
DEVELOPMENT THEORIES: FROM MODERNIZATION TO GLOBALIZATION AND IT'S IMPACT ON AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Development theories are all focused especially on the development of Africa. Changing times and tides show that it is now a global world, perhaps, village. The thrust of modernization theory is just about Africa supplanting her values and norms with modern ones so as to leap-frog, perhaps to the age of "high mass consumption". Thus, dependency theory however stands as a contradiction to modernization theory and emphasizes the underdevelopment of Africa on the basis of her social relations with the West. Thus, the work is particularly focused on the impact of the new age on Africa's development. The work questions the era or stage of imperialism, and argues that globalization as the highest stage of imperialism is particularly concern with further undermining the development of Africa. It is thus concluded here that Africa as a matter of fact must re-evaluate and re-assess her social cum economic relationship with the West in this new age, even as globalization advances to a full moon before she loses her soul as well as her spirit.

Keywords: *Globalization, Modernization, Dependency, Capitalism, Colonialism, Underdevelopment, Development, Africa.*

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the arrival of the capitalist mode of production, Africa had an existing mode of production – Agriculture. Agricultural mode of production is an economic system based on production-for-use. Put differently, subsistence agriculture based on consumption and not accumulation. This however means that pre-capitalist African societies where productive, the focus of this capacity for production was mainly for its use-value. It is important to stress here that economic production in these societies then where particularly shaped by both the producers' choice and desire of what to actually produce, since it was basically for consumption purpose. Sequel to this is a barter system based on the theory of exchange of needs and nothing farther than that. Individuals' with certain possession(s) but in need of just another only had to seek for those with particular interests in what they had. Once this arrangement was conclusive, exchange of goods was in full swing without any expropriation. With the arrival of, and the incorporation of Africa into the capitalists world economy, the African mode of production as well as its pace of development was truncated and strangulated, while Capitalism – an economic system based on the private ownership of the means of production became the order of the day; carting away the surplus resources from Africa while Africa waxed in the accumulation of misery even till date. However, with the incorporation of Africa into the Capitalist world economy via colonialism, Africa's self-progress towards another mode was completely hijacked and placed in a rather higher pedestal of economic system and even social formation. Here, colonialism is thus viewed as a system of

rule which assumes the right of one people to impose their will upon another (Brett, 1968 in Okodudu, 2011). Thus, this work is an attempt to explicate the development of Africa in the global economic era of globalization. The thesis of the work is strictly thus, globalization as the highest stage of imperialism is designed to further undermine Africa's effort at development. The basic question of this work is, where does globalization come from? But before we go further, it is imperatively important that we take a quick and brief look at the concept "development".

THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

To say development is not to say growth. These two concepts are usually mistaken and misinterpreted to mean one and the same thing, but this is misleading and in error. Though these two concepts are distinct from the other, both are particularly crucial and important concepts, especially in the "Development parlance". Here we see development as a qualitative concept, that emphasizes the quality of peoples lives in terms of qualitative changes in the structure of production and employment, technology, nutrition, etc (Szirmai, 1996). Development hence denotes a graduation of levels of prosperity in the lives of the people, conspicuous and definable. On the other hand, growth could be said to embrace quantitiveness, as obvious in the size of an economy. In a way therefore, economic development can be said to mean or reflect, food on the table for the people. The point of departure is that, a country can grow rapidly and still do woefully in terms literacy, health, life expectancy, education as well as nutrition (Sen, 1999). This is why we say that development has to be seen from the locus of quality- food on the table for the people. Development should be people centred, and it must necessarily be "development of the people" and not particularly "development for the people". The idea becomes not only to view development from purely economic perspectives but also from the latitude of mentality, attitudes, culture as well as demographics. As Ake (1981) would say, economic perspective anchors and moderates the others.

In recent times, the idea of development has been far-fetched, with a view to the idea of GNP per capita income. Considering the fact that development is also measured in this regards, it does not purely portray that a particular country in question is developed. For instance, although Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have considerable economic growth, with their GNP (Gross National Income) per capita income higher than that of any other developing nation (Seznec, 1987), still does not show that these two countries are particularly developed nations. Recent 2012 estimates however shows the GDP per capita of these countries thus, Kuwait- \$40,700, Saudi Arabia- \$24,000 (CIA World Factbook, 2012), yet they still lag behind in certain socio-political indicators. This now brings us to the question, where does development come from?

THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

Traditional modernists often tend to stress that the incorporation of Africa into the capitalist mode of production was meant to leap-frog Africa into development. Why? Perhaps since Africa had being cut-off from her mode of production, growth as well as development would

have been very quick. One would be a complacent fool to think easily along this line, as if that was actually the goal of this incorporation. Writing in the 1920's, Bronislaw Malinowski posited that "the primary goal and motive of colonization was practically "economic development" (Chachage, 1987). This goal was strongly pursued, and the methodologies of accumulation by the colonialists were most barbaric and obnoxious for anyone to assume such incorporation would ignite healthy development. But of course, the West, particularly Europe was quick to question Africa's backwardness couple of years after the Second World War (WWII), since they themselves were experiencing an era of economic expansion. The question of course was thus, why is Capitalism not generating development in Africa? However, Modernists response is that Africa's underdevelopment crisis is internally provoked. According to Sanderson,

"Modernization theorists stress that underdeveloped societies generally lack the kind of consciousness or mentality that promotes development"(Sanderson, 1988:168).

