



Edited by

Kelebogile T. Setiloane · Abdul Karim Bangura

Africa and Globalization

Novel Multidisciplinary
Perspectives

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Africa and Globalization

“Setiloane and Bangura have successfully assembled a stellar multidisciplinary consortium of some of the best and distinguished scholars to interrogate the complex but pertinent theme of Africa and Globalization. The product and indeed priceless gift is this book—a monumental and groundbreaking festival of ideas that are timely, novel, and eye-opening on many fronts.”

—Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Professor and Chair of Epistemologies of the Global South, University of Bayreuth*

“Much of the literature on globalization concentrates on rapidly growing countries in selected regions of interest to state planners. Examples are Asian countries such as Taiwan, Singapore and South Korean. Large Latin American states as well as the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) are also frequently discussed. This anthology edited by Setiloane and Bangura fills a void in the literature by chapters entirely on the effects of globalization in Africa.”

—Walter W. Hill, *Professor and former Chair of the Political Science Department and founder of the African and African Diaspora Studies Program, St. Mary's College of Maryland*

“At the hands of two experienced and respected editors, the connections between Africa and globalization attain intellectual prominence and critical visibility. The excellent book avoids well-beaten topics to speak to newer ones of families, languages, values, togetherness, and leadership. Pan-Africanism is alive, the book proclaims without any apology. Rich chapters reveal the complex interplay of power and marginalities, hegemony and subsidiarity, human sacrifices and hope. This book reminds us of an ongoing prudential conversation in a new world that is undergoing stress and tensions.”

—Toyin Falola, *Honorary Professor, University of Cape Town*

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Editors

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To Africans across the globe who must endure and triumph!

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General Introduction

Kelebogile T. Setiloane and Abdul Karim Bangura

For the sake of transparency, it behooves us to begin the discussion in this book by disclosing that its impetus was birthed by the Call for Papers and Panels for the 15th triennial General Assembly of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) convened in Dakar, Senegal from December 17 to 21, 2018. The general theme of the meeting was “Africa and the Crisis of Globalisation” and its rationale reads as follows:

The coming session of the Assembly will be an opportune moment for scholars in Africa and its diaspora to revisit the issue of globalization which has been a subject of intellectual engagements in the last two decades or more. This is mainly because of the continued contradictions that the process of globalization has engendered especially with regard to the question of Africa’s development. From the outset, globalization promised a greater opening up of the world to the movement of people, goods, services and ideas. This was captured in the image of the transformation

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of the world into a ‘global village’; marked by greater prosperity for all, more vibrant economies, greater democratization and respect for rights. (CODESRIA 2018, p. 1)

The rationale continues:

However, the current versions of globalization have had a distinctly neoliberal inflection, representing a significant change in the historical process of globalization in which Africa played a key role even if with devastating implications on the continent. The free market that globalization continues to promote as the pathway to the ‘global village’ has facilitated the shrinking of the state and its regulatory capacities with adverse consequences worldwide. Deregulation and privatization sought to reduce the state to its barest minimum, and transformed state welfare institutions into narrow ‘market-enhancing institutions’ in the name of efficiency. The zest with which various compulsions have been deployed to pave the path for the free market suggests the presence of political and social goals that go beyond the purely economic and utilitarian objectives that are often voiced and illustrates the ‘choicelessness’ embedded in the promises of globalization. The political and sociological fields that inspire the idea of globalization and the pathways that are portrayed as leading toward it are, for the reasons above, worthy of further intellectual engagement. (CODESRIA 2018, p. 1)

In response to the call, we organized and submitted papers for three panels: (1) “Diopian Pluridisciplinary Treatises on Globalization and Africa’s Socioeconomic and Political Development in the 21st Century”; (2) “Global Knowledge Production, Development, and Economic Transformation in the Era of Globalization”; and (3) “Lessons from Old and New Pan-Africanism for Dealing with the Challenges of Globalization in Africa.” What appear in this book are the thoroughly revised papers that we submitted that were vetted and reviewed by panels of experts. The resulting chapters represent the three parts of the book.

Utilizing the perspectives of multiple disciplines because of the complexity of globalization, the book, with each chapter theoretically and methodologically grounded, seeks to reconsider the issue which has been a topic of scholarly debates during the last several decades. This is mainly because of the limited scopes of previous books and the continued disputations that the globalization process has generated, particularly vis-à-vis Africa’s development. The aims, scope and multidisciplinary approach of

the book can be best discerned in the three thematic rubrics of the three parts that undergird it.

In order to address the subject in a coherent manner, the book, as previously stated, is divided into three parts. The first part entails five chapters. The first chapter by Emmanuel D. Babatunde examines how culture is a created design for survival in a given environment. He shows that language is the physical expression of thought, art is culture in form, music is culture in sound, dance is rhythm in action, and value is the weight of importance that is attached to the essential elements of a people's culture as demonstrated in their institutions such as the family, religion, economics, politics, as well as the cultural form of education peculiar to survival in one's environment, using the level of technology that is available for making anything needed for survival easier, cheaper, and faster.

JP Afamefuna Ifedi in the second chapter investigates how globalization has facilitated the ability of humans to reach all parts of the world, propelled by continuing perfection of information technologies, migration and movement of people across national boundaries, with effect on political and economic disparities and inequalities in Africa. He demonstrates that since the 1990s, the issue of "globalization" has been a critical fixation for scholars and analysts, and its meaning and effects are still strongly contested. He also shows that political and economic globalization are twin realities that are often viewed as being in a relatively nascent stage in the evolution of the capitalist global economy in which transnational capital is dominant in national and international domains and has impacted political conditions in Africa. He further reveals how European contact with Africa in the fifteenth century led to the political marginalization and economic exploitation of Africa.

The third chapter by Kehbuma Langmia delves into the unsettled paradoxical relationship between Africa and the West, from a socio-economic and political viewpoint, that is yielding much needed dividend in the communicative landscape among Africans in Africa on the one hand and African immigrants in the Diaspora on the other. He then reasons that what constitutes African and African immigrant communication in the age of media globalization is anybody's guess. He points out that social media, the virtual public spheres for 'trans-human' communication, have overturned the age-old face-to-face communication between elders and young people, women and men, children and parents, dignitaries and commoners, socio-political elites and average citizens in Africa. He

demonstrates that we are now breeding a generation of texters than talkers. Consequently, mediatized communication and in-person communication are now uncomfortable bedmates, a kind of double-edged sword. Communicators and communicologists on the continent and in the Diaspora are confronting communication through the lens of what W. E. B. Du Bois calls “double consciousness.” Similarly, African immigrants to the Western world are equally torn between abiding by the tenets of African forms of oral, in-person communication and embracing the individualistic, self-centered, hyper-reality infested social media interaction on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, and LinkedIn or Africanize their communicative patterns on Whatsapp and YouTube. On the other hand, communicators, aware of the disconnection between the Western and African forms of communication have created African-centered communicative platforms like Mxit for South Africans, Naija Pals for Nigerians, Kokakoliko for Ghanians, Blueworld for Kenyans, etc. on the Internet to fight against media globalization’s neo-colonial exploitation.

The fourth chapter by Nichelle S. Williams probes how oil and petroleum products are resources traded as energy commodities with global demand that has steadily increased over the past 25 years. She informs us that in 2015, crude oil was one of the largest exports for many African countries, including Chad, Ghana and Equatorial Guinea. She pegs her analysis on what Mohamed Elnagar of Egypt’s National Research Center identifies as the three major sectors of the oil and gas industry: i.e. (1) the upstream sector that includes searching for crude oil, drilling of exploratory wells and drilling and operating wells that bring oil and raw natural gas to the surface; (2) the midstream sector, which includes the transportation, storage and wholesale marketing of oil and refined petroleum products; and (3) the downstream sector, which includes the refining of petroleum crude oil and processing of raw natural gas, and distribution of these products.

Abdul Karim Bangura in the fifth chapter makes the case that it is not farfetched to assert that one area in which globalization (i.e. the process of going to a more interconnected world by diminishing the world’s social dimension and expansion of overall global consciousness) has affected Africa’s socioeconomic and political development the most has to do with African languages and linguistics. In this chapter, he analyzes how globalization has impacted African languages and linguistics, with a focus on the state of language deaths across the continent. Employing his theorem of accelerated language deaths, he postulates that since the significance

of accelerated language deaths in African countries is doubly contextual in being both context shaped (its contribution to ongoing sequence of linguistic actions cannot adequately be understood except by reference to the context in which it occurs) and context renewing (the character of linguistic actions is directly related to the fact that they are context shaped—the context of a next linguistic activity is repeatedly renewed with every current action), context then helps an analyst to rule out unintended activities and suppress misunderstandings of certain activities that take place in a linguistic community.

The second part of this book also encompasses five chapters. The first chapter here by Kelebogile T. Setiloane broaches how African countries have some of the highest child undernutrition and mortality rates globally. She argues that more than 50% of child deaths could be averted if children were not undernourished. She posits that the protection, promotion and support of exclusive breastfeeding in the first six months of life is acknowledged in parenting as the single most critical strategy to be employed if African countries are to reduce their child mortality rates. She delineates that while breastfeeding is tradition in every culture in Africa regardless of socioeconomic status, in the late 1960s it took a steep downward turn when it was discouraged through the aggressive marketing of commercial breastmilk substitutes. The introduction of these commercial breastmilk substitutes to African societies, she purports, shifted breastfeeding as the traditional way of feeding infants to more ‘modern’ ways of infant formula, preempting the increase in infant mortality. This shift, she proposes, also helped to entrench Eurocentric ideas in the guise of modernization. Consequently, European practices became the norm to be copied, first by African recipients of Western culture, education and life-style, and then by others who see these recipients as ‘role models’ to be emulated. She also deliberates on the verity that the long tradition of breastfeeding has been neutralized in many parts of ‘modern’ Africa by the influences of European colonial cultural values legitimized by Christianity, Western money economy, industrialization, migration and urbanization—all forces and outcomes of globalization.

Gerald K. Fosten in the second chapter of this part of the book begins with the assertion that globalization (the process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale) has some benefits is hardly a matter of contention. Thereafter, he argues that with these benefits, however, come certain adverse consequences. He then examines how globalization has a direct

impact on consumerism (the preoccupation of individuals with the acquisition of consumer goods) in terms of the many nations in Africa that are experiencing rapid economic growth. He also broaches the fact that the African Development Bank estimates that by the year 2060, the population of Africa's middle class is expected to grow by one billion people. He contends that such a development will present huge challenges to nations on the continent and their respective citizens. As byproducts of globalization and economic development, he observes, consumerism is rising rapidly and will continue to do so. He then asks: What are consequences of consumerism in terms of globalization? His answer is that the more negative the effects of globalization, the more negative the effects on consumerism. Thus, his hypothesis that underlies this chapter is that while globalization has produced benefits, it has also increased consumerism in Africa.

In the third chapter of this part of the book, Cindy McGee exhibits that when other major epidemics such as the Ebola Virus Disease (EVD) broke out, more attention was shifted to those diseases while HIV/AIDS received less attention. But while certain gains have been made against HIV/AIDS, she maintains, it still remains a quite deadly disease having serious impact on development in Africa. She notes that according to the World Bank, HIV/AIDS remains a major public health concern and causes significant numbers of deaths in many parts of Africa. She adds that the organization estimated that the continent is home to 15.2% of the world's population, and more than two-thirds of the total, some 35 million infected, were Africans, of who 15 million have already died. In addition, AIDS has raised death rates and lowered life expectancy among adults between the most economically productive ages of 20 and 49 by about 20 years. Therefore, she also points out, the life expectancy in many parts of Africa is declining, largely as a result of the HIV/AIDS epidemic with life expectancy in some countries reaching as low as 34 years.

The fourth chapter in this part of the book by Billie Dee Tate deals with poverty as the scourge of a civilized society. He probes the following questions: What comes to mind when one tries to define abject poverty? Do we think about starvation? Do we think about contaminated water sources? Does the lack of adequate healthcare and access to free education constitute poverty? Who defines poverty? Is it the government's responsibility to address poverty or the perpetual suffering of the people? Does governmental policies and fiscal ineptness cause poverty? Is poverty the result of systematic policies instituted through the evils of colonialism,

imperialism, and Western capitalist institutions and policies? He then professes that one has to wonder how the African continent which holds much of the world's natural resources has the highest levels of poverty and despair. Africa and perpetual poverty, he posits, seem to go hand-in-hand and are interwoven in virtually all aspects of everyday life for most Africans. Consequently, he points out, Africa constitutes the majority of the world's poorest population.

Abdul Karim Bangura in the fifth and final chapter of this part of the book begins by pointing out that almost half a century ago, Cheikh Anta Diop rang an alarm bell which was ignored. The consequence of the failure to respond to his red flag, Bangura asserts, is evident in our major African linguistic peril today: the consequences of accelerated language deaths (i.e. when communities shift to new languages totally so that the old languages are no longer used) across the continent. Given this peril, he argues in this chapter that one area globalization (i.e. the process of going to a more interconnected world by diminishing the world's social dimension and expansion of overall global consciousness) and the new world order (i.e. the dramatic process of change of globalization) have affected Africa's socioeconomic and political development the most has to do with African languages and linguistics. In order to support his reasoning, Bangura analyzes how globalization and the new world order have impacted African languages and linguistics, with a focus on the state of language deaths across the continent.

The third part of the book comprises four chapters. The first chapter is by Janeen C. Guest who analyzes how Pan-Africanism is alive today in Africa and around the world and is seen much more as a cultural, social and economic philosophy than the politically-driven movement it was in the past. She shows that historically, Pan-Africanism was developed as a way to build relationships among people of the African Diaspora. Early Pan Africanists' focus was on eliminating racial oppression, establishing equal rights, de-colonialism and unifying the political and cultural ties of Africans around the world. She also alludes to the fact that early Pan-Africanists such as Marcus Garvey formed the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914, which sought to promote racial pride among Blacks. Garvey also popularized the phrase "Africa for the Africans" and established the "Back to Africa" Movement. There were other Pan-Africanists such as W. E. B. Du Bois who organized several Pan-African Congresses to fight for African countries' independence from European colonialism. In addition, there was Kwame Nkrumah who

fought for the liberation of Africa from colonial domination and stated that “Africans Must Unite!” In addition to the political focus, early Pan-Africanists brought about cultural and literary movements through the Harlem Renaissance, which enlightened the world about the cultural and intellectual contributions of Black people. She then discusses how more recently, technological advances in communication have evolved the political and cultural Pan-Africanism toward economic unity. Concomitantly, Pan-Africanism’s major focus became one on economic freedom.

In the second chapter of this part of the book, Abdul Razak Iddris broaches the idea that the Pan-African dream of a United States of Africa is still being expressed by Africans on the continent and those of African descent all over the world. He demonstrates that since the attainment of political independence in the 1950s and 1960s, African leaders have consistently reaffirmed their willingness to forge mutually beneficial economic and political alliances in order to enhance the social and economic development of people of Africa. This desire to achieve greater economic integration of the continent, he maintains, has led to the establishment of the most extensive network of regional organizations in the continent. Nonetheless, the ghost of the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) that divided Africa into specific spheres of influence and control, Iddris concedes, has continued to haunt the continent for many years after its independence from colonialism, thereby reinforcing the fragmentation of African economics. He also proffers that by echoing the calls of Kwame Nkrumah and other Pan-Africanists that Africa must Unite, African regional integration is seen or considered as a key driver and the way forward for the structural transformation of African economic development.

Elan Mitchell-Gee in the third chapter here starts with an observation about the contradictions of globalization made by the President of Côte d’Ivoire, Alassane D. Ouattara, while serving as Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund during the Southern Africa Economic Summit sponsored by the World Economic Forum in Harare, Zimbabwe on May 21, 1997. The observation leads Mitchell-Gee to raise the following questions in the case of Africa: (a) What are globalization’s implications for the conduct of economic policy in Africa? (b) What are the potential benefits and risks for Africa? (c) What will African countries have to do to benefit from it and to avoid its downside risks? She then demonstrates that while many observers have offered some suggestions to similar questions, few have employed lessons from old Pan-Africanists as

antidotes to the encroachment of globalization in Africa. Operating from the thesis that there can be great virtue from old wisdom, she examines Martin Robinson Delany's tenets on Pan-Africanism and how they can be utilized to combat the infringement of globalization in Africa. She also alludes to the fact that Delany was an exceptional orator, journalist, medical doctor, and civil rights activist during the nineteenth century. He spoke of the injustices of slavery and proposed a great migration of African descendants to the Caribbean, South America, and Africa. He is also widely revered as the "Father of Black Nationalism."

The fourth and final chapter in this part of the book by Abdul Karim Bangura concerns the challenge to the conventional conceptualization of Pan-Africanism, which is as follows: "the idea that peoples of African descent have common interests and should be unified. Historically, Pan-Africanism has often taken the shape of a political or cultural movement. There are many varieties of Pan-Africanism. In its narrowest political manifestation, Pan-Africanists envision a unified African nation where all people of the African Diaspora can live. (African Diaspora refers to the long-term historical process by which people of African descent have been scattered from their ancestral homelands to other parts of the world.) In more-general terms, Pan-Africanism is the sentiment that people of African descent have a great deal in common, a fact that deserves notice and even celebration" (see, for example, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* 2020). Bangura posits that this conceptualization is being challenged by globalization as its power continues to weaken boundaries of statehood and many young people in Africa and the Diaspora are increasingly becoming aware of their own political and economic environment. He then argues that it is in this context that Pan-Africanism has found a viable niche for renewal in the twenty-first century among educated Africans. As he further points out, instead of focusing only on identity, this new Pan-Africanism is also a call for democracy, good governance and economic development.

In sum, the book will be suitable as a main or supplementary text for undergraduate and graduate students taking courses in African/Afro-American/African American/Africana/Black Studies, Development Studies, Global Health, Intracultural and Intercultural Communication, International Relations, Language and Linguistics, Political Economy, Political Science, and Sociology from which the various epistemologies used in the chapters for this book have sprung. It also will be useful to professors teaching about and scholars doing

research in these areas. In addition, policy makers in these areas will be interested in the valuable information that the book provides. Furthermore, relevant political activists and advocacy groups will be interested in the book to pursue their objectives.

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PART I

Diopian Pluridisciplinary Treatises
on Globalization and Africa's Socioeconomic
and Political Development in the 21st Century



Why It Is Okay for Africans to Be Who They Are in a Globalized World That Has Become Inhumane

Emmanuel D. Babatunde

Globalization is the dominant force at work creating linkages between the technologically advanced countries at the expense of less technologically developed countries of the globe. The factors of globalization are centralized authority, information superhighway, rapid transfer of capital, and ‘deterritorialization’ of personnel (Babatunde 2014). The suggestion is that formally artificial international boundaries have, on account of immigration, replaced religion as the location of conflict by those fleeing countries in strife in search of improved living in developed countries with better opportunities.

