, is the highest good. Consequently, individual or family interests must be subordinated to that of the community/state when they conflict with the latter. Although it is understandable that the communal structure will allow the community to exercise her primordial right over individual interests, yet it is expected that communalism should not deny individuals the exercise of their unique qualities, talents and dispositions. Communalism should not restrict the individual from the exercise of his basic rights and freedom even though it must see that he does not slip down the slope of 'stark selfishness' or 'naked individualism'. At the practical level however, African communalism, to its chagrin, has not given free rein to the exercise of these tremendous qualities of the individual, and as such has been a clog on the wheels of its socio-economic and political development.²⁴

For Umeogu, the context of *ohazurume* (the theory of collective thoughts, words and actions governing individual life and being. It is a theory of corporate ontology that determines the life and being of individual in a community) reality, “I define communalism, philosophically as a relational function between individual reality and community reality as two organic sides of the same Igbo reality. The typology of communalism, given our *ohazurume* reality of belongingness is the definition of Igbo individual being as Igbo community being.”²⁵

C.B. Okolo made a conceptual analysis of the African person, as a being not merely existing but as a being participating in existence. Some Africans by a twist of fate passed colonialism and slavery, and denied the Africans the liberty to live as an African in full cultural aspirations and these greatly influenced their ideas systematically. His argument is that:

However since his independence, the African is increasingly emerging from years of cultural slumber in his quest for full status as a subject. He ceaselessly makes manifest efforts to be conscious of himself as an African and to fight decisively those causes which alienate him from self and self -word. Thus the twin tasks of self -discovery and Recovery have remained top priority values since his independence from his colonial masters.²⁶

The African person is not just a human being merely existing but essentially a “being with.”²⁷ This characterizes the African as not alone being existing, but as a communal being which participates in existence with his fellow being, to realize his authentic existence. African relationship with others or being is not strictly exclusive to the African philosophy, but some western philosophers also conceive man and many other existing things not discretely existing but in essential relation to others. Okolo noted that ‘being-with’ has been used by other philosophers of the past “Dasein or man as a being with others is a clear view of Heidegger. Martin Buber’s Ego or self is open to God, the ‘Eternal thou’, to other human beings as well basically dual relationship of ‘I-thou’ and ‘I-it’.”²⁸ Okolo, further made a clear distinction of African as a ‘being-with’ from various concept of ‘being-with’. But, the western ‘being-with’ is largely egoistic and utilitarian. The reason for man being social is because, man is limited in his capacities to satisfy his needs and desires by himself. For these reasons man consequently needs a community and others existing in it for his selfish end. But on the contrary, African ‘being-with’ as an ontological category and as defining culturally the mode of being of the African is beyond egoistic and utilitarian need of self and goes beyond the community to which self belongs.

The relationship in its function is objective in that it is part and parcel of the objective world greater than this or that community. In its ontological Relationships (with other existing realities) self in African metaphysics is attunes, as we have said, to both the visible and invisible worlds. Relationships constitutes self to the extent that the African could well echo cognatus Ergo sum (“I am related {to others} therefore I exist”) to borrow Descartes Known expression cogito Ergo sum.²⁹

Man is important and indeed central in African Ontology but man is not the measure of all things. Man is at the centre and in a strategic position of the hierarchy of beings between the visible created and the invisible world of God, spirit, ancestors are possible through him.

According to Mbaegu “of all the beings that are existent in the Igbo universe, man is at the center.”³⁰ The concluding reflection Okolo made was that, a member of any race could become African, through African ‘being-with’, and an African born in the culture of ‘being-with’ could lose it with time through cultural alienation. Leopold Sedar Senghor urged the present generation of Africans to learn some vital lessons from Africa’s traditional past for, “in spite of its many limitations it has had a beauty of its own. It was highly integrated in a peculiar way and embodied those traits by which Africans are to be distinguished as a people.”³¹ However to enjoy a truly genuine brotherhood is possible if and when Africans themselves recover and put into practice qualities of ‘being-with’.

In John S. Mbiti’s book *African Religions and Philosophy* has successfully posed a communalistic counter to the Cartesian individualistic statement. Mbiti’s statement ‘I am because we are and since we are, therefore I am’ means that the individual’s identity is based on social interaction with its community. The individual has little self-determination outside the context of the traditional African family and community. Mbiti describes the relationship between the community and the individuals thus: “I am because we are, and since we are, therefore, I am.”³² This expresses the strong dependence of the individual on his community. “An ontological consideration of the statement may however reduce the individual to a derived being while a socio-economic interpretation may present a picture of parasitic existence regarding the individuals.”³³ The individual’s perception of reality, according to Mbiti includes such things as his rights and privileges, and duties are determined from the point of view of the community.

For J. Mugumbate, and A. Nyanguru, Ubuntu can best be described as an African philosophy that places emphasis on ‘being self through others’. It is a form of humanism which can be expressed in the phrases ‘I am because of who we all are’ and ubuntu ngumuntu ngabantu in Zulu language

Ubuntu relates to bonding with others. This is in line with what the word expresses in most African languages: being self because of others. This is also in line with the popular Zulu saying: *ubuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. Such sayings as I am because we are and I am human because I belong, express this tenet. This means that in African philosophy, an individual is human if he or she says I participate, therefore I am, and Ubuntu echoes the African thought of acceptable ideas and deeds. Ubuntu can best be described as humanism from the African perspective as proposed by the former head of the Zambian government, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. It is Africa's worldview of societal relations. It is a social and humanistic ethic.³⁴

Samkange and Samkange, highlight the three maxims of hunhuism or ubuntuism.

The first maxim asserts that to be human is to affirm one's humanity by recognizing the humanity of others and, on that basis, establish respectful human relations with them. And the second maxim means that if and when one is faced with a decisive choice between wealth and the preservation of the life of another human being, then one should opt for the preservation of life. The third maxim as a principle deeply embedded in traditional African political philosophy says that the king owed his status, including all the powers associated with it, to the will of the people under him.³⁵

Various words for them have been used to describe the presence of ubuntu, some of these are sympathy, compassion, benevolence, solidarity, hospitality, generosity, sharing, openness, affirming, available, kindness, caring, harmony, interdependence, obedience, collectivity and consensus. Ubuntu is opposite to vengeance, opposite to confrontation, opposite to retribution and that ubuntu values life, dignity, compassion, humaneness harmony and reconciliation.

Ubuntu transcends the narrow confines of the nuclear family to include the extended kinship network that is omnipresent in many African communities. As a philosophy, Ubuntu is an orientation to life that stands in contrast to rampant individualism, insensitive competitiveness, and unilateral decision-making. The Ubuntu teachings are pervasive at all ages, in families, organisations and communities living in Africa. The Ubuntu optimises the African philosophy of respect and human dignity that is fundamental to being able to

transcend ethnic divisions by working together and respecting each other.³⁶

Julius Nyerere's cardinal principle of humanism and communalism, as the philosophical basis of 'ujamaa' as a 'way of life'. Ujamaa means family or familyhood. It lies in three basic assumptions First, respect: recognition by each family member of the rights of all other members' second Common property, meaning that the basic necessities possessed by one person are the property of the group such that all members of the community must be similarly endowed. Third, the obligation to work, meaning that all family members and guest of the family who partake of food for an extended period of time must assist in the family's labour. These three assumptions underlie the principles of communalism and humanism and must be examined to prove Ujamaa's worth. Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa was rooted in traditional African values and had as its core the emphasis on familyhood and communalism of traditional African societies. "Ujamaa, the basis of African socialism Nyerere argues that the African society was socialist because it was based on the principles of Ujamaa, familyhood."³⁷ Nevertheless, Ujamaa was founded on a philosophy of development that was based on three essentials- freedom, equality and unity. The ideal society, Nyerere argue must always be based on these three essentials. According to him, there must be equality, because only on that basis will men work cooperatively. There must be freedom of the individual in the society. And there must be unity, because only when society is unified can its members live and work in peace, security and well-being. These three essentials, Nyerere further contends are not new to Africa. They have always been part of the traditional social order. Therefore, it is because of this security which the society provides that the individual was able to find his well-being in the well-being of others.

Menkiti deploys arguments to prove that African thought considers personhood as something defined or conferred by the community and as something that must be acquired by the

individual. He also maintains that the African view asserts the ontological primacy and hence the ontological independence of the community. As far as Africans are concerned, the reality of the communal world takes precedence over the reality of the individual life histories, Menkiti infers that: “It is the community which defines the person as person, not some isolated static quality of rationality, will or memory. In the African understanding human community plays a crucial role in the individual’s acquisition of full personhood.”³⁸ Menkiti’s was correct when he argues that the community means that values of the community are not contingent but a necessary condition for personhood. This means that the individual must of necessity be subject to the normative power of the community. “The importance of individual human rights is defined in terms of the priority of group rights.”³⁹ Undoubtedly, we cannot do without communities, people are largely interdependent and the moral self-develop within a social context where culture and history plays vital roles. Thus to view the moral self to be socially formed from within one shared identity is an illusion. However, Menkiti’s assertion about the ontological primacy of the community over the individual is based on an idealized view and inflation of the importance of group.

Kwame Gyekye, pointed out that the metaphysical construal of personhood in African thought such as Menkiti’s, which gives the community priority over the individual person has a parallel in the conceptions of the social status of the person held by some scholars, both African and non-African. Gyekye opposes the view that in Africa thought, community confers personhood on the individual and thus the individual’s identity is merely derivative of the community. Gyekye argues that Menkiti overstated claims and that his views are misleading. For Gyekye communitarianism immediately sees the human person as an inherently (intrinsically) communal being, embedded in a context of social relationship and interdependence never as an isolated atomic individual. In Gyekye views:

The community not as a mere association of individual person whose interests and ends are contingently congruent, but as a group of persons linked by inter personal bonds, biological and non-biological, who consider themselves primarily as members of the group and who have common interests, goals and values.⁴⁰

The individual although originating from and inextricably bound to his family and community, nevertheless possesses a clear concept of himself as a distinct person of volition.

“African social thought seeks to avoid the excesses of the two exaggerated systems, while allowing for a meaningful, albeit uneasy, interaction between the individual and the society.”⁴¹

F.U. Okafor oppose the tenets of the school of thought that propounds that whatever right the individuals have are conferred on them by the society and that without the existence of the society there would cease to be rights of an individual. In Igbo land according to Okafor, the Igbo holds that men are born with certain rights which they regard as inalienable rights. “The Igbo hold that every individual is born with the right to life and right to means of preserving it i.e., the right to property these and other rights like the right to freedom of expression etc. accrue to individuals because they are human beings.”⁴² The right to life remains with the individual and is not conferred or determined by the society or any individual or groups of individual. Therefore, every society has an obligation to protect the rights of its members and this can be achieved objectively by means of law. Thus, there could be no need for laws if there were no human rights.

According to E.A. Ruch and K.C. Anyanwu, one could say that in traditional African society, man never does anything, receives anything or suffers anything alone. They argued that this attitude considerably restricts the individual’s creativity, originality and freedom. But it also ensures a warm hospitality and togetherness which could be the envy of individualistic cultures. It accounts for the Africans love for feasts, family gatherings and communal activities. “The socialism which is sought is therefore African, and because it is African, it

must be humanistic, since the whole traditional African value system is humanistic, i.e. centred or man.⁴³

Egbeke Aja, in an essay: *individualism in African communal universe* narrate the inherent relationship that exist between the individual and community in a communal setting, and seeks to explain how traditional Africa managed to reconcile the claims of the individual and the demands of community within a culture in which communalism is the dominating social philosophy. For Aja:

African communalism is the existential life of the traditional African which is founded on the belief that all human beings are members of one family of human kind; it is the traditional concern for persons and their well-being. It presupposes that while the family is the unit of an African community, everyone in that community is his brother's or sister's keeper.⁴⁴

One can conclude that the basis of this attitude is the kinship system, expressed in institutions like clan, which places special emphasis on oneness and solidarity between individual components of the community.

For Nze, the traditional African society has a great asset in its practice of a mode of life called communalism, African traditional religion which is not primarily for the individual, but for the community of which the individual is but an infinitesimal part. In this sense, African communalism is opposed to individualism. Nze further notes that, community determines and greatly influences the individual and the individual also determines and influences the community. Since the life of an individual cannot be detached from the community, his identification with his environment becomes so strong that he is regarded as synonymous with his community. Extended family system is a distinguishing characteristic of the way of life of the African. And in the words of Nze:

To opt for individualism is the face of the riches of communalism is sheer cowardice, self-hatred and a feeling

of unnecessary inferiority complex. It is accepted that needs, human wants produce in many striving for the realization of those needs which motivated the action of striving. Among the Africans, there is a meeting point between individual needs and communal ones and the pursuit of the action to satisfy those needs is engineered by the collective wants of people, the satisfaction of the extended family, the needs of the entire community. This, in effect automatically excludes, neutralizes or makes individualism or other forms of chauvinistic tendencies redundant.⁴⁵

For Senghor, however the African way of knowing is not a failure of consciousness but rather ‘the accession to a higher state of consciousness’s for Africans reason is reason by embrace. This has inevitable consequence in social relationship. Senghor underlines the unity of the African universe, a unity which impinges very strongly on man’s social relation, Senghor observes that:

From God through man, down to the grain of sand, it is a seamless whole. Man, in his role as a person, is the centre of this universe, or rather not man but the family. The family is the microcosm, the first cell. All the concentric circles which form the different levels of society; village, tribe, kingdom, empire reproduce in extended form the family. The African is thus held in a tight network of vertical and horizontal communities, which bind and at the same time support him. He is the fullest illustration of the truth honoured in our own day by socialism, that man can only live and realize himself in and through the society.⁴⁶

For Nkrumah,

There are those who maintain that Africa cannot unite because we lack the three necessary ingredients for unity a common race, culture, and language. It is true that we have for centuries been divided. The territorial boundaries dividing us were fixed long ago, often quite arbitrary, by the colonial powers. Some of us are Muslims, some Christians; many believe in traditional, tribal gods. Some of us speak English, some Portuguese, not to mention the millions who speak only one of the hundreds of different African languages we have acquired cultural differences which affect our outlook and condition our political development. All this is inevitable because of our historical background, yet inspite of this I am convinced that the forces making for unity outweigh those which

divide us. In meeting fellow Africans from all parts of the continent I am constantly impressed by how much we have in common it is not just our colonial past, or the fact that we have aims in common, it is something which goes far deeper, I can best describe it as a sense of oneness in that we are *Africans*. In practical terms this deep rooted unity has shown itself in the development of Pan-Africanism, and more recently, in the projection of what has been called the African Personality in world affairs.⁴⁷

Nkrumah further remarks that, communalism is the forefather of modern socialism. He sees communalist society as one in which each saw his well-being in the welfare of the group. Nkrumah's consciencism was an attempt to invoke the spirit of traditional communalism, a spirit conceptualized as conscience that has been thrown into crisis by the miserable experience of slavery and colonialism. The resolution of this crisis of conscience results in consciencism as "a philosophical statement that combines traditional Africa, Islamic Africa and Euro-Christian Africa into a socialist harmony that is in tune with the original humanist principles of traditional African society."⁴⁸ Nkrumah's view shows that careful observation indicates that African communalism is a thing of the past, which characterizes the African society. But in African society with communalist antecedent, there is no need for revolution before acceding to scientific socialism or communism.

J.M. Nyasani possesses a far less egalitarian view of the individual in African society in contrast to other African scholar reviewed. According to Nyasani, the African individual hardly knows how to act outside the context of his community's prescription and proscriptions. For Nyasani, the existence of the individual in African society is "quasi-dissolution into the reality of others for the sake of the individual's existence."⁴⁹ For him, everything boils down to the 'me' in the 'we' or rather to the survival of the self through the enhancement and consolidation of the 'we' as a generic whole. "Thus, in Africa, the individual will go to all lengths to ascertain the condition of the corporate 'we' and to play his part if necessary, to restore the balance of the wholesomeness."⁵⁰ There are many

particularistic studies of the attitudes and values of African by Africans and non-African scholars that the assertion made by Nyasani is true. The liberal value of “self-respect” is not just a value gained through autonomy or some austere individualism. It may be and usually in the African context, linked to a number of social identification; race, gender, age, ethnicity, or religion.

For J.C. Ekei made a good distinction of justice in traditional and contemporary African communalism through justice-in-communalism is no longer as forceful as it is found in traditional settings, Ekei further noted that “communalism” contrary to numerous critics by scholars, is still as relevant to the modern man, as it was in traditional African. What is rather, at stake is that the circumstance of the modern man has changed though not radically, and so the forms of expression of communalism, or justice-in-communalism seem to have attained certain modifications, and adaptations. Urban migrations and modification have evidently brought a change in the living conditions of the modern man. Some people abandon their villages’ traditional mode of community closeness for an urban mode of open society in search of better means of livelihood. In order to maintain the togetherness and sharing their lives together in urban towns, “the individuals form themselves into village and town unions, social clubs and basic communities.”⁵¹ He enumerated the working principles which justice-in-communalism is better pictured as two faces of the same coin, that:

The limitations surrounding human existence are such that without mutual cooperation, co-existence, and relationships human life is likely to be highly precarious. Man is ethically ambivalent, a combination of good and bad, without communal ideals, motivations and encouragements evils, injustice are likely to triumph over the good and over justice.⁵²

These principles are considered as those of justice because they seem to create certain individual and communal expectations. The concept of Justice is a substantive issue in African Philosophy.