This in every sense means that Africa is not rationally minded, and this is rooted in her normative and value system. Thus, they are governed by attitudes and values stressing the past and the importance of custom and tradition. Basically and "modernically" these traits do not subscribe to development. To answer the question earlier posed, it therefore means that development within the framework of modernization comes from totally supplanting traditional norms and values with "modern' ones. Dobb (1963) simplifies this thus;

"Put simply, modernization theory is the proposition that people in traditional societies should adopt the characteristics of modern societies in order to modernize their social, political and economic institutions".

Hence, by embracing and adopting western attitudes, lifestyle and even reasoning, Africa can "take-off" and perhaps ascend the age of "high mass consumption". The next poser becomes, where does underdevelopment emerge from? Historically, Africa was never underdeveloped. The concept of underdevelopment is only used to delineate those countries under capitalist-world economy (Sanderson, 1988:172). Then, it becomes clear when we say that since Africa had her mode of production prior to her incorporation to the capitalist mode, it was not underdeveloped. Apparently, underdevelopment only emerged afterwards. Frances Moulder (1977) has suggested that the term 'underdevelopment' historically is new, since every society was once "undeveloped". That is to say that Europe as a whole and the United States, Canada etc were once considered to be undeveloped societies. Taking China and Japan as a case in point, Moulder argues that the major reason Japan became developed and China did not was strictly the incorporation of China into the capitalist –world economy, peripherally. With this incorporation, the distortion of the local economy of China was complete. This equally goes for Africa, as her exchange unit; especially Nigeria (where the manilla was used) was destroyed and replaced with the British pound sterling, total autonomy was in full swing. Naanen (1993) puts it this way;

"with the manilla safely consigned to history, the colonial state could then exercise full control over Nigeria".

For certain, every society; particularly African society that was ever absorbed into this incorporation has never remained the same, the appropriation of capital from the African population through primitive accumulation (land alienation and forced labour) and through wage labour (Colin Leys, 1975) transposed these societies into a dependent and disarticulated economy. Dependency theorists see the underdevelopment of Africa as purely externally provoked, rather than internal constraints as posited by modernization theorists. From Paul Baran (1957) to Frank (1967), as well as Dos Santos, (1970); their fundamental argument is that the development of nations in the Third World necessitates subordination to the core and that the peripheral nations experience their greatest economic development when their ties to the core are weakest (Frank, 1967). The whole argument boils down to the fact that Africa's underdevelopment is a derivative of her dependency on the west. By dependence, Dos Santos says it is;

"a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected" (Chilcote, 1984).

As capitalism expands, underdevelopment equally expands. But capital is dynamic; it transforms itself so as not to be noticed. But of course, it is always conspicuous when viewed from the focal lens of dependency theory. From merchant capitalism to colonialism, and to neo-colonialism, the goal of Capitalism is the same - to impoverish Africa. Decades ago, V.I. Lenin stated that the highest stage of Capitalism is imperialism. We now question, what stage is capitalism now?

GLOBALIZATION: IMPACT ON AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

The above question becomes quite clear in the light of the fact that this is the stage and era of globalization. We may probe further by asking, where does globalization come from? We earlier stated that capital is dynamic. This dynamism is wholly imperialistic. According to Bill Warren (1980) in Chachage (op cit) "Imperialism was the means through which techniques, culture and institutions that had evolved in Western Europe over centuries.....sowed their revolutionary seeds in the rest of the world". Imperialism therefore tends to conquer and even disarticulate; as such this age of globalization is inextricable from this very fact. Capitalism operates in the form of imperialism and colonialism. The duo are particular tools with which capitalism has ravaged the world, and in the earlier times it had not positioned any society on the path of positive development. It is however doubtful one would argue, which we do that imperialism as it were even in the light of globalization cannot be able to address the existing disparities between countries. Thus, in this section we look at globalization closely to see how it affects Africa's development. We shall look at the force(s) behind it and see how imperialistic these forces are.