Controversy has surrounded the dialogue on the existential problem couched in the following questions: What must people of African descent do to sustain their survival in a world evolving progressively into one that promotes optimum development of the individual at the expense of the community? Is it a global world in which the wealth of the nations and

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the economic superiority of the West have been built on the sweat and at the expense of people of color, in general, and Africans in particular? The following questions are therefore pertinent to the preceding ones: Who is the African? What is the consistent pattern of treating the African as s/he comes in contact with other humans who come back to the African continent to look for means of over-abundant and indulgent survival at the expense of Africans who are impoverished? Why is it important that because Africans have a lot in common that includes the anomaly that Africa is the richest continent while its inhabitants are the poorest human beings in the globe, Africans in Africa and the Diaspora need to unite to protect responsibly use the resources of their continent, in memory of their ancestors, to strengthen the living, while preserving those resources for the future generations? As Abdul Karim Bangura (in press-a) opined, it is heartwarming to see a resurgent Pan-Africanism uniting to preserve that which belongs to Africa for on-coming generations of all people of African descent. Africans have been taken from Africa to different places around the globe to serve as the laborers who, according to Adam Smith, created the *Wealth of Nations* (1776). Bangura (in press-b) has noted that that this current resurgent Pan-Africanism runs counter to globalization. As he noted,

This conceptualization is being challenged by globalization (i.e. the process of going to a more interconnected world by diminishing the world's social dimension and expansion of overall global consciousness) as its power continues to weaken boundaries of statehood and many young people in Africa and the Diaspora are increasingly becoming aware of their own political and economic environment. It is in this context that Pan-Africanism has found a viable niche for renewal in the 21st Century among educated Africans. Instead of focusing only on *identity* (i.e. the fact of being who or what a person or thing is), this 'new Pan-Africanism is also a call for democracy, good governance and economic development'. (Bangura in press-b)

The suggestion not to focus on identity but to work doggedly on democracy, good governance and economic development posits a humiliating challenge to the failure of the African elite since independence. Young people who have become disillusioned by the non-performance of the elite who inherited the construct of the nation-state after independence have become aware of their own political and economic power. To realize this in the context of diminishing returns of the post-independent

governing elite in most parts of Africa, they have embarked on dangerous trips in rickety boats over thousands of miles on the sea, through countries where Africans are treated as slaves at best and sub-humans at worst. The fundamental questions, again, are the following: Who is the African? What is s/he worth to fellow Africans?

To answer the preceding questions, analysis ought to begin from the culture of Africans. The discipline of Anthropology tells us that culture is very complex with multiple dimensions pertinent to ethnicity, nationality, as well as life experiences, differences in gender, age, place of residence, special affiliations, language, education, religion and socioeconomic status (Levi-Stauss 1967). While these elements constitute a worldview, the discipline of Anthropology is clear—through archaeological studies and studies in phenotype—that Africa is the mother of human beings and civilizations. Anthropology is also clear on the fact that as groups have moved out of Africa and they have constructed worldviews whose components differ from one another. Every worldview has a process of bringing up its young on the essential ideas it regards as crucial to survival in its environment through the process of socialization. Every group ensures that these crucial ideas are transferred from one generation to the next. Every group seeks its survival by assuring that its members make the values that underpin group survival part and parcel of their own lived experience, complete with concepts and approved practices. These patterns of existence may even be maladaptive; but because of internalized comfort in practicing them, any change in that which they practice may cause significant stress to them.

GROUP SOCIALIZATION

Africans, West Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP), Asian and Latin cultures socialize their young ones to internalize concepts crucial to their own group's survival. These concepts include what the group believes is the innate human nature, the relationship between people and nature, the goal of human relationships, how time is measured and what the nature and intent of activity are. WASP believes in the fact that human nature is evil; hence, there is the need to purify the newly born baby with rituals of baptism in order to nullify original sin.

A more structured proof of WASP's belief that the human being is evil by nature is demonstrated in the classic *Leviathan* by Thomas Hobbes (1651). Its hypothesis is that because man is evil by nature, if society is not

guarded by draconic rules, society will degenerate into the state of nature in which every individual is at war with others. The Japanese who build their pagodas on the top of the mountain to merge with nature see themselves as part of nature. Africans, Native Americans and most traditional cultures around the world see themselves as part of nature that returns to nature to join their ancestors. Latinos/Latinas believe that human nature is mixed; it is both good and bad.

OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

The intention here is to examine W. E. B. Du Bois' idea of "double consciousness" (1903) as the cognitive instrument of analysis for understanding the use of copious barrage of violence to keep the African oppressed, dispossessed, and continuously abused either in Africa or in the global Diaspora to which Africans have been taken as objects that exist for the sole purpose of being used to create the wealth of nations (Smith 1776) by adherents of the two major World Religions, Christianity and Islam. As Du Bois noted,

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (1903, p. 11)

With particular reference to Africans taken to the United States by mainly Christians of European descent and turned into cartels whose labor was necessary to build the wealth of the United States, in terms of the brutal, prolonged and continuous violence visited on Black children of God to keep them in the periphery of American society, "never to rise to become equals," Du Bois stated:

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife,—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to

be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face. (1903, p. 12)

All that the African American wanted was that his or her personhood, his/her humanity is recognized, respected and affirmed. What kind of Christian is taught in Catechism class that all human beings are created in the image and likeness of God, except Black people taken from Africa? Yet this bastardization of the essence of the Christian message is what occurs repeatedly when people of European descent encounter people of color (Poc) in territory far away from Europe. Christianity is used to tame Poc to think that this new comer is a fellow human being. Thereafter, racism—institutional support for prejudice—is used to put Poc in their place, subservient and dehumanized by this new comers who started their evangelization by preaching that all people are created in the image and likeness of God.

The Sotho-Tswana have the moral template of Botho which resonates with the moral template of Ubuntu among the Xhosa and the Zulu. This moral template is a fundamental measurement used to separate the human beings from the non-human beings. To be fully human, the template implies, you have to affirm the humanity in others. So when the Afrikaners—Dutch descendants who moved to South Africa—started to use brutal means to dispossess the autochthonous Poc that they met on their arrival in South Africa, the Sotho-Tswana, the Xhosa and the Zulu were convinced that these new arrivals were not fully human because they did not affirm the humanity in the Poc that they met in South Africa.

A second objective of this chapter is to show the fundamental differences between African and European worldviews as well as the different roles women play in the cultures that produce those worldviews. This analysis is to support the proposition that it is okay for Africans to be themselves as people who humanize the global world that has progressively become inhumane.

The third objective is to compare the role of African womanhood as the foundation of necessary social capital for the survival of the group with the role of white WASP women in America as the beneficiaries of the violence, brutalization and dehumanization of African women. In order to protect WASP womanhood for the singular role that WASP Anglo-Saxon males have structured for her, that of satisfying their sexual needs, the Black woman was re-imagined by White men in the two new roles of

the Mammy (wet nurse) and Jezebel (Tempter, prostitute). Each of these roles made the life and fortunes of the Black woman more impoverished and difficult in the effort to make the life of the WASP womanhood easier. The contention is that White womanhood has always benefited from the painful creations and adjustments made to accommodate women just as WASP women became the most loud and preferred minorities when new spaces opened through the sweat and blood of Black womanhood or manhood.

The methodology employed in this research includes archival sources based on literature review. It also uses ethnographic qualitative methodology succinctly reframed by Bangura as emphasizing “words, as opposed to numerical values” to answer existential questions of Who? What? Where? When? and How? (Bangura in press-c). In this model, leadership is an instrument of service of all in the community—women, men, the young, the old and the disabled. The method also included qualitative interviews by contemporary representatives of the African culture under study, some of whom are professors and students. It included useful video tapes of the past which were presented to a body of contemporary students in order to elicit their understanding of the crucial elements in the films about the past. The intention is to prod contemporary students to enunciate what has changed in the life of contemporary African Americans and what has remained the same.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Of the significant theories that are often used for research in the social sciences—some of which are Structural Functionalism, Conflict Theory, Exchange Theory, Developmental Theory—three theoretical approaches (Structural Functionalism, Conflict Theory and Exchange Theory) will provide the basis for the critical research needed to decode the dynamics of culture that underpin an understanding of the differences between the working of African cultures when in contact with European culture. Structural Functionalism uses the characteristics of a living organism and how it functions to understand the way in which resources in the community ought to be allocated for the wellbeing of the society. It presumes that it is in the nature of society to ensure that because, like an organism, its units ought to function smoothly to keep them alive, thus, the units of the ought to function together for the society to survive. Its understanding of leadership and the use of power is quite

different from Conflict Theory, which is the preferred tool of analysis when the Europeans come in contact with traditional people of color. Structural Functionalists believe that power is a resource that exists in the community for the use of the community. It naively believes that those in leadership in the community will use power, a scarce commodity, for the benefit of all in the community.

Conflict Theory has no such illusions. It believes that power is a scarce commodity that some have at the expense of others. Whether leaders are elected or leadership is inherited, Conflict Theory asserts that power is a scarce commodity understood in zero sum dimensions: that is, some have power at the expense of others who do not have power. The preferred African understanding is the constant sum concept of power based on how Structural Functionalism specifies that power as a resource in the community used for the benefit of all in the community. As community-oriented as the constant sum concept of power is, Africans will have to rethink their responses to the use of resources, commodities and valuable materials that exist in their societies for the survival of all in the society. If power had been used in terms of the structural functionalist idea of constant sum concept of power in Africa, the daughters and sons of the richest continent in the world would not be the poorest people in the world. When African elites are coopted to live according to the amoral customs and ways of making profit, for the sake of profit, at the expense of others in the community, Africa becomes the poorer for it. Conflict Theory, which asserts that anything that is valuable in the society must be fought over, is more suited to working of modern societies built on profit maximization at the expense of others.

AFRICAN TEMPLATES OF AUTARKIC RESURRECTION

A crucial entry point into the analysis of issues on perspectives of African culture as they relate to innate human nature, foundations of social relationships in the society and the underlying issues between nature and people in the society is religion. Ninian Smart's Six Dimensions of Religion—(1) rituals, (2) myths, (3) ethics, (4) doctrines, (5) experiences, and (6) relations—summarize not just important aspects of all religions, but more so the most important aspects of African communities (Smart 1999). Opinions of scholars of African Traditional Religion reiterate the essential kernel that *communitas*—community that survives on social capital—the reciprocal elements and resources that exist in a society

for the revitalization of that society. A significant number of scholars of African Traditional Religion, including Bolaji Idowu (1962), Gabriel Setiloane (1976), and John Mbiti (1969), to mention but a few, have reiterated that the World Religions have accomplished very little when it comes to converting people of African descent from their indigenous religions to the two most celebrated World Religions, Christianity and Islam. John Mbiti noted the following:

A careful scrutiny of the Religious situation[in Africa] shows clearly that in their encounter with traditional religions, Christianity and Islam have made only an astonishingly shallow penetration in converting the whole man of Africa, with all his historical-cultural roots, social dimensions, self-consciousness and expectations. (1969, p. 263)

World Religions are religions of prestige and modernity whose control is total on only one day in the seven-day week—Sunday and Friday, respectively. On the other hand, African Traditional Religions are the religions of relevance, solution to problems, as well as the constant reminders of the primordial ties that have bound and will continue to bind people together even as modernity progresses. In times of crises, people resort to rituals of indigenous religions to solve their existential day-to-day problems.

Gabriel M. Setiloane in his *The Image of God Among the Sotho-Tswana* explained aspects of the anatomy in terms of what they mean and stand for in Sotho-Tswana and identified *Seriti* as a potent force that energizes the community. In relation to the community, he illustrated the significance of *Seriti* through the concept of the magnetic field as follows:

It is as if each person were a magnet, creating together a complex field. Within that field, any change in the degree of magnetization, any movement of one affects the magnetization of all. Beings maintain an intimate ontic relationship with one another, and the idea of distinct beings, side by side, completely independent of one another is foreign to the Sotho-Tswana. A healthy ‘seriti’ breeds dignity, good manners, prosperity. A heavy ‘seriti’, acting malevolently, may produce in others irritability, debility and accidie. ...It extends beyond the members of a man’s household, to his cattle, his possessions and his house itself. (Setiloane 1976, pp. 42–43)

The name Setiloane itself signifies, not only one of solid character, but a trusted critical thinker who is an elder that sits on a low stool and occupies

himself with weaving or any other recreational activity but whose main duty for being present at the gathering is to ensure that truth and facts of history are adhered to at the *kgotla*—the meeting of elders. He is the community’s critical thinker who engages in the past, not for purposes of ethnocentrism or the promotion of anachronism, but to find in it what is useful for directing the community as it moves into a wholesome future. Setiloane’s other duty as the sustainer of the truth in the society is to make sure that no one is bending the truth to advance his or her cause.

An exclusive interview on the nature of human society and what makes it tick with Kwame Saforo (March 12, 2018), a native of Ghana and a Philosopher and Professor at Lincoln University was very reflective. The Akan, he said, is the largest ethnic group in modern day Ghana. To the West are Fantis; to the East, they are Akuapins. Twi stands for all Akan languages. The greatest accolade to a person in the community still is “you are too much of a person.” This generic affirmation encapsulates within it attributes such as generosity, dignity, and one who comes to the rescue of the poor and powerless. The person imbued with dignity contributes copiously to the necessary reciprocities inherent in the community, for oiling the engine of survival in the community. He also noted that some people are not regarded as people in the community because they are too selfish. They are too much into themselves.

The Ketu Yoruba, unlike most Yoruba patrilineal communities, appreciate, to a large extent, how their male-oriented societal structures are so reliant on females. They try to some extent to make up for their women the fact that they rely on them to perpetuate the male-oriented structures of their patriarchy. The first demonstration of such knowledge is the fact that, unlike most areas of Yorubaland, the Ketu are the first to contend that God is female (Babatunde 1992). The second concession for Ketu women is the elaborate ceremonial ritual effort in the Gelede Ritual Spectacle made primarily to placate women so that women with metaphysical powers could use their powers to strengthen the society so that conceptions are given birth to without difficulties and society runs smoothly without the menace of those witches who use their power to abort the life of the unborn (Lawal 1996). Andrew Apter’s analysis in terms of menstrual blood that is both polluted and powerful fits that of the Ketu, especially as the economic enterprise of Ketu Yoruba is factored in the equation (Apter 2013). Five-day market cycles which cater for food crops and the exchange of needed goods and services are separated from cash crops that men cultivate and tend. As Apter noted,

The profound association of female blood with motherhood and market women forms a pair of contrastive values. The good blood of procreative fertility and childbirth and its inverse, the infertile blood of menstruation and witchcraft are present in all women in varying proportions, but shift towards the negative pole as women pass menopause, gain economic and political autonomy and accumulate greater wealth through extended market activities. Wealthy market women can undermine male authority in the home, precipitating rivalry between co-wives, lineage fission and optation, while increasing their spatial mobility and autonomy by attending markets in neighboring towns following their calibrated cycles of market days. ...Like the mother who converts blood and sperm into new life, the ultimate blessing, the female trader converts money and commodities into new wealth through exchange, producing a surplus that benefits the community at large by adding to the vitality of the market itself. (2013, p. 78)

Lawal discusses the importance of the cultivation of the inner element of beauty in the individual who is transformed into *Omoluwabi* both by the community but more fundamentally the mother. The centrality of the mother as the fulcrum on which Yoruba society revolves has been properly documented by Niara Sudarkasa. The essential values that underpin successful families include the inculcation of Respect, Responsibility, Reciprocity, Restraint, Reference, Reason, and Reconciliation (Sudarkasa 1996, pp. 64–72). This is the foundation on which the epitome of the good person known in Yoruba as *Omoluwabi* is cultivated. More importantly because so much responsibility for turning children into *Omoluwabi* falls on women with the support of men in the extended family, significant importance is attached to all phases of a Yoruba woman's life.

Precisely because so much is demanded of women on account of the fact that womanhood is the fulcrum on which the society turns, in order for women to perform thoroughly their most pressing maternal duties for the society, the Yoruba divide the life of the Ketu Yoruba female into four phases. The first phase is from birth to puberty. During this period, both parents nurture and teach the child the fundamentals of Yoruba culture which include respect for seniority, support of family wellbeing by doing chores, and maintaining the principles of being seen but not heard when elders are deliberating among themselves on family or on communal issues of survival. The arrival of a child at the threshold of the age of reason is measured physically by the Yoruba when the right arm of the child goes

over and touches the lobe of the ear on the far side of the head. From this moment to the arrival of puberty, the Ketu Yoruba mother thoroughly schools her daughters and sons in work ethics, good manners, and the ability for each child to master the art of cooking basic Yoruba meals for the child's own survival.

African Retentions in African American Experience

In order to appreciate the constructions of humanity based on the WASP worldview, it is important that the properties of this worldview are differentiated from those of the African worldview to ascertain the extent to which the African American worldview shares in the African perspective. It is clear that there are loud African retentions in African American experience in religion, music, as well as the extent to which White supremacy allows these retentions to flourish under the brutality of slavery, which created for White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) survival, the contradictory roles of the Black woman as a Mammy and the Black woman as a Jezebel. As Apter noted,

At this point we can simply note how the antimonies of black womanhood were stereotyped into familiar figures of loyalty and lust. Nowhere is the opposition more clearly expressed than in antebellum contrasts between Mammy and Jezebel in the American South. Evoking the image of the black "mammalian mother", Mammy represented the loyal domestic servant who served as the lynchpin of the "Big House," running the household, attending to her mistress, and manifesting in her bigness and blackness a surrogated form of social lactation. Indeed, mammy as mammary was, in effect, a "surrogate mistress and mother" who was so devoted to her young white charges that she could double as their wet-nurse. Against this image of black maternalism, the figure of Jezebel posed a sexualized threat, attending not to her mistress's children, but rather male desires and needs. ...they were reputed to exchange sexual favors with the master and his sons for gifts and special treatment. Although in reality they were ravished and raped, such women were constructed as agents of seduction, evoking the image of the African temptress and her natural promiscuity. (2013, p. 83)

Differences Between WASP and African Worldviews

The exploration of the comparisons between the WASP and African perspectives will reveal the differences between the African worldview whose retentions are still strong in the African American experience as opposed to the WASP worldview which has constructed the two contradictory images of African womanhood to dehumanize the African American female. Whereas the WASP perspective is totally committed to mastery over nature, the African perspective as retained in African American culture is interested in harmony with nature. Whereas the WASP worldview wants personal and total control over the environment, the African is interested in what fate has prepared for him/her to use in nature to come up with a cure in case of sickness. Whereas the WASP concept of life is manifested in doing and copious activity, the African worldview is interested in being and becoming in the group in order to strengthen the wellbeing of the group.