Dukor argues that: “A highlight of the salient issues in African conception of justice shows a cluster of metaphysical and socio-political concepts of West African folklore and community practices showing how traditional concepts of law, morality and social order, justice and supernatural are linked together.”⁵³ Dukor, further tries to portray:

The concept of communalism, nemesis, polymonotheism, Theistic Panpsychism and Theistic humanism, with transcendental realities have to do with a good society and individual. Whereas the contract theorists would posit the surrender of the individual’s rights to the king, a human person, the African traditional thought would postulate the surrender of individual’s right to God, the Supreme Being. The African endorses the divine law, which he often regards as natural law, as the primary and supreme law. Hence in the concept of justice what is the case is what law ‘ought to be’ instead of what it de facto is. In interpreting the law, the community, the eye of the transcendental, the ancestors, the gods and God takes precedence. While every person is given a fair hearing in any case, no one, including the king is above the law. However, the ideals which the divine law and communitarianism set for a functional just society are hamstrung by pressures from selfishness, greed, colonialism, modernity and arbitrary and wrong interpretations given to statements of erratic and unknown gods and forces of nature. That notwithstanding, the checks and balance of all the forces constitute a just African society.⁵⁴

Some of the critical points worth noting is the fact that most African scholars in this research was trying to establish the existence of African communalism and also that communalism as practiced by the traditional Africa is still invoke in contemporary Africa, thereby logically showing that something invariably has happened to African communalism, which is totally blamed on globalization.

This research logically deducts some critical points made in the review of literatures by scholars, and shows that ‘communalism’ in contemporary Africa is in question. These different views of scholars on communalism and individualism in Africa brings to light the Lacuna and pave way for the researcher to ask the question of the place of communalism in

light of globalization in contemporary Africa, this will show positive and negative influences, and how 'individualism' as a factor of globalization came into play in Africa will be discussed in subsequent chapters, and how globalization has introduced individualism, which contradicts the communalistic way of living in Africa.

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CHAPTER THREE

AFRICAN COMMUNALISM AND EVOLUTION OF COMMUNISM THROUGH FEUDALISM TO CAPITALISM

Communalism and identity crisis in contemporary Africa for scholars has become a common theme in most discourses on African Philosophy; this has made it crucial that detailed studies be done on this way of life to establish its underlying philosophical tenets and its impact on the people and societies in Africa. This research also examines the principles and ontology of communalism in traditional African societies, the underlying philosophical issues, and the influence that it has continued to exert on the continent since the end of colonialism. In order to do this, the study begins with an examination of the ontology and phenomenology of communalism as a form of social organization in African societies.

3.1 Principles of African Communalism

For Nze “the way of life of a people, their beliefs and norms can constitute a spring-board to and a rich source for their rapid progress and advancement just as the dark aspect of their culture can no doubt bring about a draw-back to their development and progress.”¹ Nze further remarks that, “the traditional African society has a great asset in its practice of a mode of life called communalism. This used to be the bedrock and the result of wonderful relationship prevalent in the community as well as purpose of the existence of the community and of the African man.”² African people are not just a human being merely existing but essentially a “being with.”³ This characterizes the African as not alone being existing, but as a communal being that participates in existence with his fellow being, to realize his authentic existence. African relationship with others or being is not strictly exclusive to the African philosophy, but some western philosophers also conceive man and many other existing things not discretely existing but in essential relation to others.

Odimegwu enumerated the basic factors and fundamental principles that underlie, characterized and manifest African communalism with special reference to Igbo: Unity of Being, Community of Existence, Familyhood, Openness, Commitment and Co-operation and Good-name.

3.1.1 Unity of Being

We cannot precisely separate ourselves off from one another, because most common characteristic of an African is been communalistic in nature and this has been the line of argument of most scholars. The African communalist social existence is characterized by a consciousness of unity of being which is cosmological, anthropological and socio-existential according to Odimegwu, and he notes that:

In the Igbo cosmology for instance both the concept of *uwa*, *ala* and *umunna* incorporates within their semantics ambience the being of the one-in-the-many. In his *Uwa* ontology, Iroegbu ‘demonstrates how the six zones of *Uwa* are centrally located and presented from the cosmic locus of *Uwa anyi*, or *Uwammadu*-the human world.’ This *Uwa* also *Ala*, the earth which forms our physical as well as metaphysical grounds of being. But *Ala* is not just this earth for there is also *alammuo*-the spirit world. So *uwa* is *ala* which is both our physical world and the spiritual realm. The human person and human life generally take root from, share in return to this world. The life of the person is therefore characterized by the unity of being symbolized by these realities. Another unifying principle is the common belief in the Mother Earth-*Ajala* or *Ala*-which is the supernatural protector and the guardian of the social well-being, the law and morals of the people. It is this Mother-Earth that symbolizes a tangible link uniting all the members of the community.⁴

Man cannot exist outside the community that makes up its identical component, having that in mind in traditional Africa man comes together to form a synergy of relation, which sees man as a communitarian being.

3.1.2 Community of Existence

Man cannot exist outside the community that moulds him; to be human is to belong to the community derives from the communion of spirit; the spirit of the land which is active, ancestral and projective. Odimegwu further notes that:

The fundamental nature of community of existence in the fact that excommunication or banishment from the community is considered one of the greatest punishment for offences against the land and the community. This punishment is particularly prescribed for offences or crimes that strike the heart of communality and social cohesion. The communal undertaking and execution of projects flows from this community of existence.⁵

3.1.3 Familyhood

The family is the foundation of every community and the vital force that gives communalism in Africa a name and place among Africans. The family for Odimegwu is the bedrock of human society. The unique structure of African family, which has been termed, extended in comparison to the western atomistically conceived nuclear family structure, is at the root of the communalist social structure.

The sense of natural belonging and belonging-with which characterizes family consciousness of being and relations naturally flows over into the social existence in the community such that members of the community see and relate to each other as brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers etc. This factor is so vital in the conception of communalism that Nze describes communalism as 'fraternalism' while Nyerere builds his magnificent African socialist theory and system around the concept and phenomenon of the family and calls it *Ujamaa*-familyhood. On the basis of the familyhood of communalism, members of the community feel that they have natural rights and responsibilities towards each other and the community. These beliefs affect the communal character of morality in the communalist society where the evaluation of conduct and the dispensation of justice assume family contexts and considerations.⁶

Nze remarks that, “a distinguish characteristic of the way of life of the African is the predominance of the extended family system.”⁷ Family in Africa can sometimes include the departed relatives who still lives on memories of the relatives.

3.1.4 Openness

Openness of African is imbibed in their hospitality and accepting everybody as his brother or sister, and also treating neighbours as family. Odimegwu notes that:

The unity of being, the communion of spirit and the air of family that constitute foundations of social relations necessarily require and result in openness of mind, spirit and attitude in the communalist society. This openness which is naturally expected involves truthfulness and fairness in social intercourse. Truth which translate literally as ‘good talk’ from the Igbo concept of *eziokwu*, requires that the matter under discourse should be related as it is; a kind of tell-it-straight attitude. This attitude of openness is captured in the love of dialogue and conversationalist aptitudes which are however camouflaged and embellished in the garbs of proverbs and idioms. The requirement of openness in communalist relations is deeply symbolized in the Igbo ritual of *oji*-the kola nut which presents the heart of the host as open and welcoming and invites the guest to do as well. The openness of one to all and all to one is symbolized in the sharing by all of the one kola while the ritual invocations before the breaking of the kola emphasize the unity of being and communion of spirit upon which the openness of heart rests.⁸

The spirit of *Ujamaa* Philosophy is one definite characteristic of Africans and it rests on the principle of openness of heart by the Africans.

3.1.5 Commitment and Co-Operation

For every society to move forward there must be commitment and co-operation involved in that particular society. For Odimegwu the concept and spirit of community involve the

attitudes of commitment and co-operation for the entire system will not be easily conceivable without them.

The mutual commitment of every member of the community results in the co-operation for the achievement of communal goals and the execution of community projects. And many community projects there were in traditional Africa for there were no 'contracts' and 'construction companies' for the construction and maintenance of community roads, streams, squares etc. The many 'town halls' and such other projects accomplished through community co-operative efforts even in the colonial and post-colonial periods attest to the eminence of this communalist characteristic. And it would seem that the 'missionaries' were quick at noticing this. They have continued to make good use of it.⁹

3.1.6 Good-Name

Good-name is one of the cherished attribute of Africans, which can be protected at all cost. An African is always concern of what the community thinks about him/her. "What this community thinks of his existence must make significant meaning to the individual for the community that creates could decide to re-create or to withhold the facilities, amenities and the general wherewithal for this self-creation of the individual."¹⁰ The quest for good-name in Igbo ontology is a serious thing and is not taking for granted, which for the Igbo is a continuum that lives even after the individual has passed on. Odimegwu makes a distinction between two broad significations of good-name:

This good-name has two broad significations: the vocational excellence and the moral probity of the person. The communal mode of existence require that one should excel in his chosen vocation because it is not the person's private affair how he does it. This follows from the consideration that this vocation is the person's way of serving the community and sustaining the communal spirit. Not to excel or do one's best would therefore amount to social disservice. And where this non performance is chosen by the individual, the consideration of good-name transcends the vocational to the moral at which the person is seen to have been unfair to the community.¹¹

3.2 The Extended Family as a Cardinal Feature of African Communalism

Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa was rooted in traditional African values and had as its core the emphasis on familyhood and communalism of traditional African societies. "African extended family system is and has remained the bedrock of communal caring and sharing in the society."¹² For Agbakoba, a family is a group of people affiliated by consanguinity, affinity, or co-residence. The unique structure of the African family which has been termed extended in comparison to the Western atomistically conceived nuclear family structure, is at the root of the communalist social structure. The sense of natural belonging and belonging-with which characterize family consciousness of being and relations naturally flow over into the social existence in the community such that members of the community see and relate to each other as brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers and so on. On the basis of familyhood of communalism, members of the community feel that they have natural rights and responsibilities toward each other and the community. "These beliefs affect the communal character of morality in the communalist society where the evaluation of conduct and dispensation of justice assume family contexts and considerations."¹³

The institution of family life is surely a human cultural universal; and the need, which it is primed to serve, is among the deepest seething in the human psyche. This institution creates a constant and well understood framework for the nurture of the young until maturity; it establishes a hospitable and forgiving ambience in which the young can safely and securely train for eventual social responsibilities and association. African societies are founded on kinship relations, which began from household and expand to lineage and clan proportion. This is structurally speaking. In terms of feeling and sentiment, people are brought up to develop a sense of bonding with large groups of relatives at home and outside it from childhood. This evolving sense of bonding is a learning process in which the individual comes more and more to see herself as/at the centre of obligations and rights. According to Pantaleon Iroegbu "African languages generally have no words for uncles, aunts, cousins and nieces. All

these are part of the one family. The family is one but extended.”¹⁴ Marriage is taken as a good and serious thing in the sense that it is a covenant between two (extended) families, kindred and villages. The extended family system is very much alive in contemporary Africa in spite of the wave the Western value system is making. It is a conflict-and-crisis-resolution ocean. “Living together” and the sense of “community of brothers and sisters” are the basis of, and the expression of, the extended family system in Africa.

The rationale behind it is that balance of kinship relations, seen as essential to the ideal balance with nature that was itself the material guarantee of survival, called for specific conduct. It should be pointed out that the most admired value in the traditional African economic arrangement is the social security or economic insurance guaranteed by the social organization typified by extended family system. The security is not just for the old age, but also for the poor and disadvantaged members of the family. In other words, the comforting family atmosphere is provided by the extended family system. It is a system that ultimately anchored and still rests on the philosophy of “live-and-let-live”. It is a principle which defines rights and duties, responsibilities and obligations towards the less fortunate, those incapacitated in one way or another. In essence, extended family is a veritable instrument in community continuity and stability. E.A. Ruch and K.C Anyanwu shows that not only the living members of a family or a village are joined together in a community by a language of ‘we’ and a feeling of ‘we’, but also those who have passed away and who are present as spirits. They state that:

The whole African society, living and living-dead, is a living network of relations almost like that between the various parts of an organism. When one part of the body is sick the whole body is affected. When one member of a family or clan is honoured or successful, the whole group rejoices and shares in the glory, not only psychologically (as one would rejoice when the local soccer team has won a match), but ontologically: each member of the group is really part of the honor.¹⁵

African communalism sees life as a continuum; “this is why the great family is not only made up of the living, but of the dead and future generations. The link of communication is maintained and reinforced through rituals which maintain the cosmological equilibrium.”¹⁶ Indeed, African communalism is life in the extended family carried out at the community level. Bearing in mind that the community is an aggregate of the extended families coming together to form a community. “The close relation between life in the family and life in the community is such that one cannot exist without the other and the solidarity to one is solidarity to other.”¹⁷ In African communalism:

Communalism is the extended family writ larger. Due to its central concern on ‘man’ not as discrete entity but as a being-in-relation-to-others, it is often characterized as African humanism or African brotherhood as Julius Nyerere would like to call it. Basic to this brotherhood is ‘feeling-involved-with-others’ analogous to and yet distinct from Heideggerian concept of man as a ‘being-with’.¹⁸

African is first and foremost a member of his family, the extended family, the community and his society in that order before being an individual. “Members of the community cultivate an attitude of mind which regards all as one and stresses that members belong to one big family. There is a metaphysical belief in the superiority of claims of the family and the community over the individual...”¹⁹ What remains true of the communalist ideas is that among the members of the extended families and villages in traditional African societies mutual help was and is a widespread trait of social life. It could be formulated best in a negative way, namely that a member of a family or a village who is in great existential difficulties will not be left alone. Somebody will be there to help or to show a way out of the predicament. And with regard to the different forms of government it can be said that all of them are measured in terms of whether they function for the well-being of the people in the long run. From extended

family system, one can deduct wider practice of individual communal relationship in terms of communalism.

3.3 Justice in African Communalism

Justice in African communalism express justice as the most basic, and the most embracing moral disposition of man within the communal setting. In its micro-dimension, this communal justice, or “being-with” implies an ontological relations not just self to self or man to man, but self to all reality, material and spiritual, visible and invisible. Although this relationship as Okolo observes is essentially “social”, it has its ethical connotations based on justice. It is because man is a social being, that he is (supposed to be) a moral being. In other words, morality presupposes the social realities of man. Justice in African communalism in West Africa will be viewed from the point of its expressions, dimensions and perspectives. In its distinctive features from western expressions of justice, justice in communalism is not determined, just in one level of relationship as “giving to everyone what is his due”. In other words, it does not focus exclusively in relating to man and man but also with man and entire realities. It includes a whole pattern of relationship with all that is, including man and man, man and nature (the cosmos), as well as with man and God. Expression of justice will be in four categories: justice-as-concern, justice-as-co-existence, justice-as-care and justice-as-acceptance.

Justice-as-Concern

For Ekei “while every individual needs a certain amount of communal care due to moral justice for its survival and flourishing, justice as concern aims principally towards the less advantaged, this because concern has a particularity not possessed by care.”²⁰ Concern has to do with sympathy, compassion, with fairness given exclusively to the marginalized segments

of the community. “It is the type of justice demanded this time by their natural fortunes, or social circumstances.”²¹ Justice-as-concern has its central target on the greater need. It is the urgency which the greater need has over average need that gives ethical relevance, and significance to concern. Justice-as-concern seems to punctuate virtually all West African communal existence, and its expressions seem to vary with the circumstances of need.

Justice-as-Co-existence

The concept of justice-as-co-existence is the basis of moral justice. For Okolo “the African is not just a being but a being-with, a being-with-others or as I said elsewhere the African self is defined in terms of “we-existence” just as much as “we” in “I-existence” through social interactions.”²² The net connections and interactions which define the social relations of self in African philosophy are seen rooted in their micro-dimension in the extended family system conceived by E.A. Rush and K.C. Anyanwu as one “in which everybody is linked with all other members, living or dead, through a complex network of spiritual relationships into a kind of mystical body.”²³ Justice-as-co-existence ontologically is beyond egoistic and utilitarian needs of self. For the African life is a co-participation, this is the very reason for characterizing justice-as-co-existence as a being-with.

Justice-as-Care

It is an integral part of moral justice; justice-as-care has both promotional and protective dimensions, of the integral justice-in-communalism. For Ekei “the ethical implication of this is that without such concerted efforts of the individual through co-existence, co-operations, and caring human life is likely to be highly precarious.”²⁴ Justice as care is an activity that tends to promote the human survival and flourishing in the communal setting, all for the good of the individuals and the community.

Justice-as-Acceptance

The concept “acceptance” as a positive disposition implies some degree of readiness voluntarily to act desirably. In traditional communal setting the “acceptance” of moral obligations is facilitated by a set of rituals which have come to be called “life crisis ritual” or “rites of passage” Ekei further implies that ethical significance of this phenomenon is that “it is an act of the will to accept, as it is, to choose, to decide, or to consent. In its natural tendency, acceptance, like the will goes for its own choice. In other words, one tends to choose and to consent, to what will benefit oneself.”²⁵ Justice in African communalism has three basic dimensions, which includes personal, social and metaphysical dimensions.

Personal dimension of justice infers that self is always a basic human affirmation and therefore, a veritable foundation of a being-with. In Africa the essential focus of self is towards others, it could not have been possible if self has not first focused on itself for actualization of self at least slightly.

The social dimension of communal justice conceives the person not only as a lone being but a being-with-others. His existence is therefore, in terms of caring and concern for himself and for others. He is therefore, a being-with, as he is equally a social being. The expression of African being-with is a sense of acceptance, care, concern and sharing. “In other words, social dimension of communal justice implies an involvement with, and just a mere natural “aggregation” of man (Aristotle), who may be in fact less committed to man as such.”²⁶ Here, the metaphysical expressions of justice lie essentially on the determination of valid relationships between man and God, ancestors and between man and other gods. The African traditional metaphysical expressions of justice falls under traditional religious practices, aimed at establishing a harmony, and a better bargain from the gods as well as from the ancestors, within the communal setting.