According to Colin Leys (op cit), "the transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism was a planned one, aimed at preserving the greater part of the monopolistic colonial economic structure in the interests of large-scale commercial, financial and estate capital...". In the same vein, we say that globalization is a particularly planned transition to continue this "monopolistic economic structure". Globalization as the name goes implies shrinking of the globe to a rather smaller unit, hence a "global village". The concept has been seen or viewed as the global condition of proximity, intimacy with what used to be externally faraway world (Hutchful, 1995; and Ake, 1996). The concept of globalization therefore tends towards homogenizing and socially compressing the world without losing the characteristics of inequality, polarization and social exclusion (Amin, 1999: 87-94). In all, however, globalization according to Okodudu (1999:194), is determined to create new avenues for the regulation and functioning of a social order that goes beyond that of the nation-state. What force is behind this? A veritable force of this regulation is the Multinational Corporation's (MNC's). Furthermore, the core of globalization lies in liberating a country's economic frontiers to allow for unobstructed international trade in goods and services, entry and exit of foreign capital and technology. Yes, this is very conspicuous as it is seen in the various economic policies of Third World countries: opening up their seaports, tax holidays and tariff free-trades. Multinational Companies, the force behind globalization are having a field day accumulating surplus from Africa and sending it back home, as is obvious in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria where their nonchalance to both labour and environmental laws has bereft the people of the area their flora and fauna which is the source of their livelihood. For instance, according to Jinichi (2009) "Nigeria produced 52 billion dollars of oil in 2005, which covers 95% of its trade income, but the Nigerian people cannot enjoy the wealth properly. In the oil-producing Southern area of Nigeria, people suffer from devastating environmental pollution....Globalization takes oil out of the country without any reward for the people". The most hit of course are the youths, Jinichi corroborates this when he further opined that, "it is so difficult for the young to find jobs in the area that they have to go abroad to seek jobs....Now almost 10,000 Africans are registered at the Immigration Authority in Japan, one fourth of them are Nigerians"

Globalization has benefits, as bourgeois scholars would echo, and this manifest through intensified trade. But wait a minute, who benefits from this increased trade? According to Amin (2001), there exist an unequal exchange relationship between the countries of the North and those of the South in globalization. As the developed world begins to rein goods and services into Africa, what does Africa trade back? A disarticulated economy has nothing much to trade, since her economy has no semblance of the developed economy. For instance, a grave disparity exists between countries of the North and that of the South with regards to international trade. The 2010 estimate of the volume of trade shows that the South, especially Africa is nowhere in the international trade equation. Bousnina (2009) posits that Africa only account for 1.8% of world trade. Thus, institutional arrangement in international trade is strictly dominated by powerful players or actors who constantly resist and frustrate Africa's attempt at the permutation of the organization of international trade. Little wonder, Prebish (2004) in Raja (2010) argues that "institutions at the core of the World

Economy have more influence on the World Economy than institutions in the periphery” The shrinking of the globe has further shrunk Africa’s cultural orientation. As modernization theory had stated, to develop Africa must supplant its traditions and customs. This then is the present situation; globalization is gradually undermining Africa’s culture. As the world becomes smaller the acculturation and enculturation of cultural values takes effect. There is a wave of cultural imperialism fashioned in a way to annihilate African culture via western values; particularly through such moves as movies, fashions, as well as language (Narula, 2004). As the world becomes smaller, Africa accumulates more miseries. Thus, of the 42 countries infected most with HIV/AIDS, 35 are in Africa (Narula, op cit). Seven of these African countries have 20% of their population suffering from AIDS. Indeed, life expectancy in these countries is barely 48.3 years. It is estimated that by 2020, 16 million peasants or farm workers in Africa will die as they are the most vulnerable. With around 68 percent of all people living with HIV residing in sub-Saharan Africa, the region carries the greatest burden of the epidemic (UNAIDS, 2010). Again, of the forty-eight (48) countries classified as least developed by the United Nations, no less than thirty-two (32) of these countries are found in Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa (Altius Directory, 2012). What is more, the impact of globalization on Africa’s development is but a negative one, as debt crisis, food crisis; all offshoots of globalization are ravaging the continent.

CONCLUSION

Post-colonial Africa is strongly under the grip of the new form of imperialism. Our position in this paper is that globalization as the highest stage of imperialism is fashioned to undermine Africa’s development. As outlined in this paper, economic development is the goal of globalization for the West, and to the detriment of Africa. Africa’s strides at development is however frowned at by the west, this is why the Bretton Wood boys have constantly engineered Africa to implement both fiscal and monetary policies that end up disorganizing the economy, as well as lined up finance for Africa in the form of Aid. The essence of this financial Aid is to further constrain and restrain Africa’s development. This is so because Aid money is doubtless development of debt, hence the development of underdevelopment. Africa is already in a globalizing world, which would shrink further in the nearest future. All that matters now is for Africa to re-adjust her steps. By this we mean African countries should reassess and re-evaluate her relationship with the west, especially the IMF, World Bank, WTO and other multilateral institutions. It is fundamental at this point for African countries to redefine the concept of ‘aid’ as it borders on acceptance and reception. It would do her good if she can play down on borrowing, and receive aid on her terms. Africa must look inward for her development with determination and sincerity. North Korea and Cuba are examples of inward lookers Africa must emulate for self-sustenance; to save her tomorrow when globalization would have become a full moon. Otherwise Africa may lose her “soul”, even her spirit.

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