Time in WASP calculation is in absolute terms. Time in African terminology is understood in contingent perspective of contextualizing action into activities. Thus, the age of a farmer's daughter is measured not in terms of some absolute time but in terms of contingent action expressed in how many seasons of planting corn or maize the weather has permitted to be planted since the farmer's daughter was born. Thus, in West Africa, a 20-year-old farmer's daughter would be measured as having lived by as many as 40 corn-planting seasons because the weather only allows for two seasons of planting in a year.

In WASP conceptualization, therefore, time dominates and dictates interaction. In African worldview, personal interaction characterizes the quality of time spent. WASP society is keyed on equality even though it creates tremendous inequalities between people in the community based on those who can make profit for the sake of profit at the expense of the others who are not so equipped. WASP communities put greater emphasis on individualism and privacy over laws that enhance group welfare community reciprocities in traditional societies. Youthfulness is preferred in WASP societies over and above elders. African worldview puts a lot of premium on the elders on account of experience that they have acquired over time. WASP culture prefers self-help to birthright inheritance on the one hand and competition to cooperation on the other. This leads to the fact that trusting reciprocal relations that are in the community for the building of the community and the servicing of the

needs of the community are done away with to allow for competition for profit for the sake of individual gains. Precisely because WASP societies are keyed on making profit for the sake of making profit (capitalism), they are focused on the future in terms of how that profit can increase astronomically instead of nurturing, in the present, new instances of trusting reciprocal relationships that underpin the survival of the total community over the survival of those who have against those who have not.

A characteristic of ‘communitas’ is informality driven by the trust that is inherent in the community for its survival. Whereas the formal WASP society is ruled by making profit for the sake of making profit on the basis of directness and openness based on the legal process, the African perspective is based on the respect for long experience in relationships and old rituals of relationships which matter to the community. WASP society prefers materialism to spirituality. Even when its places of worship front as citadels of spirituality, their foundation is rooted in materialism in which plenty is made to suffocate the spirit with material benefits.

Noam Chomsky and the Place of the Marginalities in the Globe

Noam Chomsky has argued that all humans have similar linguistic abilities and thought processes. He also argued in *Transformational Generative Grammar Structure* (TGGS) that all societies have dominant structures and muted structures (Chomsky 1953, 1955). Dominant structures are controlled by the law-makers who make laws for the society, laws that serve the purpose of the dominant group. When in contact or confrontation with the muted structures, the dominant structures have set in place a means of verbalization for muted groups to find the avenue to express views unique to them. When the muted group uses the spaces or interstices left by the dominant group to express views unique to the muted groups, those views are corrupted and coopted to express views consonant with those serving the hegemonic interest of the dominant group. The muted groups are left with no option other than to forfeit views unique to them as these views are coopted to serve the interest of the dominant groups. The alternative is for the muted group to sweep away views unique to those of the dominant group on the space of verbalization and replace them by views unique to those of the muted group. The dominant/muted groups relationship is the equivalent of Aristotle’s Pneumatics—in the three classifications of Aristotle’s Psychology in which

the most dominant group in society are the Pneumatics. The second group is made up of the Honorifics. The third group is the Appetitive.

The Pneumatics are the dominant group who make the laws of the society to suit themselves because, embedded in their rule-making, is the desire for them to perpetuate their dominance. The Honorifics, the second classification in Aristotle's three groups, are the law enforcers who have internalized the moral order in the hegemony of the law-makers. They are also only interested in the recognition, status and promotion that accrue to them when they carry out their hegemonic duties at the expense of the disenfranchised third group, the Appetitive, who, because of their poverty, live at the pleasure of their basic instincts—i.e. their appetites.

Aristotle's views are in assonance with those of Noam Chomsky in their Antonio Gramsci as they aggregate to develop a useful theoretical analytical research tool called Hegemony. As Laitin succinctly noted, hegemony is the "political forging—whether through coercion or elite bargaining—and institutionalization of a pattern of group activity in a state and the concurrent idealization of that schema into a dominant symbolic framework that reigns as common sense" (Laitin 1986, p. 19).

Antonio Gramsci spent his time in jail to look closely at the structure and processes as well as the traditions of the Catholic Church in order to understand the nature, process and working of hegemony. The application of hegemony to the ways of the Catholic Church is very rewarding. Hegemony develops an environment in which one single moral order reigns supreme. In that moral order, one concept of reality is internalized by all the elements of the society: place of worship, school, hospital, convent, monastery, the diocese, the parish, the banks, as well as recruitment institutions that admit new members into the fold. Because this moral order infuses all aspects of the society, there is an agreement on issues that suffuses the total organization. If political action requires a mixture of coercion and consent, hegemony provides the ideology that encourages consent by the lower strata: i.e. the convent, the parish. Where hegemony is strong in the society, coercion which is expensive and unpopular and whose end result is unpredictable will be avoided. Why so? It is so because the moral order which serves the interest of the ruling strata is accepted out of false consciousness by the poor. The consent of the poor which is given out of false consciousness allows the political elite to rule through consent not because that action favors them but because they have adopted a conception of the world which is not their

own but is borrowed from the elite. Political action by the masses cannot be understood in terms of rational calculation. The ruling class sets the priorities and assumptions of the total community. The redeeming grace is the critical consciousness which exists in the communities. It unites the poor in the street with fellow workers in the unions with the academics who duty is to develop this consciousness. It is this critical consciousness that Walter Rodney (1969) appealed to in his classic *The Grounding with My Brothers*. This is an appeal to counter-hegemony that resides in the society. Gramsci as well as Walter Rodney think that it is the business of the academy to develop and propagate it.

The bonds that tie Aristotle, Noam Chomsky and Antonio Gramsci together are the desire to develop and articulate counter-hegemony. When counter-hegemony is strong and developed, it creates the environment that strengthens social action by all members of the society as empowered participants who work on policies that enhance the humanity of the citizenry, the equality of all in the nation state to seek redress in enforcing the accountability of the ruling class.

CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes by taking up on two introductory points posited by Bangura. The first point is that there is a new resurgence of Pan-Africanism in which young Africans in Africa and the African Diaspora have become keenly aware of their economic viability and have shown how committed they are to take risks that would eventually provide them, hopefully, with the means, environment and opportunities to realize them. To that extent, this new Pan-Africanism is a counter force to the globalization at work. Secondly and, more importantly, is the advice that “instead of focusing on identity (i.e. the fact of being who or what a person or thing is), this new Pan-Africanism is also a call for democracy, good governance and economic development” (Bangura in press-d). The chapter took a close look at who Africans are, what sets Africans apart from others, and what is the unique worldview of Africans. It discusses the importance of taking ourselves and our leaders to task to reconnect with our past and the essential moral nature of our humanity which in the past has been taken for granted.

Our post-colonial African leaders abandoned the moral order of the African in preference for new superficial moralities preached by the World Religions whose promoters think they know and own us because they

command a superficial aspect of our lives. The suggestion that we posit to these ‘African’ leaders is that they come back to embrace the moral order of the African who spends six days in the week seeking solutions to existential problems from our African human traditional sources. When we are comfortable in our skin and respective of the caring reciprocities of social capital that underpins our wellbeing in the community, then we will assume our responsibility that our culture is not built on zero-sum power variables but on constant-sum power options in which we are our brothers’ and sisters’ keepers. When the money generated through hard work in Africa is spent to improve the African condition and when outsiders who come to divide and rule us so that they may carry away the precious resources of Africa to enhance their own wellbeing are driven away, then the dream of the Black Panther Film will be realized that we can take care of our own by improving the human condition. In order to support this line of political action, this chapter used the works of Aristotle, Noam Chomsky and Antonio Gramsci to suggest a different theoretical proposition. The theoretical handle of hegemony is used to create a critical consciousness between the academics and the intellectuals who must develop the idea and connect their enactment to the laborer and the active man in the streets. That we are humane and that we believe in valuing the humanity in others do not make the African bad. It only makes him/her a decent human being. It is okay to follow with integrity the dictates of the morally demanding culture of our ancestors. It is okay to remind the leaders whose leadership has been legitimized by the moral shortcomings of our colonizers, that if they change and abide by the moral order of our ancestors, we will accept them and turn them back to the moral fortitude of our ancestors. It is good to be who we are—Africans.

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The Effects of the Politics of Globalization on Politics in Africa: How African Countries Can Achieve Significant Political Stability and Equality in International Multilateral Political Institutions

J P Afamefuna Ifedi

The foundations of globalization was laid in the fifteenth Century, but its political nuances, built upon economic foundation, was formulated and given expression with the advent of European scramble for Africa which was formalized in the Berlin Conference of 1885; thus beginning the age of colonialism and imperialism. The advent and advancement of technology has facilitated the ability of humans to reach all parts of the world, propelled by the continuing perfection of transportation and information technologies, migration and movement of people across national boundaries, with effect on political and economic disparities and inequalities in Africa. Since the 1990s, the issue of “globalization” has been a critical fixation for scholars and analysts, and its meaning and

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effects are still strongly contested. Political and economic globalization are twin realities that are often viewed as being in a relatively nascent stage in the evolution of the capitalist global economy in which transnational capital is dominant in national and international domains and has impacted political conditions in Africa. According to Adam Hochschild,

In the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, nothing reshaped the world more than European imperialism. It redrew the map, enriched Europe, and left millions of Africans...dead. For example, in 1870, some 80 percent of Africa South of the Sahara was under the control of indigenous chiefs, or other such rulers. Within 35 years, virtually the entire continent, only a few patches excepted, was made up of European colonies or protectorates. France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom had all seized pieces of 'this magnificent African cake,' in the words of King Leopold II of Belgium—who took an enormous slice for himself. (2018, p. 150)

In the aftermath of its formal physical colonization, Africa was subjected to neocolonialism and imperialism; these global economic-political formations were orchestrated to exploit Africa. Following World War II, the political and economic formations of the post-war world essentially cemented Africa's global political position vis-a-vis the rest of the world. Of course, all political processes are undergirded by economic power, as no nation can exercise a foreign policy or action between and among nations in the international sphere which is at variance with its national power, defined in economic terms. It is therefore evident that Africa faces an onerous task in negotiating better political terms in international organizations in which the rules of international political and economic procedures and processes are made by countries with powerful developed economies.

European contact with Africa in the fifteenth Century led to the political and economic exploitation, relegation and marginalization of Africa. There is abundant scholarly evidence that buttresses the perspective that the political economy of Africa would have been fairing better had Europeans traded with rather than on Africans; the trade on Africans distorted, compromised and undermined Africa's political economy to the benefit of Europeans to this day. Europeans also excluded Africans from any meaningful role in the governance of their own national sphere and assigned them a peripheral place in the global political governance institutions. Hence, globalization has had mostly deleterious effects on

Africa, so much so that Africa is eminently unable to adequately prepare to avail itself of the potential benefits, as there were, of globalization.

In regard to this chapter, certain conceptual and theoretical frameworks would be discussed in order to construct the appropriate theoretical foundation upon which the subject would be hoisted and explained, such as globalization, international political economy, Dependency Theory, and World Systems Theory. I discuss globalization and international political economy merely to provide a necessary backdrop for making clear the political and economic imperatives and trajectory of Africa in the global context in the era of globalization, but anchor the chapter on the theories of dependency and world systems. These theories help to explain the reasons for many of Africa's political challenges in the context of the political effects of globalization in Africa. This analytical and historical approach is most fitting in this chapter relative to exposing the fundamental economic foundations of the global system which impact significantly on Africa's politics; this is in keeping with Diopian pluridisciplinary perspective.

METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

The method employed in this chapter is the qualitative/analytical method. Robert K. Yin proposes five features of qualitative research: (1) studying the meaning of people's lives under real-world conditions, (2) representing the views and perspectives of the people in a study, (3) covering the contextual conditions within which people live, (4) contributing insights into existing or emerging concepts that may help to explain human social behavior, and (5) striving to use multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone (Yin 2010). The qualitative method is employed in this chapter as its analytical attributes are considered to be the best fit for this type of investigation, relative to identifying, teasing out, describing and evaluating the fundamental economic and political foundations of the political and economic conditions which impact significantly on Africa's politics.

Based on the qualitative method, this chapter is decidedly descriptive and analytical. The former tends to focus on description, determination and identification of phenomena, while the latter attempts to establish why things are the way they are; or rather, how things come to be the way that they are. Furthermore, analytical studies identify and attempt to determine associations between phenomena; they enable a researcher to

employ critical analyses in the elucidation of a problem into its component parts; they also enable the explanation of phenomena and reaching of findings in a structured way so as to effectively answer the question posed by the researcher. In other words, it allows one to apply information drawn from already available sources to render an evaluation of the material in order to explain complex issues or find answers to phenomena.

The qualitative method, as used here, essentially relies on the gathering, collating and evaluation of relevant scholarly essays which address the particular issue of globalization and its impact on Africa. This includes materials that have to do with a systematic analysis and review of other issues related to and useful for the explanation of the subject matter of this research. The chapter eventually hoist its conclusions, findings and policy recommendations on a careful synthesis of related studies on the issue, to include scholarly articles, books, monographs, views of commentators from many sources. This research integrates various types of data to determine the relationship between economic development and politics in Africa. Primary and secondary data—information that has been published in books, newspapers, government reports, credible Web sites of various national and international organizations, scholarly journals and other articles on globalization, international economic factors, as well as international political conditions, dependency issues and the organization of the world system and their effect on politics in Africa—are employed.

The salient drawbacks of the qualitative approach are as follows: it could be subject to the researchers' biases and personal whims, as well as their personal skills as researchers. The necessary rigor called for by research tends to be more difficult to attain and maintain. Moreover, the quality and quantity of the research material and sources selected by a researcher is solely dependent on the researcher's personal interest and observation; also, it is usually not guided by any clear and operationalized data collection and research design; and, it is very time consuming to conduct qualitative research.

In order to avoid the salient drawbacks of the qualitative method, it is necessary to adopt a very careful and rigorous approach to this chapter of the subject matter and to select materials that are readily available to other interested researches who might want to discover the sources of the resources, as well as the sources that form the research base of the chapter. An in-depth and wide ranging analysis of the subject would improve on the validity of the research findings, thereby overcoming or minimizing the chances of personal bias and randomness. Also, one can

solve the problems associated with qualitative research method by simply adopting the quantitative method of research, though not all subject matters are amenable to the quantitative method. Except for the last aspect (employing a quantitative method), all of the other features for dealing with the drawbacks of the method were done for the current chapter.

Attention is now turned to the evaluations of the major concepts and the theories that undergird this research: i.e. globalization, international political economy, Dependency Theory, and World Systems Theory. Indeed, each of these aspects can take up a whole book to evaluate. Due to space limitation, however, their critiques have been omitted in this chapter. Even the evaluations presented here are relatively brief because of this limitation.

GLOBALIZATION: A CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Globalization was set afoot once man set foot on the earth. Humans' quest for economic sustenance and the politics that attends it compelled them to begin immediately to expand their geographical horizon. For many theorists, globalization is as old as human history and began once the first humans stepped off the African continent (Pieterse 1988). For other theorists, globalization is a requirement to create the necessary conditions for the existence of an institutional component since global institutions did not exist prior to the 1900s; thus, for these theorists, it is essentially a recent phenomenon, a twentieth Century development. Many scholars (e.g., Cohen 2005; Steger 2003; Mittleman 1996; Hatem 2014; Chilcote 2000) have explored the conceptualization of globalization. Due to space constraints, only a few of them are discussed here.

For Cohen, the first period of globalization took place during the sixteenth Century during the age of world exploration and expansion. The Spanish conquistadors largely spearheaded the early movement and the globe soon became locked into interconnected spheres of influence between European powers and indigenous peoples around the globe (Cohen 2005). The second period of globalization was marked by Britain's expansive trading empire during the nineteenth Century. This period was marked by the significant increase in trade between nations and transferring of technological and cultural products across the world. Lastly, the current form of globalization is symbolized by the information

age marked by an explosion of high-speed communication and financial transactions. Cohen agrees that nineteenth Century trade was more ‘globalized’ in relation to percentages of GDP. Recent technological, cultural and ideological transfers between peoples have changed the nature of global exchange and that this marks a new period of multidimensional globalization (Cohen 2005).

Emerging as a popular term in the 1980s, globalization became a dominant narrative among academics for understanding the influential changes in the post-Cold War international system. Defined by Manfred Steger as a “multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch and intensify worldwide social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people growing awareness of deepening connections between local and distant” (Steger 2003, p. 2), globalization implies an ecumenical interconnectedness of transnational and domestic structures shaped by Western-Eurocentric thought (Mittleman 1996). Although this interconnectedness of norms on a global scale had been described by scholars as a homogenization of world affairs, in the interim, globalization was altering the fundamental and traditional actors in the international environment; it brought into the fore the transnational multinational companies as major players in international relations.

Essentially, globalization today represents the manifestation of a new global dispensation. It is a global era whereby nation-states have been joined or trumped as the main or only decisive authorities in social, political and economic life by non-state actors, and the frame of reference and decision-making has been usurped by international institutions beyond the control of national actors. Thus, the individual subscribes to a global reference rather than national or local ones. In many respects, a global consciousness, not national consciousness, has seen many individuals refer their local grievances to international and regional judicial bodies for resolution rather than national ones. Examples include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) court regularly entertaining cases of national significance by individuals who bypass the jurisdiction of their national courts, as seen in the case of Biafra agitators; the International Court of Justice at The Hague in The Netherlands also has been the location of many cases brought by individuals against erstwhile governments of their countries, especially involving war crimes. Many other courts sitting far away from their nationals have also been approached by nationals of other countries for redress of issues that

occurred in their own countries, because they do not have confidence in their national courts, as in the cases of alien torts brought by indigenous peoples of Nigeria's Niger Delta against the major oil companies for damages to their environment during oil prospecting and harvesting rather than approach Nigerian courts for redress. So, the effects of globalization on social, political and economic life is plentiful and ubiquitous and its relations and interrelations with other factors and processes is catholic. This is indicative of the hyper-connectivity and inter-connectivity of people on a global scale.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL-ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

The intertwining of politics and economics renders international political economy (IPE) perspective useful in understanding the political effects of globalization on Africa, since international political economy focuses on how the world economy is organized, as well as the interconnections between international economy and politics. Indeed, an abundant amount of literature exists on this issue. Space limitation, however, makes examining all, or even most of them, impossible in this chapter. It suffices to begin with Spero's observation that the world economic structure is grounded on political decisions which is, in turn, influenced by the international economy, as it would be difficult for any economy to function without a stabilizing political structure (Spero 1977). It also reveals the nature of the organization of power relations internationally and the challenges that Africa faces in attempting to construct a favorable alternative in the international political system.