African communal justice for Ekei, incorporates two perspectives of justice: promotional and protective perspectives. There is therefore in the concept of justice, the positive and the

negative perspectives. While the positive involves the promotional and prescribes what should be done in the attainment of justice, the negative involves the protective perspective and it proscribes what should not be done. The explication of the concepts identifies promotional perspective of African communal justice as those that promote co-existence, acceptance, care and concern within the communal setting, while the protective perspective considered as human ambivalence refers to the “evil” dimension of man’s existence.

3.4 Rights of Individual in African Communalism

Most Africans are of the view that every individual is born with certain rights and means of preserving them; some others hold that whatever right the individuals have are conferred on them by the society. Okafor further remarks that:

The Igbo hold that every individual is born with the right to life and the right to the means of preserving it i.e, the right to property. These and other rights like the right to freedom of expression etc. accrue to individuals because they are human beings. This concept is opposed to the tenets of the school of thought which holds that whatever right the individuals have are conferred on them by the society and that without the society there would cease to be rights.²⁷

A “right” is a moral principle defining and sanctioning a man’s freedom of action in a social context. Rights are fundamental normative rules about what is allowed of people or owed to people, according to the legal system, social convention or ethical theory. Rights are often being regarded as established pillars of society and culture. Right can also be defined as the concept that provides a logical transition from the principles guiding an individual’s action to the principles guiding his relationship with others, the concept that preserves and protects individual morality in a social context, the link between the moral code of a man and the legal code of a society, between ethics and politics. It might be supposed that communitarianism with its emphasis on, and concern for communal values will have no room for the doctrine of

rights, for that doctrine is necessarily an individualistic doctrine. Rights belong primarily and irreducibly to individuals; a right is the right of some individuals. Yet the supposition, that communitarianism will have no place or very little if at all, for rights will be false both in theory and practice, especially in the case of restricted or moderate communitarianism. Communitarianism will not necessary be antithetical to the doctrine of rights for several reasons. In the first place, communitarianism cannot disallow arguments about rights which may infact form part of the activity of a self-determining autonomous individual possessed of the capacity for evaluating or re-evaluating the entire practice of his community. Second, the respect for human dignity, a natural or fundamental attribute of the person which cannot as such be set at naught by the communal structure, generates regard for personal rights. The reason is that the natural membership of the individual person in a community cannot rob him of his dignity or worth, a fundamental and inalienable attribute he possesses as a person. At the practical level communitarianism must realize that allowing free rein for the exercise of individual rights, which obviously include the exercise of the unique qualities, talent, and dispositions of the individuals will enhance the cultural development and success of the community. Gyekye communitarianism immediately sees the human person as an inherently (intrinsically) communal being, embedded in a context of social relationship and interdependence never as an isolated atomic individual. In Gyekeye views:

The community not as a mere association of individual person whose interests and ends are contingently congruent, but as a group of persons linked by inter personal bonds, biological and non-biological, who consider themselves primarily as members of the group and who have common interests, goals and values.²⁸

The individual although originating from and inextricably bound to his family and community, nevertheless possesses a clear concept of himself as a distinct person of volition.

“African social thought seeks to avoid the excesses of the two exaggerated systems, while

allowing for a meaningful, albeit uneasy, interaction between the individual and the society.”²⁹

Having said all this, however, it must be granted that communitarianism cannot be expected to make a fetish of rights; thus rights talk will not be brought to the front burner of its concerns and pre-occupations.

The reason is not farfetched; it is derivable from the logic of the communitarian theory itself: it assumes an overwhelming concern for communal values, for the good of the wider society as such. Even so, the absorbing interest in the common good is in the provision for the social conditions which will enable each individual to function satisfactorily in a human society, does not, should not; result in the gleeful subversion of individual rights. Reason is that even though rights belong primarily to individuals, nevertheless, in so far as their exercise will often, directly or indirectly, be valuable to the larger society, their status and roles must be recognized by communitarian theory, but the theory will disallow separating rights from the common values of the community and conferring on them a preeminent status. However, although it is conceivable, as has already been explained, that the communal structure will allow the exercise of individual rights, yet it can be expected that communitarianism would not suggest to individuals to incessantly insist on their rights. The reason is the assumption that rights (political, economic, social) are built into the ethos and practices of the cultural community. Thus the economic, political and social needs of the individual members which are the concern of most individual rights would be expected to have been recognized, if not catered for, to some degree of adequacy by the communitarian structure. Individuals would not have a penchant for, an obsession with, insisting on their rights, knowing that insistence on their right could divert the attention to duties they, as members of the communal society, strongly feels towards other members of the community. While the communitarian structure would not have a fetishistic attitude to individual rights, it would certainly have one toward duties that individual members have or ought to have toward other members of the community.³⁰

It is good to bear in mind that we are dealing with a system of reciprocities. It then becomes easy to see that the kind of social formation under discussion when looked at from one

standpoint is a regime of obligation, but from another, is a dispensation of right, the communitarian theory will expectably give priority to duties rather than rights. Concerned, as it is, with the common good or communal welfare (the welfare of each and every member of the community) communitarianism, will perhaps undoubtedly, consider duty as the moral tone, as the supreme principle of morality. Duty here is meant, task, service, conduct or function that a person feels morally obligated to perform in respect of another person or other persons. The question may be raised as to the justification for giving priority to duties over rights in the communitarian theory. The sociability of the person immediately makes him naturally oriented to other persons with whom he must live in relation. The social and ethical values of social well-being, solidarity, interdependence, cooperation, compassion, and reciprocity, which can be said to characterize the communitarian morality, primarily impose on the individual a duty to the community and its members. In stressing duties to the community and its members rather than those rights of the individual.

The communitarian theory does not imply, by any means, that rights are not important; neither does it deny duties to the self. Altruistic duties cannot obliterate duties to one self. What the communitarian ethics will enjoin then is dual responsibility. Rights and duties should be mutually dependent vision of society.³¹

The view on responsibility is rooted in the consideration of people's needs.

3.5 Relationship between the Individual and Community in African Communalism

The individual is intrinsically the foundation of the society, like any other society, African societies are pre-existing networks into which individuals are born. These networks define relationships which its new members are to bear to one another, and relations through which their personal growth is to be nurtured and sustained. Through their cultures the members are nurtured on common beliefs, values, attitude, and actions which make life in their community

orderly (the primary requirement of tradition on the part of the individual is total compliance to the specific beliefs and customs). Through the same culture, members acquire skills and develop initiatives by which life in the community becomes satisfying. Traditional African societies were widely believed to have been bound by a very strong sense of community. This African sense of persons and communities is captured in John Mbiti's celebrated dictum, which alludes simultaneously to a family of African proverbs as well as its European or, more specifically, Cartesian statement: "I am because we are, and since we are therefore I am."³² Mbiti considers this to be the cardinal point in the African worldview. For many if not most Africans, and not merely philosophers, this communal notion of the person is hailed as one of the chief ways in which the African is to be distinguished from the West. Traditional African life moves from the community and revolves around the community. To exist is to exist in a group. The individual, to a large extent is subsumed within the requirements of his community. He, more or less, acts out his community's scripts. This community structure of African societies denotes a high spirit of communalism (the theory which sees the community as a fundamental human good). "Communalism is one of the most frequently used terms to describe traditional African cultural, economic system and socio-political. Communalism or communitarianism is thus taken to be a special and original characteristic of traditional Africa."³³ Communalism is not exclusive to Africa; African communalism can be described as the traditional mode of being in African communities characterized by communal living. A person is a person in the community and through the others of his or her community. This implies a culture of mutual help, of caring for each other and sharing with each other. It can be argued upon this view that humans can attain the full development of the characteristics and properties that make them specifically human, or persons, only by depending on each. It is the communicative activity among us that sets in motion the development and flourishing of our cognitive and moral capacities. In African communalism, there was a strong awareness of

one's existence and relationship with others in the community, a strong sense of "social self". The support of others was as important as one's capacities to achieve one's existential ends: hence the value of corporate existence. Corporate existence signified a responsibility of many for one; first others had to look after the well-being of the individual, that is, the responsibility of many for one, second, the individual had to look after the well-being of others. The latter was motivated by the former. Here we note a collaborative relationship between the individual and the community that helped to build and sustain a moral character in a person and social harmony in the society. These two elements helped build a strong sense of belonging in the society. The arrangement of human relations is that of being one's brother's keeper, or caring for each other's welfare. It is in this perspective that Chieka Ifemesia wrote: "A way of life emphatically centred upon human interest and values. A mode of being evidently characterized by empathy, by consideration and compassion for human being."³⁴ African communalism is a phenomenon that "portrays a symbiosis and mutual embrace and significantly geared towards the promotion of human dignity that captures a sense of concern and belonging to all and sundry."³⁵ African communal life is opposed to individualism. No one lives a life of isolation. Every person is linked up in a web of interpersonal interactions and relationships that bind one to the community. Following this, Nze states:

The individual for example lives a life quite inseparable from the rest of the community. He lives in the community by the community and for the community. The community determines and influences his life as he determines and influences the life of the community. And his life cannot be detached from the community; his identification with his environment becomes so strong that he is regarded as synonymous with his community.³⁶

From the foregoing; communalism is generally viewed as the theory of African social existence. Communitarians emphasize the value of specifically communal and public good, and conceive of values as primarily rooted in communal practices. In traditional African

societies, the principles of community, egalitarianism and solidarity were held. There existed a social arrangement where the community is not conceived as a mere association or a sum total of isolated individual, but as a unity in which the individual members are linked by interdependent relationships, sharing common values and working towards common goals. Every individual was expected to contribute his quota to the overall development of himself and his community. Authentic living is a form of participation in African culture. Participation and belonging are part of the essence of human beings and therefore provides foundation for the emphasis on community. Through relationship, participation and responsibility the individual and community are enriched. The individual in African thought is reflected in the communitarian features of social structures. Ogbujah notes that:

The question of the relationship between the individual and the community is an outstanding feature of the modern society. The history of mankind is one that is replete with an admixture of various forms of relationships: there is on one hand, some form of suppressions and repressions of individual aspirations and capabilities in favour of some sort of collectivity; and on the other hand, an unbridled and exaggerated form of individual freedom and autonomy even at the expense of collective interests. Mankind's history thus, is hanging as a pendulum tilting now right and then left depending on the prevalent social structure. The type of social structure evolved in any particular society seems to be conditioned by the culture of the people which is given expression in their over-all philosophy of life.³⁷

This stems from the very essence of the African's cosmic vision which is not one where the universe is understood as something discrete and individuated but rather, it is conceived of as a series of interactions and interconnections. This general cosmic vision is particularly applicable in coming to an understanding of the relationship between individual and community. The individual in this context only becomes real in his relationship with others in the community. He is identified with the community. But he is also a distinct person responsible for his actions. Tom Mboya had earlier described the individual in African

community as a “social being-in-community”. Most African tribes he says, “Have a communal approach to life, a person is an individual only to the extent that he is a member of a clan, a community or a family.”³⁸ Tempels captures the essence of such thinking when he points out that Bantu psychology (I am aware of the controversy regarding whether Bantu ontology should be generalized for the whole of Africa or be simply limited to the Bantu people) cannot conceive of man as an individual, as a force existing by itself and apart from its ontological relationship with other living beings. Insisting on the sociality of the self, he states that “the Bantu cannot be a lone being”. Further, he observes that for the Bantu, “every individual forms a link in a chain of vital forces, a living link, active and passive, joined from above to the ascending line of his ancestry and sustaining below the line of his descendant.”³⁹ The outcome according to Senghor is that, “Negro-Africa society puts more stress on the group than on the individual, more on solidarity than on activity and needs of the individual, more on the communion of persons than on their autonomy.”⁴⁰ In acknowledging the communal dimension of the African way of life, Nasseem states that “the starting point of African epistemology should be the premise; we are, therefore, I am”. African philosophy is a collective mind and for the African, “I” pre-supposes a “we”. Infact ‘I’ is contingent upon ‘we’.⁴¹ The distinct nature, identity and attribute of the individual as a free being who, possess an independent will and responsible for his actions is also recognized in the African communal society. That is to say that individual has a double status in the community; one as a being in relation to others, the other as a unique individual being. Thus a man is both a unique individual and a part of social group, which itself is a part of a larger group, and so on; thus polarity between the self-assertive and integrative tendencies is a universal characteristic of life. Order and stability can prevail only when the two tendencies are in equilibrium. If one of them dominates the other, this delicate balance is disturbed and pathological conditions of various types make their appearance. Communalism should not restrict the individual from the

exercise of his basic rights and freedom even though it must see that he does not slip down to “individualism”.

3.6 EVOLUTION OF COMMUNISM TO CAPITALISM AND THE THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CAPITALISM

Henryk A. Kowalczyk notes that “Capitalism as a political system gradually has grown up in Europe since medieval times but it was about the middle of the 19th century when many people realized that, despite all of the technological progress, they could not accept the injustices of the social order associated with it.”⁴² For Henryk A. the term “capitalism” was natural for naming a system where capital and the people advanced by it capitalists flourished. “The Communist Manifesto,” published in 1848 by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, is considered as the main moment in people starting to use the terms ‘capitalism,’ ‘socialism’ and ‘communism’ as descriptions of diverse political concepts. One should note that from the start, capitalism, as the existing political system, had a bad reputation, and socialism and communism as ideas of a better future were perceived as noble.

A feudal society has three distinct social classes: a king, a noble class (which could include nobles, priests, and princes) and a peasant class. Historically, the king owned all the available land and he portioned out that land to his nobles for their use. The nobles, in turn, rented out their land to peasants. The peasants paid the nobles in produce and military service; the nobles, in turn, paid the king. Everyone was, at least nominally, in thrall to the king, and the peasants’ labour paid for everything.

For him, the social and legal system called feudalism arose in Europe during the middle Ages, but it has been identified in many other societies and times including the imperial governments of Rome and Japan.

American founding father Thomas Jefferson was convinced that the new United States was practicing a form of feudalism in the 18th century. He argued that

indentured servants and slavery were both forms of yeoman farming, in that access to land was provided by the aristocracy and paid for by the tenant in a variety of ways. Throughout history and today, feudalism arises in places where there is an absence of organized government and the presence of violence.⁴³

Under those circumstances, a contractual relationship is formed between rulers and ruled: the ruler provides access to the required land, and the rest of the people provide support to the ruler. The entire system allows the creation of a military force that protects everyone from violence within and outside. In England, feudalism was formalized into a legal system, written into the laws of the country, and codifying a tripartite relationship between political allegiance, military service, and property ownership. English feudalism is thought to have arisen in the 11th century CE under William the Conqueror,

When he had the common law altered after the Norman Conquest in 1066. William took possession of all of England and then parcelled it out among his leading supporters as tenancies (fiefs) to be held in return for services to the king. Those supporters granted access to their land to their own tenants who paid for that access by a percentage of the crops they produced and by their own military service.⁴⁴

The king and nobles provided aid, relief, wardship and marriage and inheritance rights for the peasant classes. That situation could arise because Normanized common law had already established a secular and ecclesiastical aristocracy, an aristocracy that relied heavily on the royal prerogative to function. Later on, capitalism found its ideological defenders. On the economic side it would be the Austrian School of economic thought; on the philosophical end it would be the writings of Ayn Rand; and the followers of each. Correspondingly, in the 20th century, socialistic concepts were implemented in many countries, mostly with disappointing results. However, the original attitude that capitalism is bad and socialism is good still is lingering around, as all shortcomings of the capitalistic system are often interpreted as the evidence of its inalienable and deplorable faults, but all shortcomings of the socialistic system

are interpreted as imperfections in implementations of an otherwise supreme political order.

According to Henryk A. Kowalczyk:

Most people have only a vague understanding of the differences between communism and socialism and, incorrectly, these two terms are often used interchangeably. Marx and Engels in their critique of capitalism pointed out that ruthless competition and heartless pursuit of money are immoral as they create exploitation of the masses by the very few privileged ones. As an alternative, they envisioned a classless society, without hierarchy, without currency, without personal property, where people would work in harmony, resolve their problems in friendly discussions, produce enough goods and services, and where each would contribute according to his abilities and receive according to his needs. This community-centered form of social order is called communism.⁴⁵

H. A. Kowalczyk further notes that, classic view of communism, a communist society was the ultimate goal and destination for humankind. Followers of classic communism realized that it would be impossible to switch to communism directly from a capitalistic system they deemed immoral. They believed that society needed time for transition. During that transition, called socialism, the representatives of people should be in charge of the means of production, and guide the society toward communism. This was the essence of the very existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. They had their Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but the longer they were in power; the less they talked about transition to communism. In China, their communist party ended up leading the transition to capitalism.

Communism was viewed as a political system never was implemented anywhere. Cuba was flirting with it within the first few years after the revolution. China tried to move in that direction during the Cultural Revolution. North Korea might make some claims, too. But, in reality, all of these countries always have been socialistic countries. Communism as a political reality existed mostly in the minds of undereducated American politicians and commentators.

It has a tricky legal consequence, as the question 83 on the United States naturalization test is: “*During the Cold War, what was the main concern of the United States?*” The answer claimed as correct by the U.S. government bureaucrats is “*Communism.*” If they understood the terms and knew history, they would know that communism never was nor should be any concern of the United States, but socialism is and was. Obviously, it creates a dilemma for citizenship applicants who are more knowledgeable than the U. S. Citizenship and Immigration Services officials. With communism being a lofty idea, which one day might come to fruition but most likely never will presently, capitalism and socialism are the two only practical political concepts competing for the hearts and minds of people in the U.S. and all over the world. *Socialism versus capitalism*, Capitalism just happened as it emerged from a spontaneous technological progress and associated with it, social and political developments. Socialism is a human invention; it represents a human desire to take control of the social progress. It is no coincidence that many socialists call themselves “progressives.” This approach is sometimes called a “*scientific socialism*“ as it means that for the first time in the history of humankind, people take a systematic critical view of the existing political order and by collective action decide to change it. Socialists take a lot of pride and satisfaction from forming and implementing policies that change the world, presumably for the better. Marx said it the best: “*The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it.*” Critics see this as hubris, as playing god, because humans and societies are part of nature; hence, we have no power to change the rules of nature and we never will know them well enough to play safely with the social order. The socialistic system as established almost 100 years ago in the Soviet Union was intended as an egalitarian society run by people’s representatives in the best interests of all. It does not sound too bad, and has some connotations to the American political system. The difference is in the freedoms of individuals. In socialism, by definition, the good of the society as a whole is collectively

defined, and the representatives are given powers to implement it. Those powers imply suppression of the rights and aspirations of individuals who are perceived as not going along with what is believed as the good of the society at the time. In the Soviet Union, the right to own private property was one of these rights not recognized there. The freedom of expression was another one, as it was perceived as disturbing people's thinking with obsolete and immoral capitalistic ideas. In capitalism, personal freedoms in particular, protection of private property, freedom of enterprise and freedom of expression are essential; people should be free in pursuing their economic interests. In the capitalistic system, the government's role should be solely in guaranteeing safety and equal freedoms for everyone. The concept is that the good of the society as a whole is achieved optimally if people are free from government coercion in pursuing their personal goals, be it economic, ideological, scientific, religious, philanthropic, or any other activity. Government should not be involved in any of these activities. This concept of the free market society (this is how capitalism was labelled before the term "capitalism" came into existence) to a great extent was adopted as the base of the political system in the United States at the time of its inception. Critics point out that the free market system leads to wealth disparity, and then the supposed equality of individuals becomes a fiction, as wealthy people have abundant resources to coerce others, including the government apparatus supposed to protect equality. As a result, the social divide widens, as rich become richer and poor become poorer.

One can notice that in their pure ideological concepts, capitalism and socialism are exact opposites. In socialism, people make collective decisions as to what the directions of the social and economic progress should be, and then empower their representatives to implement them. In capitalism, the sum of the actions of free individuals is considered the best for the society as a whole, and the government should accommodate these private actions and should not have any ideological agenda as to what the directions of the social and economic progress

should be. The previously cited Marx quote that “*The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it*” is interpreted by socialists as the moral imperative for the organized society to identify the desired direction of progress and forcefully implement adequate policies to achieve this goal. Supporters of capitalism believe that philosophers should not go beyond interpreting the world, and that the organized society should not establish any policies shaping the future, that the progress should be whatever happens as a sum of the uncoerced actions of individuals. *Mixing capitalism with socialism*, Henryk A. observes this first in Poland when it was a part of the Soviet Bloc. As the economy was disintegrating, the Polish government tried to implement here and there a little bit of the free market. It did not work because, as someone observed it then, it was as if the government were allowing some cars under certain conditions to follow the right-hand traffic rule, when all other cars were following the left-hand traffic rule. Capitalism and socialism are not compatible. It does not mean that people do not try tirelessly to prove it otherwise.

It started with Otto von Bismarck, the first chancellor of the united Germany, a conservative strongly opposing socialism but pragmatically acknowledging that “... *those who are disabled from work by age and invalidity have a well-grounded claim to care from the state.*” Using his influence, he introduced health insurance for workers, disability insurance, and retirement and disability benefits as well. At the same time, by the end of the 19th century, the U.S. was reaching its pinnacle as the industrial power; the wealth was seen everywhere so the extreme poverty. Many among intellectual and political leaders saw this as a crisis and looked favourably on German-style government intervention. The wealth that capitalism created was taken as a given; the disproportions in the wealth distribution were perceived as unacceptable. Capitalism looked obsolete; the idea that society by organized collective actions can better itself sounded progressive and morally right.

In summary of the evolution of the two concepts according to Henryk A., very few socialists advocate for nationalization of the means of production, as was done in the Soviet Union and many other countries. The mainstream thought is that privately run businesses are more efficient. However, the invisible hand of the free market is not trusted. People tend to believe that without government policies, the merciless chase of profit would bring back the ruthless exploitation of the weak and unprivileged. Proponents of the free market argue that the ever-growing net of regulations cramps businesses to the point that free enterprise is a fiction, as formally private businesses are becoming an extension of the government bureaucracy. In response, proponents of socialism point to the example of the Scandinavian countries, which have a very high standard of living and generous social programs, thanks to the very intrusive government regulations and high taxes imposed on the rich. This argument ignores that Scandinavian countries are small and homogeneous, with traditions of community rule. What works there does not apply in large, diversified societies. Also, one needs to notice that their socialized version of capitalism can prosper only because they tap into the innovation engine of the worldwide free market. Coming down to Africa the receiving end of every political policy, their case is different due to the copy-cat mentality of the continent, which they fail to add some fundamental values of their culture to help the new acquired policy to stand the test of time according to Henryk A.'s view above. This research in that light will examine Asia and Africa which were both among the third world countries and how some countries in Asia are developed and Africa as a whole is still striving to be developed, and the role of communism and capitalism towards development in both continent.

Towing the line of Agbakoba's view, the newly emerged economies of Asia are enveloped into what he called 'emergent capitalism', which is a sort of affirmative capitalist collaboration. This model is developed by expanding capitalist possibilities in all spheres as much as possible (in production, markets, including labour markets, profits, *et cetera*) and

involving the older established capitalist economies as much as possible in this expansion and the sharing of the gains thereof. This is a solidaristic and collaborative model in which the newly emerging economy expands capitalist possibilities and profits to the benefit of the established economies and itself by among other things ensuring productive justice. This model for Agbakoba

Affirms capitalism by not only choosing it as a path to economic development but also actively exploring the structures and the possibilities within capitalism (including especially international capitalism). This includes having adequate social reactivity, agential integrity, self-reconstruction, self-determination and gumption; and thus being actively creative, reasonably well ordered and disciplined, thrifty, shrewd, trustworthy (including especially with the security of investments, life and property), being actively mindful of productive justice in the capitalist system and the related capacity of being in possession of a good degree of what I may refer to as capitalist solidarity-this is the capacity, to allow investors, producers, businesses, capitalists generally (local and foreign) to keep highly attractive levels of their profit in order to maintain or boost an economy the justification of which shall be seen shortly. One may contrast in this regard Lee Kuan Yew's sustained courting of the established capitalist nations with generous conditions of human and capital investment with Ghana's policy on Africanisation of the Civil Service and Nigeria's Nigerianization policies.⁴⁶

As cited by Agbakoba, One of the first things Nkrumah did in office was to put in place an Africanisation policy, which was basically a programme of speeding up the takeover of the Ghanaian Civil Service by Africans (Ghanaians) with the appropriate modicum of qualifications and experience.⁴⁷ This sort of policy will apparently send a clear message that Westerners, whether in the colonial service or freshly recruited after independence, were there as long as they were seen as useful and when no African was there to take over their jobs without regard to merit or seniority, and thus they had no job security. Nkrumah was conscious of this, so he did all that he could to ensure that it was not so perceived, particularly

because he in actuality lacked the manpower to run the public service should the Europeans depart *en masse*, and he believed he succeeded in preventing this sort of reaction to the policy.⁴⁸ However, regardless of the measures he took and the assurances he gave, the existence of this policy in the first instance is discriminatory; obviously, qualified Ghanaians will be employed and promoted in the Civil Service and other government institutions in the newly independent countries according to the standards of merit and efficiency inherited from the British, so unless there was going to be some special consideration of the African, there was no point embarking on an Africanisation policy and this notion of a special consideration of the African is discriminatory because the lives and careers of people (Europeans) were involved and so it would amount to reverse racism and inhumanity on a universalist construal of justice that weighs and balances total interactions and their consequences. More specifically, once, one finds the need to employ a former colonizer, one is trying to gain something from the former colonizer and it stands to reason that the new relationship, including the colonial past, should be judged on the basis of total gains and losses by both parties and on fair, equitable and humane treatment in the present and future, as noted by Agbaoba.

Any form of discriminatory treatment would deny them a future and denigrates their humanity; it can only be “justifiable” on the basis of revenge or retribution, yet the matter is not presented as trial and punishment for colonization, the rules for which, and the debate about which, would be completely different the policy was in breach of productive justice. The proper option was not to go “forcing” the process of increasing the presence of Africans in senior civil service positions but to allow “natural Africanisation” since ever few Britons will come seeking public service jobs in Ghana over time.⁴⁹

Nigeria had a similar policy as well as the nationalist economic policy for Agbakoba, that was called ‘Indigenization Policy’ in the early 1970s, which implemented the expropriation of foreign, especially Western businesses, which is also reverse racism, inhumanity and injustice

going by a universal construal of justice, including especially that the beneficiaries of this indigenization was not the general public or the workers as such but “well placed” individual citizens. From the 1960s to the early 1980s, Nigeria made as if it wanted to partner with the West as a developmental state but, in actuality, created conditions that would make this a failure; he notes:

.....Further, Nigeria has since not been able to attract significant numbers of Multinationals relative to her economic potentials or create home-grown ones in any significant number or even generate strong indigenous public limited liability companies (one of the classical disasters in this regard in the past twenty years was the highly publicized Transcorp Plc, which was advertised as 100% Nigerian; and which became, rather quickly, virtually a 100% failure).⁵⁰

For Agbakoba, the lessons from the capitalist protocols involved in the Affirmative Capitalist Collaboration model is that the aspirant developing state has to service the capitalist machine for a period during which she generates wealth out of her creativity, ingenuity, resourcefulness and energy for the old established capitalists, some of whom might be their former colonial rulers and for herself and during which she undergoes some sort of capitalist apprenticeship, rather socialization because the state acquires not just a specific trade but an entire mode of being involving transformations in all spheres of life. This demands purposivity, involving a certain type of vision, gumption, generosity of spirit, and a conceptualization of justice and responsibility on a grand temporal scale that includes the past, present and future. Put in another way, the new states that desire development have to pay their development club registration fees and dues “make sacrifices” to the established capitalist states and at the same time be disciplined, creative and resourceful enough to socialize capitalistically and take advantage of the openings that their payments of capitalist club membership dues give them in a sense, this is like payments people make to join social clubs, their subsequent socialization and gains in diverse ways or payments for copyrights. There are problematic and thorny issues

of humanity and justice, including, especially, aspects of productive justice, in Affirmative Capitalist Collaboration as a model of development, nationally and internationally in terms of the structures of the capitalist system and the relations between states and justice for individuals and communities..... This research follows the path of Agbakoba's detailed argument, and further concludes that whatever that is hindering development in Africa is not something external, but something within Africa. Africans need to modify their cultures to suit different development strides around the world, in which communalism in Africa should be modified to suit capitalism and policies of the government to be favourable to its masses, for Africans to meet up with the rest of the world in terms of globalization of the continent.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THEORIES OF GLOBALIZATION AND ITS INFLUENCE IN AFRICA

Westernization of African continent can be seen as one of the major historical factors, which have shaped the life and thinking of Africans, which also disorganized the social life of the Africa in a communal setting.

4.1 Theories of Globalization

Globalization refers to the process of the intensification of economic, political, social and cultural relations across international boundaries. It is principally aimed at the transcendental homogenization of political and socio-economic theory across the globe, after the end of Cold War, the proliferation of internet, and neo-liberal trade policies all contributed to a greater sense of global interconnectedness in the 1990s. Academics, politicians, and pundits explained these changes in terms of a global identity and a global process of modernization. These worldviews fit under the broad umbrella of globalization. Globalization theories emphasize cultural and economic factors as the main determinants which affect the social and political conditions of African nations, and globalization has also been explained as a strategy in the contest for power between several major western nations in contemporary world politics. There are many theories of globalization, but William Robinson sample these range of theoretical discourse on which scholars researching on globalization may draw. This and many other theories have informed empirical research into global processes, helped recast varied current social science agenda in light of globalization, and provided paradigmatic points of reference for studying social change in the twenty-first century. Robinson summarized them in these categories: World-system theory, theories of global capitalism, theories of space, place and globalization, theories of transnationality and transnationalism, modernity, postmodernity and globalization, and theories of global culture.

4.1.1 World-System Theory

Some see the world-system paradigm as a ‘precursor’ to globalization theories, and indeed, as Arrighi has observed, “world-systems analysis as a distinctive sociological paradigm emerged at least 15 years before the use of globalization as a signifier that blazed across the headlines and exploded as a subject of academic research and publication.”¹ Yet what is distinctive to world-systems theory is not that it has been around longer than more recent globalization theories.

Rather, this paradigm and certainly its principal progenitor, Immanuel Wallerstein tends to view globalization not as a recent phenomenon but as virtually synonymous with the birth and spread of world capitalism, World-systems theory shares with several other approaches to globalization a critique of capitalism as an expansionary system that has come to encompass the entire world over the past 500 years. As elaborated by Wallerstein, it is constituted on the proposition that the appropriate unit of analysis for macro social inquiry in the modern world is neither class, nor state/society, or country, but the larger historical system, in which these categories are located. The capitalist world-economy that emerged in Europe and expanded outward over the next several centuries, absorbing in the process all existing mini systems and world-empires, establishing market and production networks that eventually brought all peoples around the world into its logic and into a single worldwide structure.²

Hence, by the late nineteenth century there was but one historical system that had come to encompass the entire planet, the capitalist world system, a truly ‘global enterprise.’ It is in this sense that world-system theory can be seen as a theory of globalization even if its principal adherents reject the term globalization. A key structure of the capitalist world-system is the division of the world into three great regions, or geographically based and hierarchically organized tiers. The first is the core, or the powerful and developed centres of the system, originally comprised of Western Europe and later expanded to include North America and Japan. The second is the periphery, those regions that have been forcibly subordinated to the core through colonialism or other means, and in the formative years of the capitalist world-

system would include Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Third is the semi-periphery, comprised of those states and regions that were previously in the core and are moving down in this hierarchy, or those that were previously in the periphery and are moving up. Values flow from the periphery to the semi-periphery, and then to the core, as each region plays a functionally specific role within an international division of labour that reproduces this basic structure of exploitation and inequality. Another key feature of this world-system is the centrality and immanence of the inter-state system and inter-state rivalry to the maintenance and reproduction of the world-system.

The world-system paradigm does not see any transcendence of the nation-state system or the centrality of nation-states as the principal component units of a larger global system. Other structural constants in the world-system are cyclical rhythms of growth and crisis, several secular trends such as outward expansion, increasing industrialization and commodification, struggles among core powers for hegemony over the whole system, and the oppositional struggles of 'anti systemic forces'. Some would consider the world-system approach not a theory of globalization but an alternative theory of world society.³

This, however, would depend on how we define the contested concept of globalization. If a bare-bones definition is intensified interconnections and interdependencies on a planetary scale and consciousness of them, then certainly world-system theory is a cohesive theory of globalization, organized around a 500 year time scale corresponding to the rise of a capitalist world-economy in Europe and its spread around the world, and must be included in any survey of globalization theories. On the other hand, however, it is not self-identified as a theory of globalization is not a theory of the worldwide social changes of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and there is no specific concept of the global in world-system literature. Wallerstein has himself been dismissive of the concept of globalization. 'The processes that are usually meant when we speak of globalization are not in fact new at all. They have existed for some 500 years.' Wallerstein has put forward an explanation of late

twentieth/early twenty-first century change from the logic of world-system theory as a moment of transition in the system. In an essay titled *Globalization or the Age of Transition?* “He analyzes the late twentieth and early twenty-first century world conjuncture as a ‘moment of transformation’ in the world-system, a ‘transition in which the entire capitalist world-system will be transformed into something else.’ In this analysis, the system has entered into a terminal crisis and will give way to some new, as of yet undetermined historical system by the year 2050.”⁴ Wallerstein’s thesis on the terminal crisis of the system can be said to provide an explanation for social change in the age of globalization consistent with his own world-system theory.

4.1.2 Theories of Global Capitalism

Another set of theories is what W. I. Robinson catalogued here as a global capitalism school, shares with the world-systems paradigm the critique of capitalism, an emphasis on the long-term and large-scale nature of the processes that have culminated in globalization, and the centrality of global economic structures. Yet this group of theories differs from the world-system paradigm in several essential respects. In particular, these theories tend to see globalization as a novel stage in the evolving system of world capitalism (hence these theorists tend to speak of capitalist globalization), one with its own, qualitatively new features that distinguish it from earlier epochs. They focus on a new global production and financial system that is seen to supersede earlier national forms of capitalism, and emphasize the rise of processes that cannot be framed within the nation-state/inter-state system that informs world-system theory and indeed, much traditional macro social theory. Sklair notes that:

A ‘theory of the global system’, at the core of which are ‘transnational practices’ (TNPs) as operational categories for the analysis of transnational phenomena. These TNPs originate with non-state actors and cross-state borders. The model involves TNPs at three levels: the economic, whose agent is transnational capital; the political, whose agent is a transnational capitalist class (TCC); and the cultural-

ideological, whose agent is cultural elites. Each practice, in turn, is primarily identified with a major institution. The transnational corporation is the most important institution for economic TNPs; the TCC for political TNPs; and the culture-ideology of consumerism for transnational cultural-ideological processes. Locating these practices in the field of a transnational global system.⁵

Sklair thus sets about to explain the dynamics of capitalist globalization from outside the logic of the nation-state system and critiques the ‘state-centrism’ of much extant theorizing. His theory involves the idea of the TCC as a new class that brings together several social groups who see their own interests in an expanding global capitalist system: the executives of transnational corporations; ‘globalizing bureaucrats, politicians, and professionals’, and ‘consumerist elites’ in the media and the commercial sector.