As Spero further observes, IPE is one of the more complex and contested concepts in social science. IPE deals with the way the world economy is organized politically. More concisely, IPE deals with the connection between politics and economics in international relations. As Joan Spero puts it,

One important underlying assumption of IPE, which makes it distinct from mainstream international economics, is that no economic system can exist for long without a stabilizing political frame-work of some sort. Thus the world economy and the international political system cannot be usefully analyzed separately from each other, but must be dealt with within one single theoretical frame-work, although necessarily informed by several disciplines. (1977, p. 4)

Furthermore, although IPE was always an ideological battle field, there is a consensus about what conventionally constitutes, or at least what has in the past constituted, the fundamental concern of IPE, namely the interaction of state and market or, in different terms, politics and economics. It can be said, therefore, that without both state and market, there would be no political economy (Hettne 1995). Politics is always central to economic life. It commands it by enabling the powerful to determine the course of economic production and distribution, as well as the direction and purpose of market forces. Therefore, IPE is concerned with the historically constituted processes, frameworks and/or structures within which political and economic activities take place.

Sumner notes that it involves not only the interrelationship between economics and politics but also the interconnections among the various levels of social interaction, from the local through the national to the global. Questioning the pretensions of organized power requires and involves developing a critical attitude toward organized forms of power such as the economy or the state (Sumner 2005, 2008).

The major problem of this unequal system is dependence. Whereas in independence involves a high level of mutual economic interaction and mutual sensitivity, dependence denotes highly unequal economic interaction and highly unequal sensitivity. Dependence exists when a developing country has a high level of economic interaction with a developed country, when that interaction is of great importance to the national economy, and when, therefore, the developing country is influenced by actors or events in the developed state. The developed country, on the other hand, does not have a high level or qualitatively important economic interaction with the developing state and is not influenced by actors or events in the developing country. Interdependence is a relatively symmetrical relationship; dependence is an asymmetrical relationship (Spero 1977).

The goal is of dependent countries is to change the system of dependence. The chapter now turns to examination of the problem of dependence and the attempts of developing countries to manage dependence. Thus, IPE is a veritable backdrop for understanding and clarifying the salient factors that determine global relations of production, as well as political inequities which burden Africa.

EVALUATION OF DEPENDENCY THEORY

Very few theories have received more attention from both proponents and opponents than Dependency Theory. Thus, only a brief discussion can be provided here for the sake of brevity as demanded by space limitation. Dependency Theory offers an explanatory framework the core of which is that, as a result of the penetration by colonial capital, there occurred a distorting effect on the structure of the economies and societies of Africa and other developing nations, yielding overall economic stagnation and widespread poverty. Dependency Theory emerged in Latin America during the 1960s. It offered an alternative path to development as a result of evident failures and disillusionment of bridging the gap between the rich and poor countries. A key element of Dependency Theory is unequal terms of exchange which lead to deterioration in the prices of primary goods produced by developing nations. Three contributing factors of unequal terms of exchange are (1) income elasticity of demand for foods, (2) substitution of raw materials by synthetics, and (3) a declining ratio of raw material inputs to industrial outputs. Anke Hoogvelt emphasizes that “the essence of the dependency theory is the contention that, as a result of the penetration by colonial capital, a distorted structure of the economy and society had been created in the colonial countries which would produce overall economic stagnation and extreme pauperization of the masses” (2001, p. 41).

The earliest constructions of Dependency Theory grew alongside Modernization Theory. The ideas of dependency were developed by social scientists such as Celso Furtado, Theotonio Dos Santos and F. H. Cardoso, Samir Amin, Andre Gunder Frank, Paul Baran and Immanuel Wallerstein. Key concepts proposed by these theorists include the idea that the modern capitalist system, defined as Western industrial capitalism in the Marxist sense, has developed and continues to flourish because of its ability to command the resources of non-industrialized nations. This process has taken place through formal colonialism and market domination, or “neocolonialism.” An important issue is the idea of “original accumulation of capital.” This means that a build-up of capital is developed in a way that allows for growth of the industrial system. This “primitive accumulation” was made possible by colonialism and imperialism by Europe that expanded overseas (Chilcote 2000).

Dependency theorists characterize the international system as comprised of two sets of states as dominant/dependent, center/periphery

or metropolitan/satellite. The dominant states are advanced industrial nations; for example, those in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The dependent states are those states such as exist in Africa which have low per capita gross national products (GNPs) and rely heavily on the export of a single commodity for foreign exchange earnings. External forces are important to the economic activities within dependent countries. They include multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications, and any other means by which advanced industrialized nations can represent their economic interests abroad. The relationship between dominant and dependent states is vibrant because interactions between the two groups traditionally not only reinforce inequality but also intensify the unequal patterns (Graves 2017).

Furthermore, dependency theorists postulate that the world trading and monetary system in addition to the cultural and taste preferences of the developed countries may be emulated by undeveloped nations' elites. This scenario, eventually, proves detrimental to the interests of underdeveloped and undeveloped countries. Thus, according to Steven Graves,

World production and the exchange system are viewed as allocating the production of raw materials and labor-intensive processed goods for export at relatively cheap prices to undeveloped countries. Developed countries specialize in relatively high capital and skill intensive goods for export to the undeveloped nations at unreasonable prices, leaving less-developed countries with perpetually unfavorable terms of trade—a process. (2017, p. 83)

Models of dependency then rest on the assumption that economic and political power are heavily concentrated and centralized in the industrialized countries. For dependency theorists, the central characteristic of the global economy is the persistence of poverty throughout the entire modern period in underdeveloped countries, most of which are in Africa.

EVALUATION OF THE WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

Like the preceding concepts and theory, a lot has been written on World Systems Theory. Here, again, only a synopsis of the existing ideas on this theory is presented because of space limitation. The structure of the world

system has been historically dominated by colonial and imperial countries. Beginning in the sixteenth Century, the capitalist world economy emerged. Today, the capitalist world economy virtually dominates the entire global system. As Graves states,

Unequal economic development, according to world systems theorists, should increase over time as a consequence of the world economic structure. Evolutions of the capitalist global system result in the creation of tripartite institutions which places some nations at a competitive disadvantage. Global separation results among nations as the core experience success in the world economy relative to undeveloped nations improving their development. (2017, p. 123)

Furthermore, Graves adds, world system theories point out that a factor, *inter alia*, of how a country is integrated into the capitalist global system determined its methods of economic development. Thus, “identical forces produce merging among nations within each group. Global division of labor implies that countries within a particular group are subject to similar forces, even if they are involved in unequal relationship structures, and occupying different economic roles” (Graves 2017, p. 128).

The World Systems Theory alludes to transnational divisions of labor dividing the world into core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries. Core countries focus on high skill, capital-intensive production, and the rest of the world focuses on low-skill, labor-intensive production and the extraction of raw materials, creating wealth disparities and poverty in Africa, with attendant destabilizing political consequences. This division of labor imposed on the peripheral countries, of which Africa constitutes a central part, constantly reinforces the dominance by the core countries. International trade specialization and the transfer of resources from undeveloped countries to the core countries prevent national development in underdeveloped countries by increasing their dependence on developed countries and by promoting their “peripheralization” within the international division of labor (Wallerstein 1979). Moreover, the core countries tend to be more stable politically and economically due to the lop-sided benefits from their economic activities in peripheral countries’ economic development. In peripheral countries, trade with core countries, in combination with dependent economic relationships, intensifies underdevelopment and promotes political conflicts. Such conflicts

increase among dependent nations regardless of their levels of development through the external effects of the liberal international global economy (Graves 2017).

Peripheralization increases economic inequality by changing economic conditions. Transnational firms take advantage of low wage rates in peripheral countries, yet paid wages are still above the going rate in peripheral nations (Bonschier and Chase-Dunn 1985). Economic inequality contributes to political conflict. Peripheralization encourages state repression to maintain the security of international capital and the challenges of the dominated classes. Increased vulnerability of peripheral nations to the destabilizing effects of the global economy is also important (Jaffe 1985). Many forms of governance are also explained through World Systems Theory. Understanding the scope that various political structures have been made to ensure that global systems exist is one of the most significant achievements of the World Systems Theory. This provides a common foundation for arguing aspects of international political outcomes in Africa, which clearly measures the extent that globalization has taken root in the African world.

The immediate question that arises here then is the following: How do the preceding conceptual and theoretical postulates help us to understand (a) the political effects of globalization on Africa and (b) the continent's response to them? These issues are discussed in the ensuing sections in sequential order for the sake of clarity.

POLITICAL EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION ON AFRICA

Africa's position in the international system is limited by its poor economic development in general and human development in particular, relative to developed regions. This poor economic condition accounts, in part, for the political and social instability and rise of authoritarian regimes that have characterized much of postcolonial Africa, thereby weakening the ability of African countries to establish the local political and economic conditions that are necessary in order to benefit effectively from globalization.

Due to globalization, the world social and cultural conditions and sometimes movements have also become global in scope. Hence, a semblance of global civil society is in place, and because this global civil society and cultural and political dispensation is reflective of the culture and political and civil disposition of developed nations, it works

against the development of the civil, political and cultural traditions of the underdeveloped countries, with Africa on top of the heap. Therefore, politically, globalists observe that a new and transitional social, civil, political and economic order has superseded the sovereignty and socio-cultural and political independence of underdeveloped countries. It also compels these developing countries to align their attitudes, politics, and economic and cultural dispositions to the expectations of developed nations at the expense of their own, thereby essentially relinquishing state and national power to international interests and entities such as the United Nations (UN), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO)..

A specific impact of globalization on Africa's political sphere, according to Oyejide, is the erosion of sovereignty, especially on economic and financial matters as a result of the imposition of models, strategies and policies of development on African countries by the IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization—WTO (Oyejide 1998). In support of this view, Nsibambi observes that

These international multilateral institutions have the effect of “undermining the power of the State in Africa. Most African governments are finding themselves in a situation of ‘fait accompli’ when it comes to making certain policies and decisions. International agencies such as the World Bank, IMF, the United Nations World Trade Organization, etc. take decisions which are binding on countries. This could be looked at as eroding the sovereignty and power of the State, as is prevalent in Africa ...the poorer the country is, as most African countries are wont to be, the more chance of power erosion for the State because this compels people to distrust ...their leaders when they are confronted with this ‘fait accompli’ There is a discrepancy between the rhetoric from these bodies concerning the need for democracy and the way the same bodies arrive at decisions of great consequences. It is not possible to be seen to be democratic by the people you govern when they do not see or get involved in the process of making the decisions and policies you follow to govern them. This is a big dilemma for African leaders.” (2001, p. 6)

Another major effect of globalization on Africa was the emergence of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States from the 1950s to the 1990s. It was an outcome somewhat of globalization which fostered it. In Africa, the Cold War facilitated the emergence of

authoritarian states born out of the process for globalization that had significant consequences for Africa. During its height in the 1960s and 1970s, the Cold War witnessed the emergence of authoritarian, military and single parties in Africa due to the support of the respective blocs, the two super powers: USSR and US, respectively. This development militated against Africa's ability to maneuver in the international system and undermined the success of democracy on the continent, which is now only beginning to experience some success since the end of the Cold War with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Even. More deleterious to African countries is that, dominantly, globalization does not encourage the success of the necessary economic conditions for the establishment and development of democracy and good governance, as Africa had and continues to experience.

In actuality, 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. As Rodrik observes, "by imposing economic specialization based on the needs and interests of external forces and transforming the economies of African countries into series of enslaved economies linked to the outside but with very little linkages among them, Democracy, with its emphasis on tolerance and compromise, can hardly thrive in such an environment" (Rodrik 1994, p. 12). This has, in turn, accentuated poverty and economic inequality as well as the inability of the vast number of Africans to participate meaningfully in the social and political life of their countries, as the order of needs of many of the general population of Africa is so basic that active and meaningful participation in politics and political matters is a luxury which is beyond their social capacity. So, technically, globalization tends to deter consolidation of democratic governance by reducing the capacity of governments to manage events in their countries and, thus, their accountability and responsiveness to their people.

Politically, Africa's democratization effort has been an on-going process and the results have been varied and sporadic, but the entire effort has been made more arduous by the undemocratic impulses of intervention in African politics from powerful countries that seek to ensure political outcomes in Africa that are consistent with their strategic goals which also tend to be inimical to Africa's governance needs. These undemocratic forces represented by both international institutions and developed countries work to bad political ends and undermine democracy and local good governance in Africa. The sorry anecdotes of many

African countries come to mind—Congo, Zaire, Nigeria, Cote d’Ivoire, etc. In these countries and many others, foreign governments do not stop at merely meddling in elections but go as far as dictating the outcomes in regard to who the leaders of these countries should be and the policies that should be in place. Hence, in virtually all of these countries, their political independence is simply limited.

This is often the case regardless of the propriety, fairness, freeness of the democratic election exercise. This scenario disconnects the people from their government and governors, creates political disillusionment and encourages the habits of impunity, as leaders feel greater obligation to foreign powers and institutions than to their own people. This makes the people to distrust the democratization rhetoric they hear from their leaders when they are confronted with this “fait accompli.” This disparity and discrepancy in the way democratic decisions and election of leaders are have ominous consequences for Africa. It is not feasible that to command the respect, affection and political confidence of the governed or a sense of legitimacy when the people do not see or get involved in the process of making the decisions and policies used to govern them. This is a big dilemma for African leaders. As a concern, authoritarian regimes that do not consider the voices of the people and are puppets of Western countries emerged. A recent example of this is the pressure on African governments to take certain measures in the fight against terrorism at the command of external powers, particularly the West that leads the game. As Stiglitz points out, “the rules that govern globalization are not fair...these rules make the rich countries richer than ever and the poor countries poorer than ever” (Stiglitz 2006a, p. 56).

Moreover, as long as Africa continues to receive an aid from the West or China, the continent’s politics is under the threat of those who lead the game. African leaders are and will be puppets and there will be no true democracy. African leaders and their people will continue to be ruled by invisible rulers. The low economic position and discordance of Africa has made its voice not to be heard and taken into account by the global institutions. Therefore, globalization negatively affects African politics, but this should not let us ignore the possible positive results that can emerge if we have to make globalization work. In the interim, making globalization work for Africa would be a daunting task for, indeed, as Joseph Stiglitz argues, those who benefit from current system—developed countries—will resist that change, and they are powerful! (Stiglitz 2000, 2006b).

Incidentally, democracy is needed to foster a strong economy, but a strong and thriving economy depends on sound education. Among the important issues that many African countries need to resolve are the literacy and economic issues which are the fundamental pillars of democracy. As long as the economy of the country as well as literacy rates are inadequate, as is the case in most African countries, the likelihood of the emergence of democracy and good governance would remain severely vitiated.

AFRICA'S RESPONSES TO THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION

African states are attempting to minimize or resolve the political problems in international multilateral political institutions by strengthening their voices in the world bodies and creating stronger African regional bodies, such as the creation and transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to the African Union (AU) which serves as a platform to speak more forcefully as a group and to tackle some of the problems of economics and politics confronting Africa. African states are also working to secure leadership positions and stronger voices in multilateral political and economic regional and international institutions in order to ameliorate the level of dependent decision making they experience, relative to developed countries, which tends to leverage their own prominent positions in such international bodies to dictate political and economic policies for Africa.

As a response to globalization's effects, especially those that are deleterious, African states are attempting to develop and strengthen public administration systems that are change-oriented in order to establish the enabling requirements of greater openness and accountability. This is necessary for crafting investment friendly environments needed to spur economic growth, which would confer political power, as well as a democratic dispensation that is sensitive to the satisfaction of the need of Africa's people and stability.

African governments devote capital and energy toward the development of their human resources. Africa's most needed human resources include, but is not limited to, critical skills such as human capacity, technical skills, personal disposition, knowledge, and information technology. Essentially, it is a truism that regardless of globalization, but even more so due to it, the level and extent of any country's development are regularly in tandem with the level and extent of its human capital and capacity. In other words, no country can develop beyond the capacity of its human

resources and human capital. Thus, as Ibrahim points out, “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” (Ibrahim 2013, p. 3).

African countries are also attempting to craft viable institutions that would have the capacity to address national and international issues, especially in relation to important challenges involving international actors. This includes strong legislatures, executives, judiciaries and institutions of control, as well as flexible approaches to rule application and adjudication. The outcomes of these efforts to make globalization beneficial to Africa has not been fully successful, only marginally so. In the interim, African countries have proven more successful in establishing some beneficial structures to improve their political leverage on the continent, such as improvements in the operation and structure of the AU, liberalization of market relations between and among states, lowering of trade barriers and regional integration, as in the case of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to follow are the outcome of the theoretical framework and methodology applied in this chapter: i.e. the theories of dependency and world systems and the qualitative method. Dependency Theory essentially helped to explain the underdeveloped status of many nations in Africa. It does this by reviewing the dynamic patterns of interactions among the nations and evincing that the obvious inequality between and among them are intrinsic and permanent aspects of that relationship, which benefits the rich countries at the expense of the poor countries. And, the World Systems Theory helped to confirm the postulate that the world is divided into three separate spheres of core, semi-periphery and periphery countries. The core dominant capitalist countries exploit the peripheral countries for their labor and raw material in order to fuel their industries and produce their finished products for sale to the world and the underdeveloped countries at prices dictated by those core countries. The role assigned to the peripheral countries keeps them poor and the core countries rich. The theory also explains, forcefully, the reason for the failure of African countries and their powerless position in international multilateral political and economic institutions. Given these theoretical

confirmations, this chapter is able to tap into the explanations marshaled by these theories and use the analytical process enabled by the qualitative method to explain the political effects of globalization in Africa. This analysis is able to, due to the insights provided by the World Systems and Dependency Theories, ground this chapter on proper historical, structural and political grounds based on the understanding of global economic and political processes identified by the theories.

Globalization has been an issue on the world stage in the past few decades and its implications and effects on the global economic, political and cultural, as well as scientific and technological spheres, have been of great interest to social science scholars. Globalization is increasing interaction and inter-connectedness of the world's countries. It has facilitated the lowering of barriers to international trade and commercial transactions on a global scale and bring about more global integration.

Implicit in globalization is the promise of global prosperity; and, indeed, while many developed countries have known economic and political progress under the dispensation of globalization, many underdeveloped countries, among which Africa is over-represented, have not known similar progress, but have actually experienced political and economic dependence, loss of political and economic independence, and retrogression. The political effects of globalization on Africa have been determined by the way the developed countries managed and have been managing it. They have essentially taken advantage of the facility of globalization to foster their political and economic interests over the interests of weaker regions and used it as an implement of political and economic peripheralization and marginalization.

This chapter therefore posits that Africa's position in the global political economy and political institutions have been disadvantageous for it. The West, at inception, assigned it a peripheral role in the global economic and political multilateral institutions and has since adopted practices and rules that have essentially kept Africa in the same place, evoking serious deleterious consequences, such as economic poverty, political dependence, cultural inconsequence, developmental confusion and indignity, as well as a virtual loss of national control and decision making in important matters that concern its political and economic life.