Robinson has advanced a related theory of global capitalism involving three planks: transnational production, transnational capitalists and a transnational state. An ‘epochal shift’ has taken place with the transition from a world economy to a global economy. In earlier epochs, each country developed a national economy that was linked to others through trade and finances in an integrated international market. The new transnational stage of world capitalism involves the globalization of the production process itself, which breaks down and functionally integrates what were previously national circuits into new global circuits of production and accumulation.⁶

Transnational class formation takes place around these globalized circuits. Like Sklair, Robinson analyzes the rise of a TCC as the class group that manages these globalized circuits. Transnationally oriented fractions achieved hegemony over local and national fractions of capital in the 1980s and 1990s in most countries of the world, capturing a majority of national state apparatuses, and advancing their project of capitalist globalization. Globalization creates new forms of transnational class relations across borders and new forms of class cleavages globally and within countries, regions, cities and local communities, in ways quite distinct from the old national class structures and international class conflicts and alliances. However,

in distinction to Sklair, for whom state structures play no role in the global system, Robinson theorizes an emergent transnational state (TNS) apparatus. A number of globalization theories see the rise of such supranational political and planning agencies as the Trilateral Commission, the World Economic Forum, the Group of Seven and the World Trade Organization, as signs of incipient transnational or global governance structure. Robinson, however, wants to get beyond what he sees as a national-global duality in these approaches. This TNS is a loose network comprised of supranational political and economic institutions together with national state apparatuses that have been penetrated and transformed by transnational forces. National states as components of a larger TNS structure now tend to serve the interests of global over national accumulation processes. The supranational organizations are staffed by transnational functionaries who find their counterparts in transnational functionaries who staff transformed national states.

These 'transnational state cadres' act as midwives of capitalist globalization. The nature of state practices in the emergent global system 'resides in the exercise of transnational economic and political authority through the TNS apparatus to reproduce the class relations embedded in the global valorisation and accumulation of capital'. Hardt and Negri's twin studies, *Empire* (2000) and *Multitude* (2004), have been referred to by some as a postmodern theory of globalization that combines Marx with Foucault. They take the global capitalism thesis a step further, proposing an empire of global capitalism that is fundamentally different from the imperialism of European domination and capitalist expansion of previous eras. This is a normalized and decentred empire a new universal order that accepts no boundaries and limits, not only in the geographic, economic and political sense, but in terms of its penetration into the most remote recesses of social and cultural life, and indeed, even into the psyche and biology of the individual. While for Sklair and Robinson the TCC is the key agent of capitalist globalization, for Hardt and Negri there is no such identifiable agent. In more Foucaultian fashion, an amorphous empire seems to be a ubiquitous but faceless power structure that is everywhere yet centred nowhere in particular and squares off against 'the multitude', or collective agencies from below. Other variants of the global capitalism thesis have been taken up

by McMichael (2000), Ross and Trachte (1990), and Went (2002), among others.⁷

There is as well a considerable amount of theoretical work on globalization among international relations (IR) scholars, a sub discipline that has come under special challenge by globalization given that it is centrally concerned by definition with the state system and the interstate system. Here there is a tension between those theories that retain a national/international approach and view the system of nation-states as an immutable structural feature of the larger world or inter-state system, and those that take transnational or global approaches that focus on how the system of nation-states and national economies are becoming transcended by transnational social forces and institutions grounded in a global system rather than the interstate system, as noted by Robinson. Notable here is the “neo-Gramscian school in IR, so-called because these scholars have applied the ideas of Antonio Gramsci to attempt to explain changes in world power structures and processes from a global capitalism perspective.”⁸ Scholars from the neo-Gramscian school have been closely identified with the works of Cox, and have explored the rise of new global social forces and sets of transnational class relations, and internationalization of the state, and transnational hegemony and counter-hegemony in global society.

4.1.3 Theories of Space, Place and Globalization

This notion of ongoing and novel reconfigurations of time and social space is central to a number of globalization theories. It in turn points to the larger theoretical issue of the relationship of social structure to space, the notion of space as the material basis for social practices, and the changing relationship under globalization between territoriality/geography, institutions, and social structures. For Anthony Giddens, the conceptual essence of globalization is ‘time-space distancing’. Echoing a common denominator in much, if not all, globalization theories, Giddens defines time-space distancing as the “intensification of

worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa social relations are ‘lifted out’ from local contexts of interaction and restructured across time and space.”⁹ In a distinct variant of this spatio-temporal motif, David Harvey in his books *The Condition of Post-modernity*, argues that “globalization represents a new burst of ‘time-space compression’ produced by the very dynamics of capitalist development.”¹⁰ While Harvey’s concept is similar to that of Giddens, the former’s involves a normative critique of the global capitalist order and its restructuring whereas the latter would seem to be almost celebratory.

What Harvey means by time-space compression is the process whereby time is reorganized in such a way as to reduce the constraints of space, and vice-versa. Here Harvey is close to the global capitalism thesis (although he does not refer specifically to a new epoch in the history of world capitalism), and as well to world system theory, in that a key causal determinant in the new burst of time-space compression that started in the late twentieth century was the cyclical crises of capitalism. In particular, the world economic crisis that began in the early 1970s led to the breakdown of the old Fordist-Keynesian model and the development of flexible accumulation models. Drawing on Marx’s analysis of accumulation crises, Harvey shows how each major crisis in the historical development of capitalism has been resolved, in part, with new forms of social organization of capitalism made possible by new technologies and predicated on successive waves of time-space compression. And Harvey also makes reference to Marx’s characterization of capitalist expansion as the ‘annihilation of time through space’. The matter of a transformation in the spatial dynamics of accumulation and in the institutional arrangements through which it takes place is taken up by Saskia Sassen, whose works have generated new imageries of a restructuring of space and place under globalization. Sassen’s modern classic *The Global City* (1991) has had an exceptionally broad impact across the disciplines and left an indelible mark on the emergent field of globalization studies.¹¹

Sassen’s study is grounded in a larger body of literature on ‘world cities’ that view world-class cities as sites of major production, finances or coordinating of the world economy within an international division of labour, and more recent research on ‘globalizing cities.’ Sassen

proposes that a new spatial order is emerging under globalization based on a network of global cities and led by New York, London and Tokyo. These global cities are sites of specialized services for transnationally mobile capital that is so central to the global economy. This global economy has involved the global decentralization of production simultaneous to the centralization of command and control of the global production system within global cities. “Here Sassen draws on the basic insight from the sociology of organization that any increase in the complexity of social activity must involve a concomitant increase in the mechanisms of coordination. Global cities linked to one another become ‘command posts’ of an increasingly complex and globally fragmented production system.”¹² It is in these cities that the myriad of inputs, services and amenities are to be found that make possible centralized coordination. In Sassen’s words, ‘the combination of spatial dispersal and global integration has created a new strategic role for major cities.’

Sassen identifies four key functions of the global city: (1) they are highly concentrated command posts in the organization of the world economy; (2) they are key locations for finances and for specialized service firms providing ‘producer services’, which are professional and corporate services inputs for the leading global firms such as finances, insurance, real estate, accounting, advertising, engineering and architectural design; (3) they are sites for the production and innovation of these producer services and also headquarters for producer-service firms; (4) they are markets for the products and innovations produced and in these cities. Sassen documents how New York, London and Tokyo as the quintessential global cities have restructured from manufacturing centres to producer service centres, and how producer service activities become ‘networked’ across global cities. The social order of the global city shatters the illusions of the affluent service economy proposed by such commentators as Bell (1976) and Toffler (1980).¹³

Producer service jobs are global economy jobs, yet they involve a new class and spatial polarization, involving new high-income sectors involved in professional work such as investment management, research and development, administration and personnel, and so on,

and enjoying affluent lifestyles made possible by global economy. On the other side are low income groups providing low-skilled services such as clerical, janitorial, security and personal services. These low-income groups are largely constituted by transnational migrants drawn from Third World zones. In these global cities we see a concentration of new gendered and racialized transnational labour pools increasingly facing the casualization and informalization of work. What this all represents is ‘a redeployment of growth poles’ in the global economy. Global cities are new surplus extracting mechanisms vis-à-vis transnational hinterlands.

The spatial and social reorganization of production associated with dispersion makes possible access to peripheralized labour markets, whether abroad or at home, without undermining that peripheral condition. This new transnational structure creates new forms of articulation between different geographic regions and transforms their roles in the global economy. It involves as well a global hierarchy of cities. The stock markets of New York, London and Tokyo, for example, are linked to those of a large number of countries, among them Hong Kong, Mexico City, Sao Paulo and Johannesburg. Global cities draw our attention to another leading motif in globalization theory, how to conceive of the local and the global.¹⁴

Roland Robertson’s concept of glocalization suggests that the global is only manifest in the local by glocalization, Robertson means that “ideas about home, locality and community have been extensively spread around the world in recent years, so that the local has been globalized, and the stress upon the significance of the local or the communal can be viewed as one ingredient of the overall globalization process.”¹⁵ For Appadurai, “locality is less a physical than ‘a phenomenological property of social life’ and involves in the age of globalization new translocalities, by which he means local communities located in particular nation-states but culturally and phenomenologically existing beyond the local and national context (such as tourist localities).”¹⁶ For others, the local-global link means identifying how global processes have penetrated and restructured localities in new ways, organically linking local realities to global processes. Burawoy and his students have called for a global ethnography, “their

diverse locally situated studies show how ‘ethnography’s concern with concrete, lived experience can sharpen the abstractions of globalization theories into more precise and meaningful conceptual tools.’¹⁷

4.1.4 Theories of Transnationality and Transnationalism

Although limited in the questions it can answer, the study of global cities gives us a glimpse of how transnationalized populations reorganize their spatial relations on a global scale, a topic taken up as well, and with quite a different perspective, by theories of transnationality and transnationalism.

The former refers to the rise of new communities and the formation of new social identities and relations that cannot be defined through the traditional reference point of nation-states. The latter, closely associated, denotes a range of social, cultural and political practices and states brought about by the sheer increase in social connectivity across borders. Transnationalism is referred to more generally in the globalization literature as an umbrella concept encompassing a wide variety of transformative processes, practices and developments that take place simultaneously at a local and global level. Transnational processes and practices are defined broadly as the multiple ties and interactions-economic, political, social and cultural-that link people, communities and institutions across the borders of nation-states. Within the field of immigration studies, transnationalism came to refer to the activities of immigrants to forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link their societies of origin and settlement as a single unified field of social action. Innovations in transportation and communications have made possible a density and intensity of links not previously possible between the country of origin and of settlement. This, in turn, has allowed for these communities to live simultaneously in two or more worlds or to create and live in ‘transnational spaces’ to a degree not previously known.¹⁸

Recognizing this new reality, the scholarly literature undertook a paradigm shift from international migration to transnational migration, and began to refer to these communities as transnational communities.

Such communities come in different varieties, including those formed by new immigrant groups migrating to First World countries, as well as those older diasporic populations whose status and attitude is continuously influenced by the accelerating pace of economic, cultural and institutional globalization. Scholars such as Levitt (2001), Smith and Guarnizo (1998), and Portes and his colleagues (1999) point to the novel character of transnational links in the era of globalization. Transnational ties among recent immigrants are more intense than those of their historical counterparts due to the speed and relatively inexpensive character of travel and communications and that the impact of these ties is increased by the global and national context in which they occur (Levitt 2001, Portes 1995; Portes et al. 1999). Transnational migration theorists have in this regard questioned seemingly dichotomous and mutually exclusive categories, such as external vs internal, national vs international, sending vs receiving countries, sojourner vs settler, citizen vs non-citizen, and to look for continuities and overlaps between and among them. Scholars working within the framework of transnationalism generally see transnational links, activities and spaces as both an effect of globalization and as a force that helps to shape, strengthen and fuel it. The immigrants and non immigrants who create these links and spaces are seen not only as objects upon which globalization acts but also as subjects who help to shape its course. Another set of questions these theories take up is the extent to which, and in what ways, transnational practices increase the autonomy and power of the migrants and non migrants engaged in them; to what extent transnational ties or spaces are liberating or to what extent they reinforce or challenge existing power structures.¹⁹

The concepts of transnationality and transnationalism have increasingly been given a broader interpretation beyond immigration studies. In acknowledgment of the broad and expanding range of experiences that are truly transnational, scholars have argued that the transnational experience should be conceived as involving several layers and that transnationality should be understood as a form of experience that cannot be restricted to immigrant groups. The experience involves, for instance, the transnational mobility of more affluent sectors, such as professional and managerial groups. Transnationality must be seen as constructed through class and racial boundaries and as a gendered process. Transnational social spaces can extend

into other spaces, including spaces of transnational sexuality, musical and youth subcultures, journalism, as well as a multitude of other identities, ranging from those based on gender to those based on race, religion or ethnicity. They also involve communities constructed by members of professional and non-governmental associations.

Members of cultural communities who live in different countries but remain connected to each other through their cultural taste or pastimes may also construct transnational communities. Transnational social spaces, hence, are constructed through the accelerated pace of transnational practices of actors worldwide. These practices become routine to social life and may involve transient as well as more structured and permanent interactions and practices that connect people and institutions from different countries across the globe. Transnationalism/ality has also been central to theories of ethnic group formation and racialization in global society. These theories have focused on transnational immigrant labour pools and new axes of inequality based on citizenship and non citizenship (see, e.g., Espiritu 2003). A popular motif in post-colonial theory is a view of globalization as a new phase in post-colonial relations (Wai 2002). Similarly, studies of transnationalism have emphasized the gendered nature of transnational communities, changing gender patterns in transnational migration, and the impact of globalization and transnationalism on the family.²⁰

There has been an explosion of research and theoretical reflection on women, gender and globalization. Predicated on the recognition that the varied processes associated with globalization are highly gendered and affect women and men differently, research has taken up such themes as young women workers in export-processing enclaves, the feminization of poverty, and the rise of transnational feminisms. Notable here is Parrenas's theory of the 'international division of reproductive labour'. Women from poor countries are relocating across nation-states in response to the high demand for low-wage domestic work in richer nations. A global South to global North flow of domestic workers has emerged, producing a global economy of care-giving work and a 'new world domestic order' in which reproductive

activities themselves become transnationalized within extended and transnationally organized households, in broader transnational labour markets, and in the global economy itself.

4.1.5 Modernity, Postmodernity and Globalization

Another set of theoretical approaches to globalization refers to the process in terms of modernities and post-modernities. Some theories concluded that we are now living in a postmodern world while others argue that globalization has simply radicalized or culminated the project of modernity. Robertson, Giddens, and Meyer and his colleagues take this latter view. For Robertson, an early pioneer in globalization theory, the process represents the universalization of modernity. In his 1992 study, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, Robertson provided perhaps the most widely accepted definition of globalization among scholars:

‘Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole... both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century.’ In what appears as a clear application of the Parsonian social system to the globe as a whole, the ‘global field’ is constituted by cultural, social and phenomenological linkages between the individual, each national society, the international system of societies and humankind in general, in such a way that the institutions of modernity become universal. But Robertson’s particular theory is also centrally concerned with the subjective, cultural and phenomenological dimensions of globalization, to which I will return below. For Giddens, who advances a similar construct, this universalization of modernity is central to the very concept of globalization.²¹

This process involves the universalization of the nation-state as the political form, the universalization of the capitalist system of commodity production, a Foucaultian surveillance by the modern state, and the centralization of control of the means of violence within an industrialized military order. Here Giddens views globalization, defined earlier as ‘time-space distanciation’, as the outcome of the completion of modernization he terms it ‘late modernity’

on the basis of the nation-state as the universal political form organized along the four axes of capitalism, industrialism, surveillance and military power. Hence the title of his noted 1990 publication, (globalization constitutes) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Meyer and his colleagues put forward an institutional and network analysis to globalization that can be viewed as a cultural as well as an institutional theory of globalization, and they have alternatively referred to their approach in terms of 'world polity' and of 'world society', as distinct from global society. "Globalization is seen as the spread and ultimate universalization of sets of modern values, practices and institutions through 'isomorphic' processes that operate on a global scale. The growth of supranational institutional networks and of universal modern norms of organization bring about what they refer to as 'world society.'"²² Educational institutions are singled out as central to the isomorphic transmission of culture and values that become global in scope.

For Albrow, in contrast, the transition from modern to postmodern society is the defining feature of globalization. A new 'global age' has come to supersede the age of modernity. Albrow argues that globalization signals the end of the 'modern age' and the dawn of a new historic epoch, the 'global age'. In Albrow's Weberian construct, the quintessence of the modern age was the nation-state, which was the primary source of authority, the centralized means of violence, and of identity among individuals, and hence the locus of social action. However, the contradictions of the modern age has resulted in the decentring of the nation-state, so that under globalization both individuals and institutional actors such as corporations relate directly to the globe, rendering the nation-state largely redundant. As the nation-state is replaced by the globe, the logic of the modern age becomes replaced by a new logic in which the globe becomes the primary source of identity and arena for social action. Much of the literature on modernity, postmodernity and globalization exhibits certain continuity with an earlier generation of modernization theories associated with development sociology, so that globalization is insinuated to be a continuation at the global level of the processes of modernization that were formally studied and theorized at the nation-state level.²³

According to Robinson, from this genealogical perspective, that if mainstream modernization theory has metamorphized into theories of global modernity and postmodernity, early radical theories of development have metamorphized into theories of the world-system, global capitalism, time-space compression, global cities, and so on. Nonetheless, another striking feature of the set of theories associating globalization with modernity and postmodernity is the continued centrality accorded to the nation-state and the inter-state system, in contrast to propositions on the transcendence of the nation-state that constitute a core motif of competing theories.

4.1.6 Theories of Global Culture

Finally, a number of theories are centrally, if not primarily concerned with the subjective dimension of globalization and tend to emphasize globalizing cultural forms and flows, belief systems and ideologies over the economic and the political. Such approaches distinctively problematize the existence of a ‘global culture’ and ‘making the world a single place’ whether as a reality, a possibility or a fantasy. They emphasize the rapid growth of the mass media and resultant global cultural flows and images in recent decades, “evoking the image famously put forth by Marshall McLuhan of ‘the global village’. Cultural theories of globalization have focused on such phenomena as globalization and religion, nations and ethnicity, global consumerism, global communications and the globalization of tourism.”²⁴ For Robertson

The rise of global or planetary consciousness, meaning that individual phenomenologies will take as their reference point the entire world rather than local or national communities, is part of a very conceptual definition of globalization. Such a global consciousness means that the domain of reflexivity becomes the world as a whole. Hence ‘the world has moved from being merely “in itself” to being “for itself.” In Robertson’s account, the gradual emergence of a global consciousness, an awareness of the world as a single place, signals a Durkheimian collective conscience that becomes now a global consciousness.²⁵

Cultural theories of globalization tend to line up along one of three positions. Homogenization theories see a global cultural convergence and would tend to highlight the rise of world beat, world cuisines, world tourism, uniform consumption patterns and cosmopolitanism. Heterogeneity approaches see continued cultural difference and highlight local cultural autonomy, cultural resistance to homogenization, cultural clashes and polarization, and distinct subjective experiences of globalization. Here we could also highlight the insights of post-colonial theories. Hybridization stresses new and constantly evolving cultural forms and identities produced by manifold transnational processes and the fusion of distinct cultural processes. These three theses certainly capture different dimensions of cultural globalization but there are very distinct ways of interpreting the process even within each thesis.

Ritzer coined the now popularized term 'McDonaldization' to describe the sociocultural processes by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant came to dominate more and more sectors of US and later world society. Ritzer, in this particular homogenization approach, suggests that Weber's process of rationalization became epitomized in the late twentieth century in the organization of McDonald's restaurants along seemingly efficient, predictable and standardized lines an instrumental rationality (the most efficient means to a given end) – yet results in an ever deeper substantive irrationality, such as alienation, waste, low nutritional value and the risk of health problems, and so forth. This commodification and rationalization of social organization spreads throughout the gamut of social and cultural processes, giving us 'McJobs', 'McInformation', 'McUniversities', 'McCitizens' and so forth. As McDonaldization spreads throughout the institutions of global society cultural diversity is undermined as uniform standards eclipse human creativity and dehumanizes social relations. Ritzer's McDonaldization thesis is part of a broader motif in critical approaches to the cultural homogenization thesis that emphasize 'coca-colonization', hyperconsumerism and a world of increasingly Westernized cultural uniformity (indeed, v 'McWorld'). Ritzer has himself more recently extended the McDonaldization thesis with the notion of the 'globalization of nothing', by which he means culturally meaningful institutions, sites and practices locally controlled and rich in indigenous content 'something' are being replaced by (corporate driven)

uniform social forms devoid of distinctive substance
'nothing'.²⁶

Another recurrent theme among cultural theories of globalization is universalism and particularism. While some approaches see particularisms as being wiped out others see cultural resistance, fundamentalism and so on, a rejection of uniformity or universalism. A key problematic in these theories becomes identity representation in the new global age. Appadurai's thesis on the 'global cultural economy' refers to what he sees as the "central problem of today's global interactions, the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization."²⁷ To illustrate this tension he identifies 'global cultural flows that 'move in isomorphic paths'. These flows generate distinct images-sets of symbols, meanings, representations and values that he refers to as 'scapes', or globalized mental pictures of the social world, perceived from the flows of cultural objects.

These 'scapes' illustrate for Appadurai what he refers to as a disjunctive order, or a disjuncture between economy, culture and politics in the globalization age. Ethno-scapes and produced by the flows of people (immigrants, tourists, refugees, guest workers, etc.). Techno-scapes are produced from the flows of technologies, machinery and plant flows produced by TNCs and government agencies. Finance-scapes are produced by the rapid flows of capital, money in currency markets and stock exchanges. Media-scapes are produced by the flow of information and are repertoires of images, flows produced and distributed by newspapers, magazines, television and film.²⁸

Finally, ideo-scapes involve the distribution of political ideas and values linked to flows of images associated with state or counter-state movements, ideologies of freedom, welfare, right, and so on. These different flows, in Appadurai's view, create genuinely transnational cultural spaces and practices not linked to any national society and may be novel or syncretic; hence a disjuncture between culture and the economy and culture and politics.

4.2 Impact of Globalization to Contemporary Africa

The term globalization could mean different things to different people. It is probably one of the hotly contested concepts. It can be defined as a process of worldwide integration of economies and societies. For Ahmadu Ibrahim, the impact of globalization in Africa, its position in the international system has been “considerably weakened by the fact that it has been losing the race for economic development in general, and human development in particular, to other regions, these poor performances by African countries accounts in part for the political and social instability and rise of authoritarian regimes that have characterized much of postcolonial Africa, further weakening the ability of African countries to deal effectively with globalization.”²⁹ This does not in any way mean that globalization will be discussed on the two sides: positive and negative impacts. According to Jack Shaka, “Globalisation is the new lingo and it refers to the process of amplification of economic, political, social and cultural relations across international boundaries.”³⁰ Africa has been globalising thanks to its interactions with the rest of the world. Through these interactions, cultures are fusing in a new paradigm that can only be referred to as multicultural. “As globalisation gripped Africa, there was a rise in democracy through multiparty elections in countries like Kenya, Ghana and South Africa. Finally people had the power to elect the people they wanted through the ballot without fear of reprisals. Other countries moved from military dictatorships to civilian rule like Nigeria.”³¹ Sudan had a referendum to decide its destiny and the vote was final-South Sudan was born. Many countries in Africa finally have constitutions that are progressive in terms of the laws created. Human rights are recognised and protected in these constitutions. Kenya remains the most progressive with its 2010 constitution as compared to Uganda, Sudan and Zimbabwe among other countries in Africa.

Kenya at the moment struggles with a significant number of political unrests as a result of a more democratic space and a relatively free media that has further fuelled dissident voices. On the bright side, the peace engagements around Africa are a result of globalisation.

All world leaders want peace and do not want to see nations fall to the abyss like Somalia, Libya, Syria and Egypt. That is why the Universal Peer Review mechanism of the United Nations Human Rights Council exists to keep States in check in terms of human rights. The United Nations and other international bodies also monitor what is happening around the world through special mechanisms that are created specifically to handle salient issues touching on torture and child labour among others. Liberalisation of economies all over Africa has led to state corporations being privatised for efficiency and better service provision. Kenya privatised entities it owned in telecommunication, water, and railway as it sought better service delivery to Kenyans. With the privatisation, came fresh capital and leadership that steered the companies to greater heights. They moved from being loss-making entities to profit making entities though some are still struggling at the moment.³²

More important is the fact that globalization for most part does not facilitate the establishment of the economic conditions necessary for genuine democracy and good governance to take solid roots and thrives.

Economically, globalization has on the whole, reinforced the economic marginalization of African economies and their dependence on a few primary goods for which demand and prices are externally determined. This has in turn accentuated poverty and economic inequality as well as the ability of the vast number of Africans to participate meaningfully in the social and political life of their countries.³³

Globalization as the process of intensification of economic, political, social and cultural relations across international boundaries aimed at the transcendental homogenization of political and socio-economic theory across the globe, impacts significantly on African states through systematic restructuring of interactive phases among its nations, by breaking down barriers in the areas of culture, commerce, communication and several other fields of endeavour. These processes have impelled series of cumulative and conjectural crisis in the international division of labour and global distribution of economic and political power; thereby qualifying basic African feature to be poverty, diseases, squalor, and unemployment

among other crisis of under development. Ahmadu Ibrahim aimed to examine both the negative and the positive impacts of globalization on African states, and suggest some recommendations among which are to improve democratization process, make the task of poverty eradication more indigenous, etc. A. Ibrahim final remark is that:

African countries themselves and those that hope to assist them must first and foremost recognize this fact and commit resources and energies to harnessing the capacity of the African poor for their development. It is hoped that the global actors will realize that it is not beneficial to them or to anyone else to play globalization-game without the poor. For globalization to ultimately be beneficial to everyone, the rich and the poor all must have certain levels of capacity that permit them to effectively participate in the game. The current world, where resources and benefits are concentrated in the hands of very few, is not a comfortable world for anybody. And to sustain it is to breed future insecurity as the mass of the poor strives to get a share of the riches concentrated in the hands of the few. It is clear that globalization benefits those who have the capacity to harness it but can be very detrimental to those whom it finds not prepared. Most African States are not prepared, especially in terms of having the requisite capacity.³⁴

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CHAPTER FIVE

EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION TO COMMUNALISM IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICA

Globalization has led to individualism, which contradicts the communalistic way of living; where the community (we) matters a lot over the individual (I) in African community. This oddity in pre modern Africa and the introduction of individualism by the Europeans paved way for the existential question of communalism in contemporary Africa.

5.1 African Communalism and Globalization

Communalism is one of the most frequently used terminology to describe the socio-political and economic activities of the traditional Africa, most pertinent question ask by scholars is that, is there a brand of communalism called African communalism that is pertinent to Africa. According to Oguejiofor,

Communalism is one of the most frequently used terms to describe traditional African socio-politico-cultural and economic system. Communalism or communitarianism is thus taken to be a special and original characteristic of traditional Africa. Very often this position is taken without critical reflection. There are several attempts to explain its origin, its *raison d'etre*, and its suitability for the African condition, but here one has one of the distinguishing positive qualities bequeathed by traditional Africa to humanity, to modernity and to socio-political philosophy.¹

Emmanuel E. Etta, Dimgba D. Esowe, and Offiong O. Asukwo, in their Journal article on *African Communalism and Globalization* remark that:

The certainty of African philosophy during pre-colonial Africa is no longer in doubt. Doubting such a claim is denying the existence of the African race which may be self contradictory. As this work observes, African philosophy which is all encompassing, is inbuilt in African communalism through which indigenous Africans expressed communal feelings, world views, moral and cultural values based on closed-knit relationship among their kith and kin within a socio-cultural setting. In this connection, it is the belief of this work that the current wind of globalization that the world is embracing is of no much difference from African communalism. As such, this work suggests that each of the above should complement

the other in harnessing developmental strides while pursuing the empowerment of the global economy.²

On a universal note, “Communalism is conceived as a system that integrates communal ownership and federations of highly localized independent communities.” This was the same political structure practiced in traditional African society. Given that the present States’ or Nations’ political structure was in practice then, the African family and cultural structures under respective Kingship pattern were founded on the basis of communal principles. From the nuclear family to extended family structure, there was a family head. Many of these families produced a community with its head. The different communities within a given culture with a common language and other cultural norms formed nationhood with an overall monarch as their head. With this, “they were self-governing, autonomous entities, and in that, all members took part, directly or indirectly, in the daily running of the tribe.” Communalism in African setting promotes unity, togetherness, brotherliness and cooperation which are vital elements that propel the wheel of globalization. Emmanuel E. Etta, Dimgba D. Esowe, and Offiong O. Asukwo, argued that individualism which was as a result of globalization is always there to complement African communalism. In their closing remarks, they note that:

One cannot say categorically that individualism is entirely a Western concept, or that social cohesion (communalism) is entirely an African concept rather, it would be more reasonable to argue that they complement each other in all societies. So, this paper’s position is that individualism and/or globalization with its numerous merits and demerits has affected different societies in various ways. Likewise, communalism (African) with its merits and demerits has also affected societies in different ways. This is because over time cultural diffusion has taken place in almost all societies. Thus, whatever may be the effect of economic globalization on communalism, the fact remains that changes are inevitable. And that today Africa has been influenced culturally through cultural diffusion. This is healthy because since culture is dynamic, those obsolete aspects of culture have been removed and new ones put in place.³

However, they further argue that African communalism remains original to Africa and is foundational to our development and would always be fundamental for the future survival of Africa.

Here, we argue that whatever obstacle it may pose to economic globalization, is secondary and should be seen as a necessary evil. However, globalization with its individualistic tendencies should see communalism as complementary in its bid to make the world a global village rather than attempt to destroy basic structures of African communalism like the extended family system and others.⁴

Aborisade Olasunkanmi, examined the economic globalization and its impact on the Africans and negative effects on African communalism contrary to Emmanuel E. Etta, Dimgba D. Esowe, and Offiong O. Asukwo,

Economic globalization has had a great impact on African community. Many policies have been made most of which have a negative effect on the people. In addition to this is the lack of economic alternatives that have all combined to create various terrible living conditions across Africa. This has aggravated many crises in the traditional systems of family and communalism. Today, individualism has replaced the sense of community; mutual antagonism and suspicion have replaced unity of purpose. It affects the economy because the structure of global economy makes most people poor and this is unfair. However, whatever may be the effect of economic globalization on communalism, the fact still remains that changes are inevitable. Whatever happens in one country cannot be isolated from the global, socio-economic and political concerns of others.⁵

Globalization has its positive and negative advantages to African communalism, while on the other sense of it African communalism has its positive and negative advantage to globalization. But not without its attendant woes, wisdom calls that there is the need to sift the wheat from the chaff.

5.2 Bastardization of African Communalism

The Europeans succeeded in the dislocation of the traditional Structure, which were the bedrock of African Communalism. The period of slavery and colonialism in Africa, started before the end of the 16th century was and has been the one which the black man was often discriminated, humiliated, denied full citizenship in his own Country. The African is not left out of this maltreatment; he was treated as if he did not exist. Africans was sapped of its labour being reaped not by himself but by someone else; this black man used as a tool for the good of the white man. For Albert, “the most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from history and community.”⁶ Colonization usurps any free role in either war or peace, every decision contributing to his destiny and that of this world, and all cultural and social responsibility. The period has remained a great source of both physical and mental anguish particularly for Africans for many years. This affected the Africans in many ways especially their social life. Colonialism has almost destroyed the African culture and those things that made the African to live a communal life were removed by the Europeans. This made the Africans to understand that their culture is barbaric superstitious and outdated. Before the coming of the Europeans, the traditional African community was essentially ‘Social’. The traditional African was a community man. He built his life along indigenous socialist rules, customs and institutions. But the Europeans made him to see all these as evil today, Africans believe that it is only through socialist principles embedded in African way of life that African could hope to build a truly human and equitable society free from the ills of colonial capitalism. The African past witnessed a conflicting and confused experience in the hands of the colonial imperialists and others against her traditional values and ideals, confused and conflicting vision. The problem of cultural alienation, which besieges the African, is almost traceable or directly linked with the colonization of the African continent. The westerners that came to Africa were imbued with superiority complex in relation to this Africans. This complex was strengthened by evident cultural advantages, this experience of

slavery and this undoubted technological backwardness of the Africans. The education Europeans brought to Africans was completely Euro-based, every discipline was the study of the western countries. This is why African communalism which was based on African culture was destroyed as a result of the colonization by the Europeans. These colonizers taught us to understand them in their own way, which led African communalism to be replaced with western individualism. The Europeans ignored whatever laws the indigenous people had and decided to implant an entirely new legal system. Even though they adopted some of the customary legal institutions of the Africans but the major parts which enhanced justice and cooperative existence of the people in African communalism were removed.