Furthermore, globalization is a complex development scheme which is the outcome or byproduct of other processes to include technology and scientific advances. It is essentially a social and political platform of a global nature which can be taken advantage of and used by any entity

to advance its own ends—economic, political, etc. Incidentally, as with all other global economic and political dispensations and opportunities, the stronger and more stable countries are able to use globalization to their advantage while the weaker and less stable countries, such as are prevalent in Africa, tend to find globalization less beneficial and disadvantageous. It behooves African countries to adopt policies and plans that would create the enabling environment to bring about the benefits of globalization: i.e. a strong economy and stable security and political environment would be helpful in this regard.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the preceding findings, this chapter proposes a number of approaches for crafting an enabling environment that would allow Africa to take advantage of the opportunities presented by globalization. First, in regard to this need, it is imperative that African states prepare the necessary enabling environment to take advantage of the platform or condition of globalization. Otherwise, they would continue to be bypassed by the benefits thereof.

Second, market integration through the creation of common markets would be quite useful. In this case, it is imperative to establish an all-Africa common market that is able to cartelize its primary products so as to be able to determine the prices of its primary commodities and to command the prices that they desire, rather than have the West dictate the prices of Africa's primary products and also determine the prices of its own finished products, which deprives Africa of net profits that are needed for its development. For example, the Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) cartel should be emulated regarding other primary products, relative to fetching better prices for primary products.

Third, political integration is also necessary to enable Africans to speak with one voice and leverage their voice to challenge the West for more advantageous positions in international multilateral organizations where major economic and political decisions are made. This would allow for Africa's interests to be better defended, protected and realized.

Fourth, investment in education, a presently low order priority for many African countries, should be improved markedly in order to develop the human capital needed for the period of globalization and beyond. Finding ways to prevent or end frequent ethnic, religious, sectarian and resource influenced wars and agitations by educating the masses are

imperative in order to create a stable and peaceful environment for trade, commerce and industry to thrive is a sine qua non of development and, ultimately political power.

Fifth, African countries need to curb corruption in the private and public spheres. Many countries are determined to end or bring corruption to a nominal level, without which no economy would be an attractive environment for serious investment. This effort is quite onerous and subject to myriad forms of political machinations which has made success in many African countries very difficult.

Finally, ethnic and religious and sectarian problems need to be resolved by employing indigenous African approaches. The rampant and widespread agitations, skirmishes and outright secessionist efforts in many countries in Africa, with the resulting political instability which is inimical to economic development, do not bode well for development. Cases such as Nigeria's Niger Delta agitations, Biafra agitation, Boko Haram terrorism, as well as the trouble in the Camerouns associated with the Ambzonia secessionist conflict are examples.

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Engeli Yokulya Oluwombo: Social Media and the Transformation of African and Black Diasporic Forms of Communication

Kebbuma Langmia

Engeli yokulya oluwombo in Luganda means how to eat “Luwombo,” a special traditional soup of the Buganda ethnic group in Uganda. It is carefully prepared and enclosed within multiple layers of plantain leaves, making it complicated to untie and consume. Similarly, it is complicated to unravel the multiple layers of social media especially for Africa. As you must have noticed, the state of inter-human communication in the twenty-first Century is shaky. On the one hand, there are digital immigrants, digital natives and digital citizens (Luke 2011; Langmia 2016) who are omnipresent on the virtual communicative universe playing independent as well as interdependent roles. On the other hand, there are non-cybercultural communicators—mostly in rural and suburban parts of Africa—who only cling to in-person verbal and non-verbal communications. The former groups of cybercultural and cybernetic users are constantly on cyberspace transmitting messages from one humankind to

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another for the purposes of improving the human condition from the economic, social, cultural and political viewpoint. It is not uncommon, in this globalized communicative universe, where boundaries have been merged virtually to find B2B (business to business) and C2C (consumer to consumer) or, more importantly, B2C (business to consumer) communications booming across the world because people have mastered the sciences of digitalization and globalization. Internet users in the world have now used the virtual space as the new public sphere of communication that has taken interpersonal and group communications to the level where they value pixelization in the cyberworld. These groups of people operate in two worlds of communication: (1) the human in-person world and (2) the virtual world. These new forms of communications have made us semi-confused because verbal and non-verbal forms of communications have assumed virtual and non-virtual forms. Margaret Yard believes that “there is no longer an impersonal world, but a post-personal world where life has turned us into a database” (Yard 2010, p. 215). This means that for meaningful human transaction to be valued globally, communicators and communicologists must consult the databases on the Internet. Books can be published abroad just by sitting on one’s laptop in Johannesburg, South Africa or Casablanca, Morocco without venturing to purchase a plane ticket to fly out of the country. It means that goods can be sold through what is popularly known as E-commerce from one farmhouse in Africa to a London warehouse without the exporter leaving his farmhouse. It also means that we can galvanize people to come out in the streets like during the Arab Spring (Klein 2014) to protest the painful years of dictatorships in Africa just by sending viral texts, memes, emojis and video messages on any given social medium.

Those who still cling to the traditional forms of communication (Africa and other members of the developing world) have become the minority interacting within a narrow scope. Non-cyber world communicative citizens, especially in the rural and some urban parts of Africa, are faced with a challenge that is caused by what is most often referred to as the “digital divide.” This means that a sizeable population of people on planet earth, especially in this era of globalization of media, have been left behind. But there has to be a way out. Another factor inhibiting some individuals from joining the bandwagon on the superhighway of digital communication comprises socio-cultural identities that may be screwed or completely absent in the digital realm. These socio-cultural identities could be from the oral as well as the written spheres.

On the continent of Africa, different interlocking scenarios are playing with respect to virtual communication and in-person communication. It is not surprising whatsoever that cybercafés have occupied the streets of most capital cities of Africa. This is a way for the continent that has valued communal in-person communications for centuries through internal and international trades with others to join the so-called global village. The colonial experiment plunged the continent into a new realm of communication with those from other cultures and that has continued till today. The implication for these new forms of communication for Africans in the continent and in the Diaspora constitutes the subject of this chapter.

The unsettled paradoxical relationship between Africa and the West, from a socio-cultural, economic and political viewpoint, is gaining traction in the communicative landscape among Africans in Africa on the one hand and African immigrants in the Diaspora on the other. What then constitutes elements of African and African immigrant communication in the age of media globalization is anybody's guess. Social media, the virtual public sphere for 'trans-human' communication, have overturned the age-old in-person communication between elders and young, women and men, children and parents, dignitaries and commoners, socio-political elites and average citizens in Africa. We are now breeding a generation of texters than talkers. Consequently, mediatized communication and in-person communication are now uncomfortable bedmates, a kind of double-edged sword. Communicators and communicologists on the continent and in the Diaspora are confronting communication through the lens of what W. E. B. Du Bois calls "double consciousness." Similarly, African immigrants in the Western world are equally torn between abiding by the tenets of African forms of oral, in-person communication and embracing the individualistic, self-centered, hyper-reality infested social media interaction on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, and LinkedIn or Africanize their communicative patterns on WhatsApp and YouTube. On the other hand, communicators, aware of the disconnection between the Western and African forms of communication have created African-centered communicative platforms like *Chomi* for South Africans, *NaijaPals* for Nigerians, *Jamii forum* for Tanzanians, *Lenali App* forum for Malians, etc. on the Internet to accommodate the forces of media globalization's neo-colonial exploitation as they attempt to blend the local with the Western. These Africancentric (Bangura 2018)

modes of communication on the Western communicative platform called the Internet have their advantages and disadvantages. As a result of Western dependency theoretical postulations, which this chapter systematically scrutinizes, it is hypothesized that Africans on the continent and those in the Diaspora are on the crossroad on what actually should constitute valid forms of communication for Africans. Thus, the central question of this chapter is as follows: What do *Jamii Forum*, *NaijaPals*, *Lenali App* and *Chomi* social media platforms have in common or differ from the Western-driven media platforms like Facebook and Whatsapp? This chapter critically examines these diametrically opposed forms of communication using a comparative analytical framework to analyze African-centric social media platforms like *Chomi*, *NaijaPal*, *Lenali App*, *Jamii forum* versus Western forms like Facebook and WhatsApp. The chapter is therefore anchored on Ali Al'Amin Mazrui's dependency theoretical postulation that "virtually all African countries have fallen into either the abyss of decay or the ocean of dependency" (Mazrui 1986, p. 213).

BACKGROUND

Social media communication in Africa has shown the extent to which this new mode of communication has affected in-person communication in one way or the other. This onslaught of new media communicative platforms that took the world by storm has generated two forms of communicators: (1) the Western tech savvy gurus and (2) the non-Western tech savvy gurus (Sunstein 2018; Rodney and Wakeham 2016; Matikiti, Kruger and Saayman, Matikiti et al. 2016; Glenn 2016; Pindayi 2017). The focus of this chapter is on the latter, with special emphasis on Africans on the margins who struggle to ride the fast train of new media communication in the age of globalization. Those in the margins have decided to carve an African-centric mode of communication on cyberspace intend on capturing certain African cultural tenets of communication that are often lost in translation in either English or French. For instance, Nicola J. Bidwell (2016) ventured in the terrain of looking for alternatives to service oral interactants in the rural parts of Africa, most especially in the Southern African regions through a design study. A new technology that could enable folks not proficient with advanced technology to be on board with virtual communication was this author's preoccupation. As Bidwell points out, however, his study did not help to "widen access to information" (Bidwell 2016, p. 51); nonetheless, the initiative itself points

us to a direction to which most media consumers in Africa should look. The presence of this new mode of interpersonal communication continues to shape gender/cultural affinities.

The way African females, for instance, socialize has been shaped by their constant use of the social media (Chukwuere and Chukwuere 2017). The negative effect can only be attributed to no other forces but that of Western languages and cultures that pervade and subject every user to abide by their tenets. The attempt to use other languages, emojis, and memes rooted in African culture can be daunting because the manufacturing and configuration of the devices are primarily Westernized. Media culture is shifting fast. Bristow's cosmopolitan digital communication study in two cities in Africa, Nairobi and Johannesburg, reveals a rather interesting result: Inter-African migrations of individuals from countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan to Nairobi and Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Mozambique to Johannesburg have affected what the author calls "communication technology culture" (Bristow 2013, p. 223). So, these cities are experiencing new forms of digital cultural communications as they embrace social media communications with imported features from the West. Their foreign African cultures, the local city cultures (Nairobi and Johannesburg), and Western cultures (Europe and North America) all come together in a *mélange*, thereby forming a new communicative culture quite alien from the remote rural parts of these two countries. This new communicative tech culture, as the Bristow calls it, is a replica of what happens in other major cities in Africa. This form of communicative hybridity needs to be further examined using the Afro-cultural Mulatto Theory that Langmia (2018) discusses in *Black/Africana Communication Theory*. Wasserman (2018) re-affirms our generally acceptable held belief with the transplantation of social media on African soil that youths, especially, are adapting this technology to suit their circumstances. According to Wasserman, students in South Africa created #FeesMustFall; #RhodesMustFall and #ZumaMustFall to bring about a fundamental change in the educational and political landscape in the country. Their skill at using and adapting digital technoculture to reshape a debate between the administration and the people has provided ample evidence to buttress the argument that Africans can effectively use Western manufactured gadgets like the mobile phones to adapt to their environmental needs. This has been effective because social media provide avenues for

users to bypass the often conservative, derided traditional media (radio, newspaper and television) that have, in the past, become the surrogate media children of autocratic state governments in Africa by interacting using social media.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

African communication scholars have continued to borrow Western-driven theories to analyze and offer solutions for decision makers to resolve issues in Africa. Since they were trained by Western scholars or scholars knee-deep in Westernization, they have tended in the past to appropriate theories like Uses and Gratification, Magic Bullet, Spiral of Silence, Diffusion of Innovation, and Agenda Setting to test communication challenges in Africa and among African immigrants abroad. In the era of digital communication, Africa is witnessing a rapid increase in the rate of social media communication use on the continent. Social media communicative platforms like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube have invaded the continent significantly and re-shaping mass communication as we knew it (Langmia and Mpande 2014). They are among the most popular and the fastest growing media of use by urban youths in a plethora of cities on the continent. As a result, interpersonal, group and mass communication have undergone significant shift from the traditional forms of communication. This shift has impacted life in the rural and urban cities, thereby dividing the communication audience into three groups: (1) those that still adhere to traditional forms of communication, (2) those that are hybrid, and (3) those that have embraced new media forms of communication. African communication scholarship is now on the crossroad: scholars are utilizing appropriate Western communicative grounded theories to examine and test inter-human communication dynamics in Africa or inculcate non-communication African-centered theories like Asante's Afrocentricity (2015) or Rabaka's (2009) Africana Critical Theory as frameworks.

There are no easy answers to this problem given that African scholarship, be it in Communication, Philosophy, Sociology, Anthropology or Education, has relied heavily, and sometimes, too heavily on Western concepts, thereby privileging foreign epistemologies over indigenous ones (Nyamjoh 2012). The search for African-driven communication theories to examine cross-cultural polemics on a large continent like Africa has become a daunting task for African scholars. African communication

scholars have, in their various research projects in and out of the continent, been using Western conceptual frameworks to examine issues that have little or no direct correlation with African thoughts. Neocolonial educational forces that still have a firm grip on the continent are largely to blame.

This chapter, therefore, uses Dependency Theory as the lens for which media globalization that has affected communicative patterns in Africa can be examined. It may help us understand African communicative themes that have so far been forced to be examined using Western lenses, what Francis Nyamnjoh calls “imported thinking and things in their European greenhouses under African skies” (Nyamnjoh 2012, p. 133). This theory seeks to place Africa in the center of any given perceptual analysis. It seeks to provide warm feelings to the fears of earlier African scholars like Cheik Anta Diop who believes that assimilation is as worse as death (Babou 2004). By constantly using Western-driven theories to research and examine communication problems in Africa, we are falling victim to Thomas Sankara’s dictum that “he who feeds you controls you.” So, this chapter uses Ali Mazrui’s dependency theoretical postulations as a guide to analyze the data from the African-driven social media platforms (*Jamaai forums, NaijaPals, Lenali, Chomi*) and the Western-driven social media platforms (Facebook and Whatsapp). Mazrui (1979) outlines salient factors that have rendered the continent subservient to the dictates of the erstwhile colonial masters: (1) as a result of colonization and exposure to Western tastes, there has been massive rural urban migration whereby young people have abandoned tools of agricultural productions to pursue shimmering and glamorous Western life styles in the cities; (2) cash crops have become more valuable to food crops because the former could be exported to Western countries and create jobs and provide needed income; (3) White settlers on the continent continue to offer employment opportunities to youths to work for them as maids, garden boys, and yard cleaners; (4) everyone is fighting to Westernize rather than Africanize both in mind and action, Africans have abandoned indigenization of their health sciences in preference for the pursuit of Western medicines; (5) Africans prefer to trade with the West than with their close neighbors. All these aspects, compounded by the fact that “virtually all African countries have fallen into either the abyss of decay or the ocean of dependency” (Mazrui 1986, p. 213), have

made dependency to Western tastes irresistible on the continent. Dependency Theory has become the lens with which to examine this new media globalization that has gripped our continent.

The research question that constitutes the basis for data elicitation is: What do *Jamii Forums*, *NaijaPals*, *Lenali* and *Chomi* social media platforms have in common or differ from the Western-driven platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp? The comparative methodology used to examine patterns in the two modes of social media communication used by Africans (Western-driven and African driven) helps decipher the similarities and dissimilarities between the two forms. According to Bureau and Salomonsen (2012), researchers who utilize this method for data analysis begin by observing strands embedded in the discourse, and in this case platforms and elicit materials that are similar and dissimilar with regards to certain contextual environments. When these procedures are followed, there will then be room for convergent and divergent patterns to be compared and contrasted. Additionally, data collected for the present chapter are analyzed comparatively from an ethnomethodological perspective. Writing from an Afrocentric standpoint, Asante confirms this about ethnomethodology: "...ethnomethodology is the idea that reality is a process and that the discussion of normative patterns cannot be made intelligently unless the researcher understands the social context" (Asante 2015, p. 34). This process can be carried out especially in this case of social media platforms by Africans using explicitly defined criteria. Themes that are found in these sites are analyzed with the backdrop of Ali Mazrui's dependency theoretical postulations. These themes are elicited in the texts and images that are found on the different platforms. In the process of synchronization, I ascertain whether there are similarities as well as differences in the formation and conceptualization of these different platforms. Attempts are also made to garner features from the intra-communicative stands found in the three media studied.

ANALYSIS

In this section, the African and Western social media platforms are analyzed based on their modes of communication. They are analyzed sequentially, albeit with comparative juxtapositions, for the sake of clarity.

Orality (Lenali App) and Social Media

Orality is the hallmark of African culture. With written culture being practiced exclusively by a privileged few on the continent, a healthy majority of the people transmit verbal messages using the oral medium of expression. The exponential growth of mobile phones on the continent of Africa in the last decade and the tendency to inculcate oral modes of expression either through the imposition of apps that are uploaded or downloaded on these devices have helped oral communicative folks join other users on the superhighway.

Giles (2018), a CNN correspondent in Mali interviewed Mamadou Gouro, a tech guru who has created the *Lenali App* that could help those relying only on oral means of communication in Mali to interact on social media. What is fascinating about this App is that it can be used in non-European language contexts. As of April, 2018, this App has about 27,000 users and the creator hopes that it can be expanded to other African countries that rely mostly on oral modes of communication. A quick observation of the App demonstrates how it functions. Like Facebook, participants can post photographs and orally send information that are texted to other users in the preferred language of the encoder. On the platforms, there is the possibility to use the translation option for English and French. For now, the App is only available for Android phone users in Mali. According to the founder, there is hope for it to be expanded in the not too distant future.

An application of this nature can help narrow the digital gap and instill a sense of inclusion that has become the rallying cry for most digital communication scholars across the globe. The notion that what is produced in the West is good for Africa is not only disrespectful for Africans, it is misleading. And that by itself can be dangerous. This has been the problem with which dependency scholars like Ali Mazrui have wrestled. It is as a result of projecting the African culture on cyberspace that grassroots organizations and Afrocentric African mindset individuals are developing African-centered user-friendly social media platforms. The aim is to interact with those in the margins who are either not proficient in the colonial languages and cultures or an attempt at promoting the rich African forms of communication to the rest of the world. These African-driven sites like *Chomi* for South Africans, *Naija Pals* for Nigerians and *Jamii* forums for Tanzanians on social media constitute the focus of this

analysis. The intention is to ascertain whether hybridity of communication between erstwhile African traditional forms of communications and Western forms of communication can co-exist in harmony without one dominating the other. It is hoped that these cybernetic communicative spaces have yoked themselves and, in the process, formed a communicative hermaphrodite in the name of hybridization of Western and African forms of communication on the virtual world.

Chomi Social Media Platform

Chomi is the African-driven, African-inspired social media networking site, created in 2017 mainly for South Africans at home and abroad for social interactions using all South African languages. The site, www.chomi.co.za, also has an App that users can download on their portable phones for easy access and convenient interpersonal communications with loved ones on virtual space.