The value-systems and attitudes of the African were built on their religion and tradition considering the historical movement of Euro-Christianity; one can definitely notice the continuous of religion and culture. Mbaegbu remarks that:

These foreign scholars have always found the pre-modern igbo always worshiping their gods. But of a supreme God, there appeared to be no worship. To one group of scholars, this phenomenon of “no worship” to the supreme being presented no problems after all the pre-modern igbo man was “untutored” and too “primitive” to conceptualize such a being.⁷

Christianity as imported from Europe contains strange and sometimes disgusting features of alienation which Africans are most uncomfortable. In fact, the feeling of estrangement on the part of the African Christian view against the received Western-Christianity has become extremely pronounced in the fervent search for African Self Identity. Westernism can be seen as one of the major historical factors, which have shaped the life and thinking of Africans. It has disorganized the social life of the Africa in a communal setting. The way and manner they lived their lives were dictated by the Westerners. Their fundamental human rights were trampled upon. The Africans were made not to ask questions even on issues concerning them. The blacks were regarded as not being good for anything and incapable of doing anything. The

Africans became hooked by the racial teaching of the Europeans and were regarded as not being good for anything and incapable of anything, they imbibed most of their way of life against ours, this in turn has distorted our culture in which African Communalism is been built upon. Christianity did not take into cognizance the African culture and religion. Christianity as it was preached to the African, was highly westernized, this creates serious problems and discomforts on the Africans. There were a lot of strange things contained in this preaching of Christianity. It was a difficult situation for the Africans because Christianity and its teachings were entirely different from their culture and religion. The preaching of Christianity did not suit the culture and traditions of the Africans in general and “Igbos” in particular. Madu notes that, “Euro- Christian civilization forced the African culture, African traditional religion into Coma.”⁸ This whites were fast to conclude that “any cosmology not in agreement with their western oriented world-view was only good for the dustbins.”⁹ But they failed to understand that a people’s Cosmology cannot fully explain the mysteries of existences. For Oguejiofor, “the State of religious consciousness among present day Africans is only one aspects of culture alienation.”¹⁰ Many good aspects of African religion were thrown neglected. Their symbols were descanted and their shrines were burnt in many cases. There were little or no effort to understand the African, and the religion and culture which moulded his life for so long before the advent of the Westerners. Through enculturation, most of the Africans abandoned their traditional religion. They were made to understand that their belief system was highly superstitious the Europeans achieved their aim by establishment of school, and churches where the individuals in African Communalism were taught in most cases to drop African religion for Christianity. The culture and religion, which were influenced, was left for Christianity. Man was initially filled with the traditional attitudes but western science and technology brought development, which in turn destroyed most of African belief system. The westerners taught African that they are superior to the Africans without delay; we held onto it

till today. Actually, the Africans believe that the white is superior to the blacks. It is on these premises that the Africans have discarded most of their cultural traits which constitutes the basis of African Communalism. Cultural Complexes involved making a culture to be either superior or inferior to other cultures. This started when different culture starts having contact with each other. However the real tragedy of cultural complexes came with the later generations who freely left the African cultures to embrace the European cultures. The Africans have completely initiated this white man's mode of doing things. According to Oguejiofor:

The African, not being backed by a culture and civilization resilient enough to resist the onslaught, swallowed his indoctrination without reserve. The sign of modern learning for him became how Europeanized he was, how much he was accustomed to what is foreign, and how estranged he was from his own milieu.¹¹

Fluency in the languages of the colonizers became a respected mark of learning, and the acquisition of such languages was accompanied by the forgetfulness of one's own native language. In situations like this the people that derive pride in exhibiting the white man's culture look down on those who still practice this culture wholeheartedly. However, cultural complexes, whether superior or inferior only comes to play when an individual accepts that his culture is either superior or inferior and lives it. These influences of Christianity and westernization on the individual in African Communalism have resulted in the practice of individualism.

5.3 Social Implications of Globalism to Communalism and the Future of African Culture

The changes that have encompassed the world in the recent past have obviously not left Africa unaffected, including collapse of the Soviet bloc, the end of the cold war, emergence of the uni-polar world, and marginalised role of the UN system and the victory of the neo-liberal economic and political agenda. These have affected communalistic way of living, economy

and political structures and policies in Africa. In the emerging global situation the international position of the South has considerably weakened. While the North intensified its neo-liberal offensive to integrate the economies of the South, by profound changes in trade, finance and technology, the result of which is the so-called process of Globalisation process which has been buttressed and enhanced by the *Structural Adjustment* Programme undertaken at the instance of *World Bank* and *International Monetary Fund*, themselves handmaidens of global capital, international private banks and giant corporations. The long cherished principles of growth with justice, social responsibility and accountability, *equity* and self-reliance and the principles of communalism have been rendered obsolete with the new slogans of “liberalisation”, “privatisation”, “globalisation”, “efficiency” and “competitiveness”. Globalization is bringing people from different parts of the world closer than ever before. In essence, a global village is being created, and in turns a global culture.

A growing number of people in the world are exposed to the same news in the same format through international news agencies. Further, the same people are exposed to international mass marketing of industrial goods and services. The end results of this include sweeping changes in politics and economic orientations. But most of all is the effect that these developments have on the social orientations of national cultures, particularly to Africa.¹²

Traditional economic activities, which used to be sufficient at least for subsistence living, can no longer suffice. Family members who are part of the modern economy are unable to provide for the extended family. The continent is faced with competitive market activities, which emphasize value, encourage individualism and say little about obligations and commitment to the family and community. This has caused tension among members, resulting to a consistent cause of stress in African families. The stress has threatened the fundamental African value of communalism. The best indication of family tie stress is the emergence of street children and child homelessness, which has spread all over Africa. Street children are a consequence of the

rising culture of capitalism and the declining significance of African indigenous values, under which children were reared in strong family kinship units.

In Kenya, the origins of rising numbers of homeless children lie in economic and social conditions that have brought changes in cultural traditions and family structure. Globalization and neoliberal economic reforms are easy targets for blame on shattered family ties and social practices such as child fostering, which had previously provided a safety net for children. Henriot laments about loose family ties in the following words; in a globally competitive labour market, how can we preserve time to care for ourselves, families, neighbours and friends? In a globally competitive economy, how do we find the resources to provide for those unable to provide for themselves? The labour market, brought about by globalization, has also seen to it that needs that were once provided exclusively by unpaid family labour are now purchased from the market. In almost all societies in Africa, child sitting for example was done communally by family members; mostly mothers, sisters and grandmothers. The process of globalization, however, has brought about nuclearisation of the family where families are left to solve their own problems.¹³

In their endeavour to impose their cultural values, what the global actors fail to realize, or simply ignore, is that Africa's values may not be found in material comforts as has been set by the standards of the modern world. African values are embedded within the spirit of communalism. It is through helping each other and participating in communal events that African people find joy and happiness. According to Kwame Nkrumah, "we may lack those material comforts regarded as essential by the standards of the modern world... But we have the gifts of laughter and joy, a love of Music, family ... While we seek the material, cultural and economic advancement, we shall not sacrifice the fundamental happiness."¹⁴ Though foreign values and structures are important in the development of indigenous cultures, Africa should devise ways of borrowing aspects of foreign culture, which are compatible with indigenous values and flourish alongside foreign cultures. "African countries should embrace the process of globalization with caution and avoid the dominance or any claim of superiority

by a 'super culture', we should be at a point to say who we are and what we are and to demand the representation of what is beautiful and cultural."¹⁵ Globalization makes it difficult for Africa to look for those characteristics, which express universal ideals and values to encourage them from within their various cultures.

From cultural perspective, there is no doubt that the two positions taken for and against the phenomenon of globalization, the critical question to ask is the negative effects of globalization much more than its positive effects on Africans. According to Obioha:

Personal assessment reveals here that, if pressing measures are not taken, perhaps African culture will soon run into extinction. If the various nuances and interpretations of the term globalization reveal interaction and integration of the people and nations into a common system; if the central idea of globalization is interaction and integration, then the term globalization is not new to Africa and the world at large. At various times and in various circumstances, Africa has interacted with the rest of the world. That was in the historical moments of trans-Atlantic slave trade, colonialism, post-colonialism and the present age of current globalization. At these various times and circumstances, Africa's experiences in economics, politics and culture have been worrisome, particularly her cultural experiences.¹⁶

The need for a cultural renaissance of the African experience is a product of the current cultural evolution engendered by the cultural contacts of Africans with the west in historical moments of colonialism and globalization. This cultural contact has brought about a forced acculturation that has left the rich cultural heritage of Africa in a precarious condition of imminent extinction. "More so, we observe that a lost culture is a lost society as well as an invaluable knowledge lost."¹⁷ To this extent, certain strategies are recommended that will stem the tide of cultural atrophy amidst global cultural challenges. Globalization has generated a lot of controversy with regard to the rise of a global culture. Western norms and practices are gradually being transported across the globe as the acceptable way of behaviour. In view of this, the rich and dynamic African culture has been diluted. In the world today because of

interdependence, there is a lot of cultural contact and borrowing. There has been a lot of cultural assimilation on the part of the African; colonialism encouraged the assimilation and the imbibing of the cultural values of the colonial master. “Thus, this colonial influence had a telling effect on the indigenous cultures of the people in terms of distorting, degrading and even dominating them.”¹⁸ The end of colonialism exposed Africa to the world more than before; this too has helped the de-orientation of the people from their indigenous socio-cultural values and practices. Today, the situation is worsened by the spread of Western cultural values through the process of globalization. This new trend obviously has implications for the development of the indigenous cultures, and indeed national development.

Today’s societies are multi-culture in themselves, which encompasses a multitude of varying ways of life and lifestyle. Most people are shaped by more than a single culture, which is brought about by globalization. And globalization which is a concept of uniformity assumes that cultures are becoming the same as the world. In Nigeria, the instability of personality, family, community and other activities are largely due to the rapid erosion of our absolute traditional values and not due to the advancement of information technology. Instead, technology has come to accelerate our cultural heritage. Therefore, rejecting advanced information technology or globalization is not a solution for overcoming its disintegrating effects; rather, it may be viewed as a form of escape. The only remedy in ensuring socio-cultural stability is for the agents of change (government) to repackage and re-inculcate absolute values through the use of libraries, mass media, and advanced information technologies to counter negative changes that are emerging today. Therefore very few human communities will neither want to reject technological changes or globalization, nor will they want to return to the traditional pattern of community organisation especially now that they have evolved new pattern to suit their immediate needs.¹⁹

Africa has always been sceptical of the net benefits of globalization; it seems the continent has adopted a defeatist attitude towards the process of globalization. We complain so much of how much globalization is impoverishing the continent, how it is impacting negatively on our political process and democracy, how it is destroying our physical environment and how it is

killing our cultures. We talk about all this as if we are totally at the mercy of the process of globalization, its favourable aspects and keeping its negative consequences at bay, any cultural practices noted to be totally counter-productive and has no place in the development of Africa ought to be scrapped. Globalization is speedily determining the cultural practices of the African decent, those who are slow are left behind and from indications, everyone seems to be in big rush not to be left behind. Culture of the developed economy has taken over most of the local culture. Many African prefer the cultural practices of the developed countries. From the foregoing, it is observed that globalization is characterized by keen competition and an aggressive quest for supremacy by various contending people and interest groups of the world. The culture of the African is the last frontier of defence available to the Africans to fight western imperialism, the challenge before us is to find strategies that will protect and preserve African culture. In spite of globalization's potential, it can bring out an increasing homogeneity that works against local variety, traditions, and culture. In order to maximize the gains of and eliminating the potential losses of globalization, it is worth thinking about actions can be taken in an effort to maintain the richness and diversity of local cultures around the world and ensure that they can thrive in an increasingly global and connected world. Regardless of whether one takes a positive or negative view of globalization's relationship to culture, it appears that the institutionalization of diversity may be diversity's biggest ally.

In India, Korea, and Thailand, for example, steps are being taken to stay current with emerging trends in globalization. To ensure their labour forces are educated to be productive members of the international community, these counties have aggressively embraced globalization in their education systems. However, each country has unequivocally stated that national cultural education must be a part of its learning framework. Globalization has complicated the process of education many times over, but in doing so has created many incredible opportunities for countries to break out of the traditional models of educating and work towards creating knowledge communities. The global citizen is seen as a person who can act locally but think globally, a goal that keeps an eye

on maintaining cultural diversity while exposing a country's citizens to the benefits of globalization.²⁰

The debate around globalization being positive and or negative is an ongoing one. It can provide a stronger collective identity, empower individual and group distinctiveness while at the same time provide a means for misrepresentation, disempowerment and an avenue for further colonization. Cultural diversity can be strengthened through globalization by providing the means and wherewithal to support cultural groups attempting to make a difference in society while still maintaining their distinctive set of beliefs, practices and values.

5.4 The Effects of Globalization and the Politics of Western Patronage to Africa

The phenomenon of globalization has impact on growth, income and employment in most developing countries especially in Africa. It was expected that globalization would cause a great increase in production and indirectly lead to development. This means that globalization would lead to an increase in production followed by social welfare. Instead, it has benefited the rich and further widened inequalities between industrialized and poor countries. The problems of unemployment and poverty have not been eradicated in African countries during this era of globalization. In every corner of Africa, one would notice a great influence of globalization which is a double edge sword, whereby the negative influence of globalization outweighs the positive. E. I. Ani and C. O. Abakare note that:

The huge loans and aids which are still handed down to African countries by their western counterparts may look like timely interventions in moments of crises, but will conform more to the Wikipedia definition of 'Unpayable debt' used to enslave and rule them for centuries, a debt burden intentionally created as a means of exerting political power. Saddled with huge debts they could not hope to pay, these countries are forced to acquiesce to political pressure from the west on a variety of issues, leading to a type of political neutralization and long run economic strangulation. Similarly, the insistence on trade in purview of globalization may appear to vindicate Adam Smith's statement that society grows wealthier by free

enterprise, but the imposition of such neo-liberal agenda on the third world is meant to exploit natural resources and block the emergence of a productive middle class.²¹

They further note that the determination of the west for world superiority may not be unconnected to a generational vexation with the originating of the world civilization from Africa. “This was when Egypt was the foremost technical military and imperial power in the world, and foreign vassal powers vied with each other in submissiveness....”²² Greeks entered world history only after conquering Egypt in 33bc and appropriating much of the culture of the Egyptians and Phoenicians.

This was followed by other invasions such as the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, Roma, Arabian which cumulatively and ultimately saw to southward migration of Africans amid disasters like famine, disease, slavery and death, occurring between the 13th and 19th centuries AD, this period marked the confrontation with elemental and environmental with effectively thwarted their attention away from most of their invaluable skills and arts and splintered them into the countless little independent societies and chiefdoms from which about two thousand different languages and dialects developed.”²³

This also marked the period of slavery and slave trade in Africa, Asia and the Americas, in which the bulk of productive population of black Africa was “exported” or abducted to different parts of the world, the young and the fertile minds that would have productively advanced the general civilization of Africa. These disastrous developments were later to be followed shortly by colonialism, which witnessed the massive exploitation of human and material resources in Africa by the colonialist. With the independent of African states came new measures of patronage like neo-colonialism and, recently, globalization.

The western world has insisted that trade liberalization and international trade ties are the solutions to African problems, of course they base their claims upon the classical theory of economics by Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations that society grows wealthier by free

enterprises, free market and *laisse faire*. They assume of course that Africans have read Adam Smith and take this as the basic economic theory. But in reality a “free trade” benefits the stronger and impoverishes the weaker. So the question is “privatization, Liberalization, International trade, in whose favour? ‘Incantations’ point to the developed world. When the white man claims that privatization, Liberalization, International trade have failed to lift Africa out of its poverty, they have actually succeeded as weapons of the “first world” internationally used to submerge the “third world.”

Foreign media has been carefully manipulated to convince the world that the white man has been doing all that humanly possible to lift Africa out of her ‘cycle of Poverty’; while Africa has proved that she is irredeemable to the point of ontological difference.

In February 2004, British Prime Minister Tony Blair established the Commission for Africa to examine the continent’s development problems and suggested measures that the international community should take to eradicate poverty. He also convened the Africa Progress Panel, an organization that monitors whether G8 governments fulfil the pledges of international aid. He also established the African Partnership Forum to maintain international awareness of development progress.²⁴

In short, “he has been establishing Africa-sympathetic Panels, while some politicians’ call it ‘painfully honest’, many critics regard suggested measures as unrealistic or as repetition of old, unkempt promises.”²⁵ In reality, Blair, like other developed countries’ world leaders, is plagued by a guilty complex, and they are driven by the urge to prove to the world that they are not responsible for Africa’s woes. If their hands were clean of Africa’s underdevelopment, it would make no sense to feign so much altruism and try so hard to please the audience, trying to convince the world at large that the ‘West’ has nothing to do with what Africa as a continent is passing through in terms of underdevelopment.

5.5 Globalization and Sustainable Development in Africa

Human quest for sustainable development can be traced back to the very onset of human existence; globalization should be the holistic development of humanity in ways that are sustainable for people of all races and for all generations. According to K. Prasad and V. Vatsal; opposing tendencies in Africa: globalization and sustainable development is perhaps the greatest controversy in the world today is how to make sense out of the two dominant global objectives ushering the globe into the new millennium: sustainable development and globalization. These two obviously desirable paradigms appear to have some opposing tendencies within them. Within the vortex of these two powerful and opposing tendencies lie African economies, with the wounds of poverty, civil wars, famine, overpopulation, deteriorating social conditions, increasing decay of institutional capacity, poor export performance, environmental degradation, debt burden and poorly developed human capital. The question arises; what choices and opportunities are available to the African economies under the changing global environment? What are the threats? What policy measures are required to ensure the effacement of the undesirable possibilities while reaping the desirable fruits of the evolutionary process? The answer to these questions must depend upon the point of view one adopts, unrestrained economic growth versus sustainable development. Since the sustainable development should remain the overarching societal focal point, to analyze the impact of globalization on the various ramifications of sustainable development and to suggest the policy measures for addressing the issues raised. K. Prasad and V. Vatsal remarks that:

Globalization presents both risks and opportunities for African nations. Most importantly, the risk that globalization is going to expedite the rate of the ecologically unsustainable growth in Africa. Recent evidence shows that the sinking will start from natural resource dependent economies such as Africa. Africa presently has a new opportunity to reposition itself in the world economic equation. To do this, they have to reject all the textbook frameworks for development as handed down by western powers and their agent institutions in favour of a home grown development strategy that focuses

on their specific realities. To be globally competitive in a globalizing world African nations must recognize the contributions of natural capital to their economy and make offsetting re-investments; train their local labour force; ensure that local companies are, to a larger extent, owned by the local people and managed by competent hands; ensure that profits are re-invested at home rather than expatriated; innovations in technology should be vigorously developed in the country rather than imported.²⁶

African perspectives on globalization are diverse but mostly apprehensive. Many African leaders are publicly critical of it but few have dared to oppose its implementation. African leftist scholars are highly critical of globalization. Even scholars of the liberal persuasion, who are sympathetic to globalization, are critical of the rigid conditionalities international financial institutions impose on African countries. A 2003 survey by the Pew Research Center, however, shows that “58 percent of Nigerians, 46 percent of Kenyans, 44 percent of Ugandans, and 41 percent of South Africans view globalization very positively. At the same time, the survey shows that more than 80 percent of African respondents view globalization as a serious threat to African traditions.”²⁷

Proponents argue that globalization promotes economic growth and diversification and by so doing fosters political stability, gender equality, and cultural development in African societies. Economic diversification, for example, is expected to accelerate the absorption of women into the modern economy, which has a strong positive gender equity effect. Economic prosperity is also expected to promote cultural development by expanding leisure opportunities for the population. Proponents contend that openness and liberalization of trade allow local opportunity costs of resources to be reflected more accurately. Decontrolling interest rates also raises rates and thereby encourages savings and the adoption of appropriate technology. Liberalization of capital mobility is also expected to stimulate foreign investment, and it is anticipated that privatization of banks will allow banks to allocate funds to finance private investments in industry.²⁸

However, each of these policies can also produce adverse results depending on the prevailing conditions. Lifting protectionist policies can, for example, lead to loss of revenue and the destruction of potentially competitive local infant industry by cheap imports. Higher interest rates and tight credit may also hurt industry, which tends to have higher working capital needs, while privatization of banks may discourage investments in industry, which tends to have longer duration and higher risks. Deregulation of capital mobility may also destabilize monetary systems, as has occurred in several developing economies. In contrast to the optimism of proponents, the adverse impacts of liberalization have been severe in many African countries.