As they are able to send and receive messages in their selected languages on the site, users are also able to dial *136*24664# on their MTN phones or Vodacom and pay the sum of RO.50 per day. Another interesting feature that is provided by *Chomi* is the availability of text, images and video transactions between the encoder and decoder of messages through instant chatting. On the site there are pictures of missing persons posted so that friends and loved ones can identify and seek public help to locate a missing person. This is what makes *Chomi* more acceptable and reliable for users.

Jamii Forum

This forum has a unique presence on social media. Like other fora, it has its terms and conditions. It is one of those rare fora where platforms are subdivided into themes for the general public and private members. Within the public fora, themes on which interactants can join and participate are news and current events, politics and the palace. In the palace, the rule is that the language use is strictly English. These are some of the texts exchanges on the theme “Advice” that are found in the palace: “Crush and conquer hate with positivity” (N Jamii forum August 9, 2016); “you can lay down for the people to walk on you and they will still complain

that you're not flat enough" (N, Jamii forum August 9, 2016); and "be yourself then the world will adjust itself" (HA, Jamii forum July 28, 2013). Other thematic platforms include East African fora, Social fora, Sports and Entertainment, Educational, Technology and Professional, and lastly members-only platform. These other platforms have messages written in Kishwahili as well as English.

When messages are posted under these themes, the pictures of users appear for those that have uploaded them and they also have features of 'likes' as we find with the Western social media platforms. Under the East African themes on the general fora, recent photographs of events happening in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania are posted and discussions about them are carried on in various East African languages. On the right-hand corner, the administrators run the statistics of the number of topics that are being discussed, the number of participants and the number of posts under that subject. Unlike the Western social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp, *Jamii forums* actually indicate on the right-hand corner of the site the staff that are online to react to people that need help or sanction immediately those who do not abide by the tenets of the forum. They also indicate the number of members who are currently online as well as guests. Like Twitter in the West, it has the trending bar on their opening site. On it, there are the topics, the number of participants actually corresponding on those topics, and the number of viewers/readers.

NaijaPals Forum

This forum is mainly for Nigerians at home and abroad. On this site, users can watch Nigerian Nollywood and Yoruba movies for free: that is, with no subscription. Some Nigerian music can also be downloaded as well as people meeting someone special like a Nigerian celebrity. Users on NaijaPals announce and celebrate birthdays on the forum. On this site, there is something very intriguing and unique: There is a post by a mother needing help on a very problematic topic: Marriage and Hereditary rites. She has been accumulating her wealth which she wishes to bequeath to her daughter after her death.

The dilemma the mother is facing is that her daughter is married to a "ne'er do well" husband who instead of loving and treating her daughter and the children with respect, he squanders their family's wealth. She is therefore afraid that upon her death, when she donates her hard-earned

wealth to her daughter her spendthrift husband will squander her wealth. She needed advice from the group on what she can do in such a situation. This is just one among many of the responses she received on this issue:

What I will say here is that you are just assuming the husband will squander everything coz now he basically lives on your daughter, and u have companies all over the country, why not engage your son-in-law into your business now so u can actually know if he can squander or not. Help the young man to be who u want him to be and will whatever to your only surviving daughters and her family. When you get them involve then u will be rest assured your property is in safe hands. Goodluck. (ED, *NaijaPals* May 2018)

There are lots of responses in pidgin as well as the English language. Like the *Jamaii forums*, there are users seeking advice on issues that could generate discussions in the group like one from a parent in Lagos writing and complaining about pimples on her face that have not been cured for ages despite administering doctor's recommended medicines on it. Some of the replies she received are from those who have medical experiences as well as practicing doctors in the forum. The benefit is that others get to share similar problems dealing with persistent pimples and what they have used to make them go away. The credibility of some of the advice provided to participants can be measured by the number of likes that are provided by readers on the site.

Another example is when another participant admitted committing incest and a pastor in the forum comes to his aid to direct him to passages on the scriptures that could help him heal. This was done to help resolve the issue of depression that the participant who posted the message was experiencing. Another uniqueness of *NaijaPals* is that it has Yoruba and Ibo languages being used by interactants to react to posts that have been sent on the site. It also has close captioning news briefs crawling at the bottom of the screens from urban as well as rural parts of Nigeria. For instance, they have news on the site from Endo State as well as from President Buhari's international visits.

WhatsApp Social Media Platform

WhatsApp forum is an App that allows users to use it on their mobile phones for easy and convenient interhuman communication. Writing about WhatsApp, this is what Ntang Beb says:

WhatsApp is a free proprietary cross-platform instant messaging subscription service for smartphones, selected feature phones, and computers, which uses the Internet for communication. Two former Yahoo employees, Brian Acton and Jan Koum, created WhatsApp in 2009 and as of today, Whatsapp allows users to exchange messages, pictures, audio files, call feature and just recently video calls. Users have adopted the service because it's cheaper and has no device restrictions. (Ntang Beb 2018, p. 8)

WhatsApp has attracted millions of users worldwide and since it makes it relatively easy to place phone calls and upload videos with an indirect cost to the consumer, most non-Western users especially in Africa find it convenient to reach loved ones in the Western world using this forum. Those Africans in the Diaspora have equally seized this opportunity to join their relatives and loved ones on the continent for quick and easy communication on this platform. As a result, WhatsApp is being used for multiple purposes including, but not limited to, health communication, sending information about remittances, uploading valuable documents for educational and business purposes, political campaign messages and rallying groups of people for protests, etc. In fact, according to Ntang Beb (2018), patients and doctors in Cameroon have found it most convenient to send prescription drugs and diagnoses to their patients living far off from the hospital using this App. The main downside to using this WhatsApp is that one must have a smartphone to fully utilize the features associated with it. And given the fact that most Africans live in the rural parts of the continent with little knowledge of the foreign language, let alone owning and understanding the culture of WhatsAppism, it could be challenging.

Facebook Social Forum

Facebook is a mega million social media communicative platform that was founded by Mark Zuckerberg on February 4, 2004. According to the mission statement on its portal, Facebook aims “to give people the

power to build community and bring the world closer together” (Facebook 2018, mission statement). As of 2016, when Facebook turned 12, there were over one billion active users of this platform. This is actually the world’s leading social media communication App and site that is attracting people to it. On it, users have the following options to spice up their interactions with the rest of the world: newsfeed, messenger, marketplace, video games, live video, ordering food from a nearby restaurant, crisis response feature, jobs, holding town halls, movies, tagging friends and events, checking in so your friends and love ones can know where you are at a certain point in time, uploading unlimited amount of photographs and placing live telephone calls, etc.

SUMMARY

One way Africa’s in-person/oral communication can be best understood is by examining the nexus among Western and African social media. Indeed, inter-human communication on the continent of Africa prior to the emergence of new modes of communication was oral and in-person as the primary medium of delivery. With the launching of Facebook and subsequently, WhatsApp, Africans saw new media for sharing images, texts, and audio and video contents with other users worldwide in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. As new features became available, other African scholars in California in 2009 pressured Facebook to introduce Facebook Kishwahili. Even though this has become significant, it has not gone a long way to resolve the issue of language and cultural marginalization on cyberspace with respect to Africa. This is the reason these other local African platforms being discussed are relevant to resolve the issue of dependency.

WhatsApp followed and partly responded to the concerns of Africa by making audio and video features available to those with smartphones on the continent. But both Facebook and WhatsApp, now owned and operated by the former, were conceptualized by Westerners for Western forms of communication. That is why *Chomi*, *Jamii*, *Lenali* and *NaijaPals* have mushroomed and managed by Africans. Fig. 4.1

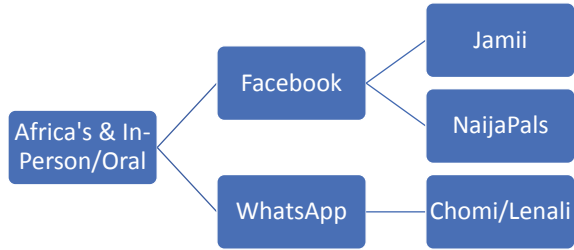


Fig. 4.1 Communication process (African/Western)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The Western-driven media platforms have triggered the growth of virtual human mediated communications on the continent of Africa. This new form of communication has witnessed veiled display of classism whereby those privileged to become tech savvy have enjoyed the advantages of convenience and, most importantly, the less cost associated with signing oneself for an account at the expense of others. Those who remain in the margins, that is, those to whom the cost is not only exorbitant but does not reflect their ontological communication contexts in most countries in Africa, have resorted to creating new forms that cater to their needs. Some of these forms, as already discussed came into being only after the Western-driven ones had colonized the cognitive spheres of African online users, making them subservient to dictates of the new forms. That is why there are lots of Western communicative tenets present on those African-driven ones because the mind of the user had been electronically colonized (McPhail 2006). These other Afrocentric sites that have been created are the new attempt at decolonizing the mind of the user to remember that social mediated forms of communications are just tools with which Africans can transplant their traditional and cultural communicative messages. True, it can never be one hundred percent African culture driven, but there has to be an attempt at slowing down the train of dependency so as not to be completely assimilated by Westernization. Be that as it may, although the two forms of communications seem to share some similarities, there are also areas of dissimilarities. Dependency theory as already discussed has allowed us to see how the cognitive universe of media users in Africa is to bow to the forces of the wind blowing towards Africa and bringing new mediated forms. It has made them to be on

the cross-roads of participating in human-to-human interaction. On the one hand, there is the tendency to completely embrace the rules, dictates and expectations of Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, etc., and on the other hand, there is the propensity to ask the overwhelming omnipresent question: But, where is the African way of communication present in the use of language, symbols, sounds, tagging, non-verbal communicative rules of gender communication or seniors and non-senior forms of communications that constitute major forms of inter-human communications in Africa? It is as a result of these perplexing and most often vexing questions that these other forms of communication with Afrocentric strands are conceived.

In fact, there has been an attempt to inculcate unique African cultural forms of communication into these virtual spaces (*Jamii, Chomi, Naijapals and Lenali App*) as aforementioned. It is this uniqueness, coupled with some trappings of Western forms, that creates a hybridized communicative climate in the universe of social media communication in Africa. By hybridity, this chapter has emphasized bottom-up process as opposed to top-bottom as is the case now with globalization of the new media forms of communications. The top-bottom approach is the situation whereby all Africans download and use Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, Snapchat, YouTube, etc. and click the submit button to abide by the rules and regulations of the sites that have been configured in Europe and North America with little or no input from the users on the continent of Africa. The bottom-up approach provides a scenario whereby experts of new media communication on the continent of Africa or in the Diaspora are called upon to participate in the configuration table of discussions to represent the position of those non-Western media consumers. They can then contribute to the globalization of media communications that impact users of African descent in the continent and abroad. This is what prompted Kishwahili Professors in California in 2009 to clamor for Facebook in Kiswahili.

This chapter was prompted by one research question: What do *Jamii Forums, NaijaPals, Lenali* and *Chomi* social media platforms have in common or differ from the Western-driven platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp? In order to provide adequate responses to this question, the comparative research methodologies spiced with ethnomethodology were used to analyze the data, and the results suggest some significant conclusions. To begin with, the paradoxical communication relationship mentioned in the introduction with respect to Western and African forms

of communication prevails as some features found on the African platforms are direct imitations of what is seen on Facebook and WhatsApp. The likes, dislikes, photo sharing, advertisement and news features on *Chomi* and *NaijaPals* are similar to those on Facebook and WhatsApp. There are free audio and video services on both Facebook and WhatsApp that are found on the African-driven sites discussed in this chapter.

Next, there are possibilities for a person on Facebook to create groups, shop online, hold town hall meetings and watch movies. *NaijaPals* is the only site discussed in this chapter that has the possibility of allowing its users to watch free Nollywood movies. *Jamii* and *Lenali* do not provide avenues for holding town hall meetings or ordering food from a nearby restaurant as is the case with Facebook. Features that they share in common include friends tagging, texting, advertisement, news features that regularly appear on all their sites.

Also, with respect to certain unique features, *Lenali* is orally-driven and serves over 27,000 users in Mali and it is increasingly showing signs of growth. It can be used with several languages in Mali and the texting features help translate messages in French or English as the user prefers. Like Facebook and WhatsApp, users can upload photographs and accompany them with audio recording to provide more background information related to the photographs. Nothing has been said about uploading videos as is the case with Facebook and WhatsApp. *Lenali* is limited to Android phones which make it impossible for those who cannot afford Android to lose out of this opportunity. By the way, this seems to be an advertisement for future users of the app to opt for Android. This is one of the limitations for this communicative platform.

On the other hand, *Jamii forum*, *Chomi* and *NaijaPals* all share a unique communicative technology culture. They are consciously aware that these fora are conceived in the manner of other foreign media platforms but they post pertinent issues to which only users who belong to the same cultural and traditional affinities can relate and provide needed advice like the case of the lady who complains about her son-in-law squandering the fortunes that she will eventually leave behind for her daughter. These posts can be shared on Facebook, but they will not have the same impact, appeal and psychological backing because the sender is aware of the 'elastic' nature of Facebook and also WhatsApp that could be shared and forwarded to people unconnected to the cultural contexts. For communication to achieve a desired effect, the encoder must share

certain psychological affinities with the decoder(s). That is what makes these African-driven sites differ from their Western-driven counterparts.

Finally, the age of media globalization has ushered new communicative patterns for users all over the world. Africans in the continent and in the Diaspora are still faced with a dilemma: completely sell your communicative birth rites and assimilate Western new communicative forms or merge the age-old traditional African communicative forms with the Western in what is now referred to as hybridity in communication. As shown in this chapter, if hybridization of communication is to have lasting benefits for users in Africa and those of African descent, the bottom-up approach and not the top-bottom approach has to be used as exemplified by *Jamii forums*, *Chomi*, *Lenali App* and *NaijaPals*.

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Self-Governance, Political Uniformity and the Significance of Policy Alignment for Education and Training Programs

Nichelle S. Williams

Policymakers can produce legislation that facilitates the introduction and expansion of industries to create employment opportunities. The alignment of workforce development initiatives and economic industries are rightful alliances because this ensures a labor force to serve growing domestic industries. This chapter explores how, if at all, policies derived from good self-governance support access to education and training that align with industry needs for labor in areas that require complex skills, specifically in the oil and gas industry and policy arenas interconnect to support economic development. It also looks into the extent countries engage external interests in domestic development to improve the quality of life of its citizens. Ghana, Chad and Equatorial Guinea are countries participating in the oil and gas industry and promote education and training to support domestic development and productivity.

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Education is a systematic process of study and instruction designed to provide theoretical knowledge. Often, it requires a significant investment of time and resources from the student, community and institutions. It provides the knowledge base for training that meets the needs of businesses and industries. Training provides students the opportunity to develop skills and gain experience mastering a specific task or set of tasks. Education paired with training in technical fields is a developmental step for individuals' economic success and tends to lead to better-paying jobs. For example, education and training in the field of information technology (IT) is viable for economic success because "the movement of data is already surpassing traditional physical trade as the connective tissue in the global economy: according to Cisco Systems, the amount of cross-border bandwidth used grew by 90-fold from 2005 to 2016, and it will grow an additional 13-fold by 2023" (Lund and Tyson 2018, p. 132). In preparation for the growth of the IT field, South Africa's Vaal University of Technology offers an Information Technology program geared toward entry-level programmers that offer in-service training such as the supervised support of existing information systems (Vaal University of Technology 2018).

Domestic industries contribute to national economies by producing goods, services and employment opportunities. Training programs that support these industries increase the viability of the industries, particularly in Africa. In Ghana, for example, the discovery of offshore oil created a new domestic industry, which improved management and capacity of its emerging oil and gas industry (World Bank 2017). This industry impacts gross domestic product (GDP), contributes to the production of services and employment and increases the viability of the domestic market (Callen 2017). Another growing industry in several African countries is the textile and clothing industry. The textile and clothing industry represents the second-largest industry in developing countries with a large customer base in Africa. Fashionomics is a training initiative that works to increase the production of goods, services, and entrepreneurship in the textile and clothing industry. This initiative, specifically, contributes to the economic growth of countries such as Tanzania by providing individuals with tools they need to contribute economically to the country's development. Additionally, Fashionomics provides training on such topics as business and financial matters, education, and intellectual property management. These types of initiatives target population subgroups, such

as women, and provide them with the opportunity to contribute to a growing industry that contributes to the national economy.

Education and training opportunities for domestic industries support elements of strong development. Development refers to a country's strategic and coordinated implementation of plans to advance economic performance, both domestically and globally; ensure better standards for quality of living; establish inclusive, long-term approaches to citizen empowerment; provide reliable access and make certain equitable distribution of resources. For example, Niger's Economic and Social Development Plan (ESDP) establishes eleven programmatic objectives to address development priorities. These priorities include (a) social mobilization for behavior change, such as providing a better understanding of religion and strengthening youth resilience against religious radicalization, (b) strengthening multi-party political culture, such as conflict resolution skill development and promoting the capacity of collective action, (c) human capital development, such as improving the process of education in academic and vocational training, (d) demographic transition to include advocating against underage marriage and promoting female empowerment, (e) private sector development such as investing in the development of the energy and trade infrastructures, (f) rural sector transformation, including promoting entrepreneurship and youth organization, (g) improving the management of overall development, such as enhancing the national statistical system and evaluation system, (h) consolidating the efficiency and transparency of institutions, including the strengthening of public administration leadership, (i) strengthening internal and external security of the country, (j) Ensuring the sustainability of resource management (i.e. land, water, and biodiversity), and (k) improving quality of life by addressing sanitation and climate change (Republic of Niger 2017). One important feature of the ESDP is its emphasis on education and training for human capital development, both of which could be advantageous in globalization efforts.

Globalization refers to the flow of finances, goods, services, people and communication through international borders. It has created interconnected and interdependent world markets. For example, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Chad and Equatorial Guinea work with outside investors to generate revenue and promote exports from their countries (for details, see Observatory of Economic Complexity—OEC 2017a, b, c, d).

Table 5.1 China as a top export destination for African countries

<i>Top export destination</i>	<i>Sierra Leone</i>	<i>Ghana</i>	<i>Chad</i>	<i>Equatorial Guinea</i>
Belgium	X			
Brazil				X
China	X	X	X	X
Cote d'Ivoire	X			
India		X	X	
Japan			X	
The Netherlands	X			
South Korea				X
Spain				X
Switzerland		X		
United Arab Emirates		X		
United States	X		X	

Source Self-generated by the author using data from the Observatory of Economic Complexity—OEC, (2017a, b, c, d)

Ghana, Chad and Equatorial Guinea have oil resources as one of their largest exports, which improve negotiations (Baur 2014). Oil and petroleum products are resources traded as energy commodities with global demand that has steadily increased over the past 25 years and “regional trade talks in Asia and Africa involving China and negotiations among Latin American countries have...gained pace” (Posen 2018, p. 33). Note that as shown in Table 5.1, China is a top export destination for African countries. Aligning development policies that include training components are therefore imperative for successful negotiations and industry enterprises in these globalization efforts.

By investigating how effectively and efficiently countries engage in all three sectors of the oil and gas industry, this research can highlight the importance of countries ensuring its citizens can access education and training opportunities in the industry. Furthermore, this chapter discusses factors that contribute to any lack of engagement in these sectors and identifies opportunities for improvement. In this, it will attempt to explain how, if at all, uniform political engagement with a consistent focus on self-governance, supports national growth and stabilization during this era of globalization.

With growing focus on their natural resources, African countries with oil and gas resources, have been chosen for the purpose of this chapter. This research attempts to understand the problems faced by Chad, Ghana and Equatorial Guinea in building an infrastructure to support the production of goods, services and labor in the oil and gas industry. The chapter reviews relevant academic work relating to the determinants of development, the impact of education and training access, the importance of aligning policy to support growth in major industries and how challenges to meeting labor demands impacts the national economy. This research also attempts to study the broad determinants of the developing oil and gas sector in the context of increased reliance on international trade partners.

Against this background, the chapter seeks to achieve the following objectives related to the oil and gas industry, self-governance, and education and training: (1) To compare and contrast initiatives to support market demand, (2) To examine the problems faced by policymakers in addressing domestic needs and (3) To examine to what extent domestic development is effectively and efficiently engaged for support. This research addresses three major questions: (a) In what ways, have plans for the oil and gas industry been carried out? (b) How, if at all, have oil and gas industry development plans in African countries benefited the quality of individual citizens? (c) What challenges do African countries face in doing so? Before engaging in the analysis, however, I must begin with discussions of the theory and methodology upon which it is grounded.

DEPENDENCY THEORY AND DEVELOPMENT

The theoretical framework that guides this analysis is the theory of dependency. This theory, first established in the mid-1900s, focuses on the significance of developing countries that are working to grow domestic infrastructure and systems. The role of labor in the capitalistic system plays a central role in Dependency Theory. The imbalance of labor between wealthy and developing countries can have an adverse effect in developing economies. This occurs when labor opportunities provide less than living wages for the individuals producing goods and services that have relatively beneficial market value in wealthier countries. About this phenomenon, Giovanni Reyes mentions the following:

The theory of dependency combines elements from a neomarxist perspective with Keynes' economic theory the liberal economic ideas, which emerged in the United States and Europe as a response to the depression years of the 1920s. From the Keynes' economic approach, the theory of dependency embodies four main points: (a) to develop an important internal effective demand in terms of domestic markets; (b) to recognize that the industrial sector is crucial to achieving better levels of national development, especially due to the fact that this sector, in comparison with the agricultural sector, can contribute more value added to products; (c) to increase worker's income as a means of generating more aggregate demand in national market conditions; and (d) to promote a more effective government role in order to reinforce national development conditions and to increase national standards of living. (2001, p. 5)

Also, Bubaker Shareia states what follows

According to this theory, the system of the capitalistic world causes a labour upheaval that damages the domestic economies of under-developed countries. It diminishes the economic growth rate and ends in the increased inequality of income. It also has a negative effect on the welfare of the majority of people. Further, since there is no basic equality in the goods that are processed and the exchanged raw materials, major and minor countries have been separated from one another more and more by the application of trade dependency. (2015, p. 81)

A strength of Dependency Theory is the focus on the relational aspect of domestic systems and how they can be positioned for beneficial results. This chapter therefore uses Dependency Theory to identify how African countries are employing tactics to address the four main points from Keynes' economic approach. This theory further explores how these countries are working to reduce and eliminate any imbalances in the division of labor in promoting equality of income and enhancing quality of life. Dependency Theory will highlight any extensive imbalances of foreign engagement and whether or not this dependency has any other negative effects. One limitation of Dependency Theory is the lack of emphasis on the significance of interconnected global trade, finances and technology. Despite this, the increasing importance of the global environment and how this impacts developing countries is addressed in this chapter. In addition, Dependency Theory does not take into account

differences in culture. When applicable, the chapter will mention how cultural aspects play a role in development.

The primary research activity employed for this chapter is a review of research literature and documents. Throughout the course of study, I conducted a review of literature regarding the operation of oil and gas sectors, education and training programs in the energy field, and factors that influence policy in this arena. I also reviewed several governing documents for country-level development plans. Two areas of research in particular—the performance of African countries in the three major sectors of the oil and gas industry and how education policy aligns with training for this industry—were heavily informed by literature and document reviews. Sources for research include peer-reviewed journals, government websites and policy documents. A secondary research activity is data analysis specifically exploring trends over time for country performance on such indices as the Corruption Perception Index and data from the World Bank Group’s Enterprise surveys. One limitation to this chapter is the depth of data available. The lack of data from government agencies limits the precise applicability of proposed solutions.

ENGAGEMENT IN THE OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY

Oil and gas are two of the most valuable global exports. The African countries discussed in this chapter have initiatives geared towards improving education and training in the oil and gas sector but face challenges managing the effectiveness of these initiatives and ensuring government transparency. Mohamed Elnagar (2015) with Egypt’s National Research Center identifies three major sectors of the oil and gas industry: (1) the upstream sector that includes searching for crude oil, drilling of exploratory wells and drilling and operating wells that bring oil and raw natural gas to the surface, (2) the midstream sector, which includes the transportation, storage and wholesale marketing of oil and refined petroleum products, and (3) the downstream sector, which includes the refining of petroleum crude oil and processing of raw natural gas, and distribution of these products. After refinement and processing, these natural resources are used to make useful products including gasoline, diesel and jet fuel, fertilizer, plastics, and even some pharmaceuticals (Fig. 5.1).

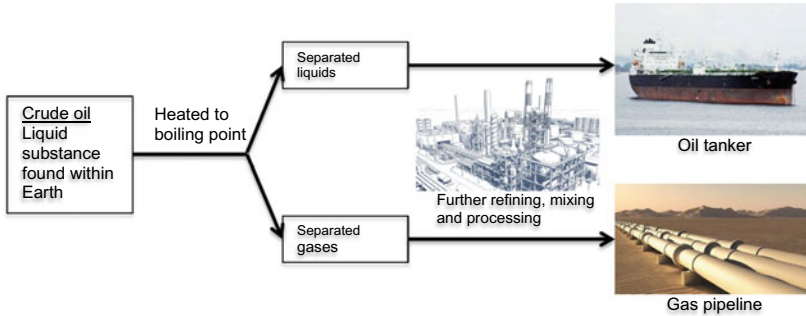


Fig. 5.1 Processing crude oil for transportation (*Note* Pipelines may also be used to transport oil from inland to the coast for international distribution. *Source* Self-generated by author using information from the world petroleum council [WPC] website.)

While there are three major sectors of the industry, the downstream sector is the most profitable in terms of dollar value. In his paper on oil refinement, Simon Baur states:

Firstly, increased downstream capacities may improve the economic outcome by increasing the availability and accessibility of fuel, enhancing linkages to other sectors and diversifying the economy. Secondly, coupling national strategies for developing downstream capacities with supplying internal demand and energy self-sufficiency may reduce the ‘rentier effects’ associated with serving an external market. The linkages that emerge as a result of increased downstream capacities may increase the bargaining power of political groups linked to the petrochemical sector (e.g. transport unions), potentially diluting the concentration of power and improving the institutional outcome of oil producing countries. (2014, p. 6)

The downstream sector of the oil and gas industry has a higher potential to add value to economic growth measures, such as GDP and the production of higher quality employment opportunities, than the upstream and midstream sectors. Investment in infrastructure to support this sector in African countries has resulted in documented successes that have improved employment opportunities and economic growth. With experience of challenges and successes, Ghana, Chad and Equatorial Guinea are at various stages of in the oil and gas industry and

demonstrated ways in which the oil and gas industry have improved their economies using education and training in their development plans.

It has been just over a decade since the discovery of oil off the coast of Ghana, and crude and refined petroleum are now significant contributors to the domestic economy. As of 2016, crude and refined petroleum made up 11.7% of Ghana's exports. Thus, "The strong contribution of industry to aggregate productivity growth in 2006–13 is traced mainly to productivity gains within the sector as a result of the high growth of the sector's output on the back of the commencement of commercial oil production in 2011" (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng 2016, p. 14). As a result, Ghana's oil and mining industry spearheaded annual output and employment growth. Hence, "A combination of the strong annual output growth of industry of about 7.3%, largely on the back of oil and mining, accompanied by employment growth of 4.9% (or a 4.6 percentage point rise in the sector's share in employment) over the period generated 4.3% annual productivity gains within the sector" (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng 2016, p. 14). Previously, high economic growth in mining and oil production started around 2011 and resulted in a significant reduction in employment fluctuation. Consequently, "The strong growth effect of physical capital after 2000 could be explained by the strong contribution of capital intensive sectors of mining and oil, as well as finance, to growth...Essentially, Ghana's economic growth has largely been driven by low employment generating sectors of mining, oil extraction, and finance as against slower growth in high labour absorption sectors, particularly manufacturing" (Aryeetey and Baah-Boateng 2016, p. 21).

Leadership, uneven distribution of benefits and misaligned policy present some challenges to African countries' ability to consistently focus on developing the oil and gas industry. Therefore, "With the exception of the oil under the ocean, Ghana lacks money and human capital to participate actively and fully in the industry which means all the phases of the value-chain—up, mid and downstream—are undertaken by transnational extractive corporations which expatriate their profits back to their home countries in the West" (Ayelazuno 2014, p. 71). Price drops, gas revenue shortfalls and low corporate tax revenues negatively impact the profitability of Ghana's oil industry. According to Samuel Bekoe and David Mihalyi (2015), Ghana's petroleum revenues in 2015 were approximately 63% lower than what the Ministry of Finance budgeted, which is considered a major difference and could be attributed to a drop in prices, low corporate income tax and gas revenues.

Ghana's Ministry of Energy and Petroleum currently play a supervisory role in refinery projects that lead to significant impediments, such as, operational challenges and a weakened infrastructure. The slow progress towards a sustainable downstream is the result of "poor infrastructure, theft and the difficulties in transferring products from one depot to the other" (Amponsah and Opei 2014, p. 444). In addition, Amponsah and Opei (2014) note that accounting for real and artificial product shortages, such as the inability to refine products, import products and embark on infrastructure expansion, is due to delays by government in paying under recoveries.

Chad built relations with external interests using its oil resources as an attraction while improving domestic quality of life. Chad is landlocked with Libya to the north, Niger to the east, Sudan to the west, Nigeria to its southeast, and Cameroon and the Central African Republic to its south. This geographic limitation creates a need for oil exportation partnerships. In 2000, the World Bank Group supported a regional initiative for the construction of a pipeline to extract and transport oil from fields in Chad through Cameroon and to the coast (World Bank 2010). Two oil transportation companies, one based in Chad and the other in Cameroon, owned and operated the pipeline supported by the World Bank Group. Cost for the pipeline project was estimated at more than \$4 billion. According to the Council of Foreign Relations,

As part of the agreement, Chad's parliament passed the 1999 Petroleum Revenue Management Law. One goal of the law was transparency. The agreement required that Chad's 12.5 percent share of direct revenues from oil production flow into a London-based Citibank escrow account (monitored by an independent body created to oversee the account's management). Another main goal was to channel Chad's revenue into poverty-reduction programs. The "future generations" fund accounts for 10 percent of annual revenue and was created to provide Chad with reserve funds after the oil reserves are exhausted. (2006, p. 2)

International companies in the petroleum industry with operations in Chad during pipeline construction made commitments to high-quality training for local workers and donated any unused equipment to local governments. By early 2010, outcomes in employment gains, workforce skills development and industry participation were observed (Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment 2016).

In Chad's case, controversy surrounding the legitimacy of Chad's leadership impeded foreign investors from the oil and gas industry for almost 30 years (Al-Jazeera 2010). The goal of the pipeline project did not meet its maximum potential because revenue was misappropriated and not spent on the construction of critical infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and roads as intended. Despite any economic advancements made through the pipeline initiative, instability, corruption and widespread poverty were factors that persisted in Chad. In 2005, Chad ranked as the most corrupt nation in the world by the watchdog group Transparency International (Council on Foreign Relations 2006). In 2012, a dispute with the China National Petroleum Corp. International (CNPCI) over the price of oil led to the closure of the state-owned refinery called the Societe des Hydrocarbures du Tchad (SHT). This closure was the second within six months for the same issue (Watkins 2012). In a 2016 report, the International Monetary Fund recommended that the Ministry of Petroleum deploy better accountability standards in order to navigate government oil resources and the oversight, management and use of these resources (International Monetary Fund 2016). By 2019, Chad ranked 162 out of 180 participating countries with only 18 countries considered more corrupt (Transparency International 2019).

Equatorial Guinea touches the Gulf of Guinea and with this geographic advantage, in 1996, new oil and gas reserves were discovered. In 2015, Equatorial Guinea had a positive trade balance of more than \$4 billion with crude petroleum and petroleum gas as its largest exports. The country is a member of Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) which is a multi-state partnership that will assist with best practices for the stabilization of its oil markets, establishing a base for steadied producer income and ensuring investors receive a fair return on invested capital. Dominique Puthod states:

In 2016, the economy of Equatorial Guinea was still dominated by the petroleum sector, which accounted for 85 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) and more than 94 percent of exports in 2015, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Other relatively important sectors are construction (7 percent of GDP in 2015), agriculture, forestry and fisheries (2 percent of GDP), and trade (1.6 percent). Although these sectors are improving, relative to the petroleum sector, change has been very marginal since 2013. Economic diversification is slow to materialise but remains an important objective for economic growth and stability in the medium and long term. Over the past three years, the fall in oil prices has severely affected the development effort. (2017, p. 258)

Equatorial Guinea's strategic plan sets goals for domestic growth such as improving access to education, sanitation and transportation. The plan also acknowledges challenges to meeting these goals such as needing to focus on industrial development throughout the country and the need for green industries. Equatorial Guinea also has a focus on diversification of the economy with plans to develop the fishing and tourism industries (Valentin 2014).

While Equatorial Guinea is an oil rich country, the lack of transparency and poor leadership are factors that prevent benefits reaching the lowest realms of its society. Despite the abundance of resources valuable to the oil and gas sector, Equatorial Guinea has struggled to maintain production rates with dropping oil prices and underinvestment from external investors. The country's domestic infrastructure is currently not established well enough to support long-term growth of toward the more fruitful sector of this industry. According to *The Economist*,

Equatorial Guinea's downstream sector is relatively poorly developed. The country has one liquefied natural gas (LNG) processing facility at Punta Europa with a capacity to produce 3.7 m tonnes/year, as well as two plants producing methanol gas and liquefied petroleum gas (LPG). Beyond this there is little activity. A second LNG train is scheduled to come on stream in 2016, but uncertainty over feed-gas availability is likely to delay this, particularly as Ophir Energy of the UK—whose Block R would supply a large chunk of the gas for the second train—is targeting the set-up of a separate floating LNG facility rather than using the existing facilities at Punta Europa. (2014, p. 1)

It also appears as if government officials mismanage infrastructure improvement projects and transparency around how profits are distributed to improve the citizens' lives is not evident. "Between 2009 and 2013, Equatorial Guinea took in an average of US\$4 billion annually in oil revenue, and spent US\$4.2 billion on things like roads, buildings, and airports. IMF data shows that in 2011, it spent only US\$140 million on education and US\$92 million on health. In 2008, the only other year for which such data is available, it spent US\$60 million on education and US\$90 million on health" (Bekele 2017, p. 2). While transportation and commercial infrastructure are important components of domestic life, Equatorial Guinea spends a fraction on components that better prepare individual citizens to take advantage of them. In Guinea, there is still a

need to ensure industry revenue is directed more adequately to improve services and impact quality of life.

Inadequate strategic planning and leadership in the oil and gas sector have negative consequences. Carolina Moreno (2017) describes multidimensional poverty as the deprivation of several factors including adequate housing, quality education, access to good healthcare and physical security. While challenges related to the oil and gas industry are not the only factors contributing to multidimensional poverty that exists in these countries, the benefits from the stability and growth of this economic sector would alleviate deprivations for some citizens. Today, more than two-thirds of Chadians and just over than one-quarter of Ghanaians live in multidimensional poverty (United Nations Development Program 2019). The economic transformation in Equatorial Guinea increased GDP per capita rapidly in a short time period but the country's leadership has not made significant efforts to contribute equitable proportions of oil revenues for investment in social infrastructure. Rebecca Holmes of the Overseas Development Institute states:

Social protection programmes, as a component of this social and economic development agenda, could play a major role in reducing inequality, lifting the population out of poverty, broadening access to essential social services, improving child well-being and accelerating progress towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)...Over 70 percent of the population lives in poverty in Equatorial Guinea, and over 40 percent lives in extreme poverty. More than 50 percent of the population is under 18 years of age and child poverty is higher than adult poverty because of the larger number of children in poor households. (2009, p. 1)

The massive oil profits derived from Equatorial Guinea exemplifies that the eradication of poverty and focus on inclusive social growth cannot be realized as long as corruption, poor leadership and inadequate policy are evident. The African countries discussed in this chapter recognize the value of achieving better levels of national development, but have in place less than optimal efforts leading to an enhanced quality of life, increased worker's income and a more effective, transparent government role in order to reinforce national development objectives.

FUNCTIONALITY OF POLITICAL UNIFORMITY IN FACILITATING SELF-GOVERNANCE

The uniformity of economic and political policies is decisive in enabling countries' goal achievement. Cohesiveness amongst policymakers is key to facilitating self-governance and progression. Self-governance occurs when nearly all community members agree to adopt internal standards. Even amongst dissenters, political uniformity around these adopted standards is necessary for the betterment of the common good. Too often, special interests paired with government officials that have weak integrity impede the progression of self-governance. These government officials do not necessarily work uniformly with established policy. In many instances, these government officials work in their own best interest and this type of behavior hinders self-governance. Domestic strength results from good self-governance and this strength is important for countries to receive the full benefits of foreign investment. The ratio of foreign direct investment to gross domestic product is greater in Africa than other developing regions, which brings large growth potential and may result in positive spillover benefits (Loots and Kabundi 2012). It may be evident that Ghana, Chad and Equatorial Guinea have reached a level of domestic development that enables these benefits, but there are needs for further political uniformity to ensure self-governance with positive rewards.

Uniformed decisions around defining in what ways a country will engage investors is a component of the self-governing process. Business incentives are tools used by developing countries to attract foreign investment and are usually geared toward specific economic sectors; those that countries want to concentrate development efforts. Leadership should work in accord to determine the types of incentives and allowances that will benefit companies doing business in their country. The promotion of accountability and transparency should be a component of uniformity in order to create a favorable business climate for foreign investors. Chad, Ghana and Guinea engage elements of self-governance differently.