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2002), for instance, twenty-two sub-Saharan African countries had lower per capita incomes in 2000 than they did in the period between 1975 and 1985. Industries of a number of African countries have also suffered significant losses due to cheap imports. The textile industries of Nigeria, Mozambique, Malawi, and Tanzania, for example, have been devastated by cheap imports triggered by premature and indiscriminate free trade. Beyond the identified examples, the overall picture of Africa's industry since the implementation of liberalization policies beginning in the middle of the 1980s has been rather grim. Average annual growth rates of value added in industry in sub-Saharan Africa have declined from 2.2 percent for the 1975-1984 period to 1.7 percent for the 1985-1989 period and to 1.3 percent for the 1990-2000 period. Annual average gross national savings as percentage of GDP have also declined from 20.6 percent in 1975-1984 to 15.7 percent in 1985-1989 and to 12.8 percent in 1990-2000 (World Bank, 2002).²⁹

Another globalizing mechanism promoted through the structural adjustment programs is retrenchment of public expenditures to reduce budgetary deficits. This policy is intended to restrain the growth of money supply and thereby lead to stable prices and a climate conducive for investment. Obviously unrestricted budgetary deficits are unsustainable as they are likely to lead to economic instability undermining the development process. However, in the African

case, where the level of human development and development of infrastructure is extremely low, retrenchment of public expenditures is likely to limit investments in human development and development of infrastructure, curtailing the long-term prospects for overall development of African countries.

With a human development index of less than 0.500 for 2000, sub-Saharan Africa ranks the lowest of all geographical regions in terms of human development (UNDP, 2002). All twenty-four countries at the bottom of the index and thirty out of the thirty-four countries at the bottom of the index are in sub-Saharan Africa. The number of the destitute-people living on less than one U.S. dollar per day-has also increased from 241 million in 1990 to 329 million in 2000. Many sub-Saharan African countries have also retrenched their expenditures on public services since adopting adjustment mechanisms. Public expenditure on education has, for example, declined from 4.5 percent of GDP in 1992 to 3.3 percent in 1999 (World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, 2004). The globalization mechanisms also fail to address some of the serious external constraints African countries face, including the ever-increasing debt burden, Africa's limited access to the markets of developed countries, the paltry foreign investment flows to Africa, and the continent's persistent unfavourable terms of trade, which have declined from 0.6 for the 1974-1984 period to 3.8 for the 1985-1989 years and to 0.5 for 1990–2000 (World Bank, 2002). Sub-Saharan Africa's total external debt service payments (long-term loans and International Monetary Fund credit) have averaged \$11.643 million annually for the years 1990–2000. Farming subsidies in rich countries have also made it difficult for African countries to compete in the markets of rich countries. Even more damaging to African countries is that subsidized agricultural exports from rich countries are driving small farmers out of business.³⁰

In the absence of the expected growth and economic diversification, retrenchment of public expenditures and state involvement in the economy is likely to lead to perpetuation and exacerbation of gross inequalities that are rampant in the continent, including gender inequalities.

Transformation of the subsistence sector, which is essential for internal integration of the economy, is also likely to be adversely affected by state disengagement. Regional and ethnic inequalities in access to public services are also likely to linger without active state engagement, fuelling internal conflicts. Cultural fragmentation is also more likely than cultural development to take place.³¹

Globalization certainly is not the only culprit for these problems. Many factors, including poor governance and widespread political unrest, along with poor infrastructure, eroding educational systems and human capital, and lack of diversification of the economy have contributed to Africa's economic ills. Such domestic factors in fact prevent African countries from taking advantage of some of the limited opportunities globalization creates. However, the hegemonic ideology of globalization blocks the search for alternative development strategies that may address these factors and undermines the limited autonomy that African states were able to muster at the time of their decolonization. New globalization has thus integrated African economies in terms of ideology and policy, but in terms of participation in global production it has perpetuated their relegation to the peripheral margins of the global capitalist system as suppliers of primary commodities.

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CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Recommendation

There are some vital questions that continuously and constantly confront us as human beings in Africa; such questions include issues of African communalism being psychological instead of as a means of production in African, and the question of African communalism which was as a result of globalization that introduces individualism with its negative effects waxing stronger tenets in Africa. The influence of globalization has greatly influence us in positive way through its developmental strides only if the African continent will try to maximize the positive side of globalization for the good of Africans. Globalization in this research has both positive and negative effects to African but the negative is more detrimental to the development of the African continent, which ushered Individualism into Africa. In Africa today we see ourselves as enemies, for instance the issue of Xenophobia in South Africa, the Herders and Farmers clash in Nigeria etc. The question is how practicable is African communalism in face of all these crises in Africa. Most African writer have emphasised ‘communalism’ as the nature and structure of the African society, and that Africans have been battling with globalization as the main source of African predicament, forgetting that there has been a fundamental issue with communalism in traditional Africa, which bothers on the psychological state, rights and freedom of an individual existing in a communal setting. Despite these fundamental issues the idea of communalism in African traditions has substantive practical relevance in people’s lives, social and political structures in the context of moral epistemology, moral reasoning and moral education in African thought. The idea of communalism in Africa cultures may be understood in terms of the moral ideas of personhood, community and their connection. According to Mbiti; Africans do not think of themselves as “discrete individuals” but rather understand themselves as part of a “community”. This is what is referred to as African communalism. According to Mbiti: “I am

because we are: and since we are, therefore I am.”¹ The main criticism of communalism is that, communalism in traditional African community emphasizes the good and interests of the community to the detriment of rights and freedom of the individual; in the sense that, communalism seeks to impose the public good or the group conception of good on individuals, thus preventing individuals from articulating and pursuing their own conception of good and their rational life plans. As such, the idea of communalism is seen as bad; it has a pejorative connotation, which suggests the totalitarianism of the community. Odimegwu notes that:

African communalism is generally projected as the theory of African social existence in which the individuality of the person is founded on his communality. The person in this theory is basically a communal being and the evaluation of the authenticity of personal existence is undertaken via the fundamental principles of communal existence.²

The major critics of communalism in African culture it has a liberal foundation or assumptions and more of psychological. Those who subscribe to liberal ideas argue that the value of autonomy implies that individuals must be left alone to make their independent choices, articulate their concept of the good and pursue their self-interest in order to achieve their rational life plans and actualize their potentials. It is pertinent to note that many of the fundamental criticisms of communalism have their foundations in the idea that communal structures and ethos infringe on individual rights and freedom, which are conceived of in a purely negative sense. Such negative view of freedom implies that the community is a restraint or an impediment to an individual's choice, pursuit and achievement of an individual's conception of good. The criticisms in African communitarianism in general seem to ignore the positive sense of view of freedom, in terms of making available the options from which one can choose. The negative conception of freedom ignores the moral and logical necessity of a social community for a meaningful idea of rights and freedom. The necessity of

a community derives, in part, from the fact that human beings have limited abilities and capacities: human beings cannot live in isolation, they depend on other and they require people to make provisions to compliment their life materially, ethically, and intellectually in order to fully achieve their rational life plans, perfection and self-realization. African thought with its idea of communalism seem to recognize that, there cannot be a conflict between the individual and the community because the individual needs to and must recognize the necessity of and his dependence on the community.

The very idea and necessity of living in a community where people have to interact socially within the ambit of some moral principles implies that, there has to be some restraint. Such restraint is not only moral, but it is also a good that must be built into a substantive conception of individual autonomy and freedom. At least we need some nurturing in order to grow up properly, and adults need relationship with other people, friends, and family in order to flourish as people, achieve self-realization, self-fulfilment, and moral perfection.³

Some cultures expect conformity within a given framework of globalization, and individualism is tolerated or in some cases glorified only when it falls within parameters considered acceptable to and supportive of the operative ideology that prevalent notion of western culture glorifies. The striking question for reflection is where to place communalism in contemporary Africa amidst of globalization of the whole continent. Communalism for some African scholars was pertinent to Africans, but not denying the existence of communalism in other continent, while to some other scholars' globalization has taken over from communalism in Africa after been in contact with the western culture. This research critically examines globalization which leads to individualism and the place of communalism in contemporary Africa which helps to underscore the validity or otherwise the claims of some African scholars. Motsamai Molefe notes that:

If communalism is taken to be essentially African; individualism is often taken to be western in the sense as communalism, and as marking the ontological constitution

of westerners. To emphasize our affirmation of the contingency of such characterizations of people, it is important to ask what constitutes what is very often called western individualism? Individualism in general entails that identity is based primarily on the person.⁴

The thread of communalism in modern times in Africa has weakened considerably, some of the core principles of communalism are not in practise in some parts of contemporary Africa, because individualism to African is in opposition to its traditional values of communalism.

In the past communalism was often maintained through rules and taboos. Today everything is to be questioned. For example we now challenge the purity of ethnic groups by customs prohibiting marriage between certain groups. This process cannot be halted. So we are now faced with making conscious moral choices about the way we live with other which humanism can inform. Communal ways of living are certainly becoming more difficult with modernity, but ways of caring for others are still possible. The emergence of the state has also taken over many of the responsibilities that communities or individual once had. The functions of communalism now take different forms although its appearance has changed.⁵

Individualism has become an autonomous historical trend which has moved from the original European intellectual origins down to Africa through the trio experience of the African which involves colonisation, racial discrimination and slavery. The contemporary Africa is witnessing a subtle encroachment of western ways of socio-political and economic individualism; this indiscriminate assimilation of core values has invariably led to the gradual eroding and bastardization of her once cherished African emphasis on communal living. For some scholars, the reason why communalism still exists among Africans in spite of enormous changes in circumstance is due to the long period of time in which African were nurtured in communalist spirit, however, as globalisation evolved, foreign influence penetrated the 'rigid' cultures of Africa, and newly inherited lifestyles influenced their communal moral standards. For example, practices like killing of twins among others used to be culturally moral and formed the nucleus of communal existence, but the effects of cultural interactions as

communities expanded with time persistently redefined socially moral behaviours. This is reflective in irregular changes in value and culture of modern African communities. Positions such as predetermined behavioural responsibility and blind adherence to authority ranked high decades ago, but revolts against authoritarianism, tyranny or subjective cultures in recent years corroborates this declination, many traditionalists still see classical liberal principles as rather anarchist even as some African communities flourished under anarchy or adversative to traditional African principles: a sort of threat to Africa's historical identity. In African tradition, the individual was as important as life itself, and the respect for his dignity, a virtue. The only difference was that they saw the realization of individual prosperity as more realistic when embedded in the prosperity of his community. The different views by scholars in contemporary Africa are as follows: Some African scholars see communalism as solely what existed in traditional Africa and do not have any place in contemporary Africa, while other scholars are of the view that communalism in traditional Africa is still in existence in contemporary Africa. Furthermore, some scholars are of the view that the practice of communalism in some parts of Africa cannot be generalized to the whole continent and that Africans are still striving to use communalism to pan-Africanizing the continent. Amaku notes that:

The regular tendency among some African thinkers to universalise or generalize from particularity-pretending that what takes place at particular instances defines and shapes the whole. Indeed, to generalize from particularities commits the fallacy of over-composition-attributing the qualities of a particular to a whole. That the members of a family or village associate amicably and peacefully among themselves, as it is experienced in all parts of Africa, does not necessarily imply that Africans, as a whole, exercise brotherly attitudes towards themselves. Experience has not really shown that Africans appreciate and love themselves as some African intellectuals pretend to demonstrate. For there to be authentic African communalism we must pan-Africanize the virtues of particular communalism.⁶

While some scholars see communalism as a factor that propels globalization in Africa; “Communalism in African setting promotes unity, togetherness, brotherliness and cooperation which are vital elements that propel the wheel of globalization.”⁷ Some African scholars from the other hand see communalism as practiced by African as purely individualistic in contemporary Africa. Many of these views by scholars are to know how communalistic or individualistic contemporary Africa is in the sheer face of globalization. Globalization in Africa is a ‘double edge sword’ which has in stock both positive and negative effects on Africans, Ogugua notes that:

Globalization the contemporary name for imperialism and westernization has been held unto by peoples and nations as a thread or ladder for ascension into the realm or region of abundance. It has turned out to threaten them and pull them down, dragging them into oblivion, making them to lose balance and have little or no relevance in the scheme of things. Globalization has shown its Janus face as it raises the issue of global governance, weaved in new ideas with regard to relationships among peoples and nations, making the issue of sovereignty nations clung unto and valued dicey and unrealistic.⁸

Globalization for some scholars has a tremendous influence to the development of Africa; despite the influence of globalization and different views by scholars, most scholars still see globalization as exploration of the African continent.

The research in that regard examines the existential question of communalism in contemporary Africa, and the import of globalization by westerners, which ushered in ‘individualism, and recommended that African governments’ policies should be designed systematically so as to balance between its current low economic status, its political problems and the pressures to catch up and fit into the inevitable globalization trends. This would minimize economic marginalization of Africa and increase it utilization of its raw materials, peaceful coexistence, and human resources.

6.2 Conclusion

Africa is endowed with tremendous heritages often categorized as values and cultural legacies, some of these values have made remarkable impacts on African stability and social integration, especially at all levels. In recovering past traditions of African communalism, some of its elements are good when it incorporates new ones for self-actualization and good human relations; to know if communalism which was used by the traditional Africans is still in existence and, to what extent the practice is in contemporary African, and to know if the external forces of 'globalization' that influence the Africans led them to individualism. The relationship between tradition and modernity has been a central theme of postcolonial African philosophy. The act of existing is proper to, and exercised only by individual beings. This does not vitiate the fact that collective realities like; communities do exist, even though such realities are constituted of individuals, community is the custodian of the individual, Maritain observes:

Individuality is opposed to the state of universality, which things have in mind. It designates that concrete state of unity and indivision, required by existence, in virtue of which every actually or possibly existing nature can posit itself in existence as distinct from other beings.⁹

Despite the logical criticisms levelled against communalism; there are positive elements that are inherent in the concept. The positive and negative values can be said to be symmetrical, the cultivation of social and moral values and hence enhancement of social cohesion played a dual vital role. First it enabled society to be held together; great value was placed upon communal fellowship in the traditional community, which infused African social life with a pervasive humanity and fullness of life. This state of affairs entailed a psychological integration of the people and hence enhanced social unity. Second the social cohesion was instrumental in communal evolution which involves positive inner communal and institutional changes. These changes have occurred over time and they provide opportunity for social

challenges to ensure communal order, integrity and the present and future survival of the community. Oyeshile notes that:

The achievement of the desired relationship between the community and the individual, or more realistically between the state and the citizens in contemporary Africa, can only be achieved through the adoption and internalisation of such human values as justice, freedom, integrity, and social responsibility.¹⁰

Globalization has created a paradox in Africa: A few Africans are thriving, but the continent as a whole seems to be falling further behind the rest of the world. According to J. Kofi Bucknor “The benefits of globalization have been missed by most Africans, even if the effects can be seen all around them through the media, the Internet and their interactions with their relatives who have immigrated to other countries in search of better lives.”¹¹ The researcher discovers the logical difficulties involve in the question of communalism in sheer face of globalization which led to individualism in Africa is because communalism in Africa is a psychological state and not a means of production, and that globalization will continue to reinforce its interdependencies between different countries and regions, and also deepen the partnership between the advanced countries and the rest of the world, to support this partnership in a mutually beneficial way, the advanced countries could help to further open their markets to the products and services in which the developing world has a comparative advantage. The challenge facing the developing world, and African countries in particular, is to design public policies so as to maximize the potential benefits from globalization, and to minimize the downside risks of destabilization or marginalization of Africa continent. None of these policies is new, and most African countries have been implementing them for some time, due to numerous uncontrollable influx of globalization to African continent, communalism is at blink of extinction because of its psychological state, while globalization keeps waxing its strong tentacles around the globe. The research reveals that Africans are more of individualistic (due to the stronghold of globalization in Africa), than communalistic

but not denying the fact that, there are still traces of communalism in some parts of contemporary Africa; and this makes the researcher to conclude in addendum that, what is been practiced in contemporary Africa is a mixed practice which incorporates both traces of individualism and communalism together and recommends that African communalism be modified in such a way it will suit the means of production than merely a psychological state.

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