Ghana's state-owned company that manages exploration, development, and distribution of petroleum is Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC), which manages all oil and natural gas agreements and oil and gas field licenses in Ghana. It also works to supply sufficient fuel for Ghana's energy needs. Other major companies are Kosmos Energy, Anadarko Petroleum Corporation and Edusei-Owusu (EO) Group. Ghana's investment promotion center provides opportunities for

foreign investment in the gas industry through various projects such as the west-east gas pipeline, which intends to establish a nationally owned path to move gas from the west to the Accra region of the country. There are also upstream and downstream oil sector investment opportunities. Upstream investments include equipment supply, site surveying, seismic data acquisition, and geochemical and geographical studies. Downstream opportunities include refinery maintenance, fertilizer plants, and pipeline construction and maintenance (Ghana Investment Promotion Centre 2018). Ghana's amended Petroleum Revenue Management Act of 2015 intends to promote transparency for oil revenue and the Petroleum Act of 2016 sought amongst other things to make contracting for oil investments more accountable and uniform (Republic of Ghana 2016).

Chad established a state-owned oil company, in 2006, the Société d'Hydrocarbures de Tchad or SHT that works to coordinate with other government agencies and market the government's oil. Common incentives are provided for new business initiatives, and the expansion of existing ones. Those that qualify may receive a five-year company tax reduction, and relief on other taxes such as personal income, developed and undeveloped land. Mining is an eligible economic activity for some of these incentives under the Chadian tax code. Chad's *Collège de Contrôle et de Surveillance des Recettes Pétrolières* or CCSR_P serves as an oversight body that produces annual reports covering topics such as priority spending for oil revenue. In 2010, Chad began deploying a model that standardized the metrics used to evaluate contracts and negotiations and began taking part in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative as a commitment to accountability and transparency (International Monetary Fund 2016).

Equatorial Guinea's state-owned oil company, GEPetrol, has joint ownership in the oil sector and the government of Equatorial Guinea actively engages foreign investors using a fairly standard set of guidelines. The government promotes exploration licenses in attempt to stimulate spending from investors who may be eligible for deductions from taxable income, such as wages and training costs for Equatoguinean staff (Rascouet 2018). The government infrequently suggests that investors employ Equatoguinean staff as a majority of their employees and does not allow foreign investors to own land or property, but they do allow government leasing (United States Department of State 2014). USAID, a foreign assistance agency based in the United States of America, has assisted with Equatorial Guinea's transition towards good self-governance

by launching “Faisons Ensemble” (FE), an initiative that focuses on implementing tools of good governance across multiple sectors, integrating public health, education, agriculture and that management of natural resources into a strategically consistent and uniformed management structure. Accordingly, the FE’s “Activities emphasized training and resource provisioning aligned to ‘good governance’ practices on the part of government and civil society organizations (CSOs). As well, technical training was provided in procurement, financial and administrative management” (USAID 2015, p. 11).

Instability in leadership during early years after independence resulted in a lack of focus on Ghana’s strategic political and economic development. Ghana’s majority political party, the NPP operates under the ideology that effective leadership and governance will reinforce and grow domestic institutions, improve access to quality education, increase access to quality housing, and promote health and safety policies that will address systematic inadequacies. Politics in Ghana is relatively stable with only three percent of firms surveyed by the World Bank Group identifying political instability as a significant obstacle (World Bank Group 2018); but according to the International Trade Administration (ITA), politics and policy do not undercut the influence of malicious actors:

Corruption in Ghana is comparatively less prevalent than in other countries in the region, but remains a problem. The government has a relatively strong anti-corruption legal framework in place, but faces challenges with enforcement. A few American firms have identified corruption as the main obstacle to foreign direct investment. Ghana’s 2016 score and ranking on the Transparency International Global Corruption Perceptions Index dropped to 70 out of 176 (from 56 in 2015). Corruption in government institutions is pervasive. In 2016, there were a number of corruption allegations involving government officials. Shortly before the December 7 election, media and local civil society organization OccupyGhana reported the government awarded a contract worth 35 million cedis (approximately \$9 million) to a business owned by controversial businessman Alfred Woyome. In 2014, Ghana’s Supreme Court ordered Woyome to pay back 51 million cedis (approximately \$13 million) for unfulfilled public works contracts awarded by the government in 2010. In June 2016, media reported that then-President Mahama accepted an SUV worth approximately \$60,000 as a “gift” from a businessman in Burkina-Faso bidding on three government contracts. (ITA 2017a, p. 1)

In addition to corruption, Ghana's oil sector is less than 10 years old with minimal capacity to meet the needs of foreign oil companies investing in the offshore petroleum reserves. Ghana's domestic enterprises have limited experience in providing services to support offshore operators and while onshore services are somewhat more mature they are still significantly inefficient (ITA 2017b).

Chad's leadership has been relatively stable since about 2010, but political corruption in Chad continues to be a widely regarded concern (Central Intelligence Agency 2018). In 2011, "The *European Union* (EU) sent 24 short-term observers and 46 short-term observers headed by Louis Michel of Belgium to monitor the legislative elections from January 20 to February 14, 2011. The African Union (AU) sent observers headed by Ibrahim Boubacar Keita of Mali to monitor the presidential election. The Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) sent observers to monitor the presidential election April 22 to May 6, 2011" (University of Central Arkansas 2018, p. 9). In 2016, Idriss Deby was re-elected to his fifth term in presidential office, but elections in Chad continue to be met with scrutiny from onlookers. Conflicts challenged economic and infrastructural development in post-independence Chad. So, while oil was discovered in Chad in 1973, instability delayed foreign investors for almost 30 years (Al-Jazeera 2010). In effect, Chad has developed favorable conditions for foreign investments. Currently, Chad does not require foreign investors use domestic content in the production of goods, which implies that domestic enterprise are not equipped to meet the supply need of foreign investors. This requirement would produce a spillover effect, in which; the oil and gas sector would become a multiplier, creating growth and employment opportunities in sub-sectors that are needed to support to major economic sector. Almost thirty- percent of firms surveyed by the World Bank Group identify political instability as a significant obstacle (World Bank Group 2018).

The corruption that detracts from effective self-governance and development in Equatorial Guinea is concentrated at the top with government leadership squandering oil profits. In a 2004 hearing before the U.S. Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, it was reported that more than \$25 million was withdrawn from the country's oil account and transferred to multiple companies, some possibly belonging to Equatorial Guinea's president (United States Senate Hearing, 2004), pp. 108–633. It was also reported that an account manager for the country embezzled more than \$1 million due to poor internal controls. Riggs Bank, a

main player in Equatorial Guinea's financial mismanagement, is said to also house accounts owned by Saudi officials, and checks drawn on some Equatorial Guinea accounts may have benefitted two of the hijackers on September 11, 2001. The country was delisted from the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative in 2010 due to inadequate management and transparency around the availability of revenue and funding, which make it difficult to identify efforts to establish political accountability. Almost seventy percent of firms surveyed by the World Bank Group identify political instability as a significant obstacle (World Bank Group 2018). Currently, the lack of transparency is a hindrance to good self-governance and also gives evidence to support the continued narrative that heavy corruption exists.

Ghana's economic growth can be attributed to the past and prospective performance of its oil and gas sector as well as its efforts to diversify its trade exports. Yet, economic benefits are distributed disproportionately. Economic opportunities are more fitting for southern Ghanaians due to their access to major urban centers while those in the northern region typically have lower levels of education and less complex skill sets. This disparity in access is also evident in the area of healthcare. Poverty reduction is evident in the southern Ghana, while poverty increases in the North. In all, there are more non-agricultural employment opportunities in Ghana's urban areas, which are mainly in the South. As dependence on oil exports increases, so does the need for economic diversity, contingency plans for growth reversal and plans to ensure benefits are distributed to all citizens (World Bank 2013).

Oil profits in Chad have had undesirable consequences for most Chadians. In terms of employment opportunities, the industry brought an influx of foreign workers, which increased the cost of living and created difficulties for local residents. While oil fields in Chad produce jobs, there are widespread complaints that foreign workers are favored over local residents. Chadians do not readily see benefits from oil revenue, with some believing that money is used to finance conflict and not domestic development. A minority of Chadians benefit from the profits of the oil industry, while most Chadians have experienced an increase in poverty levels (Yorbana 2017).

In 2015, Equatorial Guinea's positive trade balance of more than \$4 billion created opportunities to improve the quality of domestic institutions and citizens' life. Yet, with poor management and little transparency, there is minimal evidence that the country's oil wealth has been used for

public good. Equatorial Guinea's oil reserves are declining and will probably be depleted by the 2030s, which implies a shortening window for revenue from this source as a means to improve citizens' quality of life. An initial step is political uniformity since it appears that a majority of the oil wealth is concentrated in the hands of top government officials.

USING REVENUE FOR EDUCATION AND TECHNICAL/VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS THAT TRAIN CITIZENS FOR COMPLEX SKILLS POSITIONS TO MEET LABOR DEMANDS

Workforce development initiatives ensure a supply of workers with skill sets needed to meet labor demands, reducing labor shortages in that industry. The alignment of workforce and economic development better prepares countries to achieve economic property and offers a suitable return on investment. Ghana, Chad, and Equatorial Guinea have made education and training a clear focus in their economic development, and each demonstrates how such investments have met labor demands in the oil industry. All three countries have reduced unemployment, improved productivity, and expanded their global market in direct response to these efforts.

In 2013, annual employment growth for the service and manufacturing sectors in Ghana was 9.6% with a growth in labor productivity of 11.3%. In Ghana, less than half of service companies and just over one-third of manufacturing companies offer workers formal training. While most workers are permanent employees, thirty percent of these companies identify inadequately educated workers as a major constraint. (World Bank Group 2018). Ghana has met this opportunity to provide more adequately educated workers through partnerships with higher education institutions. In 2017, Ghana's Ministry of Energy in partnership with Regional Maritime University, unveiled its Accelerated Oil and Gas Capacity Program (AOGC). This program is a government-funded initiative that will train at least 1000 citizens, annually, for employment in the oil and gas industry. AOGC intends to assist the country with labor market demands and provide Ghanaians with training in complex skill sets needed for long-term success. In addition, Ghana Oil Drilling Academy & Consultancy collaborates with Norwegian Drilling Academy to provide intensive training that lead to certifications for Ghanaians interested in oil

and gas industry careers and offer courses such as Logistics in Oil and Gas, Safety Technology, Process and Production and Human Resource Management in Oil and Gas (GODAC 2018).

In 2018, the annual rate of employment growth declined for service and manufacturing sectors in Chad to -1.4%. There was also a decline in labor productivity to -0.9%. Approximately, one-quarter of service and manufacturing companies in Chad offer workers formal training. Like Ghana, most workers are permanent employees, yet twenty percent of these companies identify inadequately educated workers as a major constraint (World Bank Group 2018). These statistics demonstrate an opportunity for government to step in and explore areas to improve access to training for citizens. Chad's Ministry of Petroleum and Energy manages the negotiation of oil and gas industry contracts. These contracts require a commitment to training and employing Chad nationals. According to policies that regulate Chad's oil and gas industry, foreign investments over a relatively moderate price threshold must provide capital for programs that train Chad nationals. Exxonmobil's investment in the Chad-Cameroon pipeline is accompanied with human capital investments. Through training, citizens of both countries gain professional skills and develop from skilled workers into managers and entrepreneurs. These now skilled workers also can receive continued training which covers broader topics related to the oil industry, such as environmental and regulatory policy (Exxonmobil 2013).

Technical and vocational educational and training (TVET) is a component of Chad's education system that guarantees citizens access to education. There are several challenges that Chad faces in preparing their workforce: (a) connecting TVET initiatives and programs to labor market needs because most of the unemployed have adequate education levels and limited vocational skills, (b) establishing job training programs that focus on improving the employability of youth, and (c) improving the quality of TVET programs (UNESCO-UNEVOC 2014). With the relatively recent fall of oil prices, Chad's ability to address these challenges through TVET are constrained but the government is exploring opportunities to address these constraints. These programs offer certifications that qualify Chadians for recruitment and upward mobility in the domestic oil and gas industry (UNESCO-UNEVOC 2014).

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Equatorial Guinea has one of the highest literacy rates in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2016, annual employment growth

for in Equatorial Guinea's service sector was 10.8%. Most workers are permanent employees and 38% of these companies identify inadequately educated workers as a major constraint. With this, the country has partnered with foreign enterprises and higher education institutions to provide training for citizens in the petroleum industry. Marathon Oil, a major stakeholder in Equatorial Guinea's oil industry, states:

In Equatorial Guinea, we employ almost 800 national citizens. Through recruiting, training, workforce integration, and educational and vocational programs, Equatoguineans have grown to be 74 percent of our workforce. Since 2010, Equatoguineans have been promoted over 1,400 times, with 358 national employees promoted to higher employee grades. (Marathon Oil 2018, p. 1)

In 2013, Equatorial Guinea developed a training and technical assistance program in partnership with a petroleum company named Hydrac to invest heavily in the human capital needed to support the oil sector (Equatorial Guinea Press 2013). Three years later, the Ministry of Mines, Industry and Energy in partnership with the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology developed an intensive technical training program to support labor needs for the emerging oil and gas market (Ministry of Mines, Industry and Energy of Equatorial Guinea 2016).

The ebb and flow of economic growth should be forecasted by developing countries. In workforce and economic development, contingency plans and collaboration are key to maintaining education and training programs. During times of economic decline, countries should develop contingency plans to continue funding education and training programs. Lack of planning creates hardships in ensuring the adequacy of basic services such as drinkable water, quality shelter, education and health-care. For example, as oil prices fall, Chad reaches out to external interests to find funding to continue domestic development efforts. According to the World Bank, "This, in turn, has created a potentially volatile situation as civil servants have resorted to striking for long periods. In the education sector, although (community teachers) are not officially part of the civil service, they, too, have gone on strike along with the civil servant teachers as the Government has not been able to pay them since July 2014" (World Bank 2016, p. 8).

Another component of workforce and economic development alignment is the collaboration between employers and the education community to build citizens' skills. Investment in human capital provides leverage that countries can use to attract long-term business relationships in the oil and gas industry. Training technical workers and establishing continuing education programs are avenues that lead to clear economic benefits. Well-trained labor establishes a way to meet labor demands by recruiting, retaining and developing the local workforce. There are instances where African countries are using government funds and engaging foreign investors to create these training opportunities for citizens. Countries should make sure that companies are primarily targeting training opportunities in job sectors that provide individuals with the highest return on investment. For example, Exxonmobil provides training opportunities in both the oil and agricultural sectors. However, the oil and gas industry is a much more lucrative occupation sector than the agricultural sector. Additionally, some Chadians impacted by oil production operations receive training, materials and equipment as part of Exxonmobil's resettlement program (Exxonmobil 2013).

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Ghana, Chad and Equatorial Guinea dealt with leadership instabilities early in post-independence history that resulted in a lack of focus towards economic development and cohesive domestic productivity. This research shows that, more recently, each country has taken steps to address the adverse effects of labor imbalance in a capitalistic system, as discussed in Dependency Theory. All three countries recognize that oil and gas is an industrial sector that contributes more value to the national economy, work to build domestic demand and promote processed goods derived from this sector in the global market. Through government-managed agencies, Ghana, Chad and Equatorial Guinea, promote an effective government role and reinforce domestic development needs. Additionally, each country supports the development of education and training initiatives, which have reduced income inequality for some. In effect, the data analysis of feedback from private industry leaders in each country demonstrates relatively positive results for training and workers' performance, yet highlights areas where there is still a need for more training opportunities. Through literature, this chapter identifies areas of successful

public-private collaboration and policy implementation that positively impact government stakeholders and citizens.

Currently, all three countries have relative political stability with elements of self-governance that present opportunities for further economic growth in the oil and gas industry. Policy agendas may shift after a change of leadership but there should be uniform acknowledgment that investment in human capital and developing economic sectors will continue building foreign trade relations and significantly impact a country's domestic development. Governments should strategically develop skilled labor, and cultivate native expertise in the oil and gas industry in order to sustain goals for participation and optimize opportunities for future participation in downstream sectors, which will allow for long-term beneficial effects. In addition, policymakers should ensure transparency in how revenue is used to develop technical assistance training programs that produce highly skilled workers. Increased human capital is a measure of success for foreign investment as an economic strategy and a positive spillover effect for the domestic labor market. The workforce training programs discussed in this chapter are fairly new but evaluation allows for readjustment in cases where realignment is needed to better meet labor needs. In conducting evaluations, countries should enlist stakeholders to assist and co-develop curriculum that will make sure skill gaps are met and emerging training needs are addressed. Policymakers should be mindful of the inequitable distribution of trade benefits such as improving education access and training in high-skilled areas for all despite geographic location.

While the development of domestic infrastructure and educating citizenry is a long-term process, governments should continue to strategically integrate reliable plans for trade, natural resource production, and enhancements to quality of life for future growth. The concerted efforts of the countries discussed in this chapter could provide lessons learned for others. The following are therefore key recommendations for consideration:

- a. Oil and gas are finite natural resources and governments should be conscious of how to efficiently manage any profits to ensure benefits are geared toward domestic improvement.
- b. Governments should consider developing policy in which foreign investors must use domestic content in the production of goods or technology. This policy should be coupled with a strategic focus on being able to provide quality content for foreign investor use.

- c. Governments should develop and/or further the investment of publicly funded workforce programs and evaluate the impact of these programs using budgetary and administrative data, based on the influence on service-related variables such as income and employment outcomes by demographic group.
- d. Governments should work to build native expertise in the oil and gas sector to produce not only students but also instructors. In order to increase the net number of citizens with access to training, growth should be increasingly focused on building native trainers to provide essential long-term on-the-job training. Training can include topics beyond occupation-specific duties and address the fundamentals of administration and management, as well as, crosscutting knowledge areas and skills.
- e. Governments should provide citizens with the opportunity to transition into the oil and gas sector from the agricultural and other sectors with less lucrative incomes. In addition, there should be public messaging campaigns intended to educate individuals on such topics as projected earnings and unemployment rates in each sector in order to aid citizens' decision-making.

In conclusion, African countries should be transparent and make public actual allocations for the education sector and provide context for underperformance and gaps. Revenue streams for planned programs or intended education investments should also be public knowledge with dedicated allocations. Technical education programs are costly and policymakers should ensure learners are provided adequate resources such as books, libraries and laboratory equipment. Competitive salaries should be set in order to attract adequate teaching staff. The continued path towards self-governance should include (a) minimized political conflict, (b) uniformed decision-making and (c) transparency of government operations in order to educate citizens. Increasing citizens' participation in their own governance, along with ensuring the efficiency and effectiveness of the functional governance of institutions will provide the basis for the stronger domestic development and greater ability to participate on the global economic stage.

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The Impact of Globalization and the New World Order on African Languages and Linguistics: A Systematic Analysis Using the Theorem of Accelerated Language Deaths

Abdul Karim Bangura

Almost half a century ago, the Pharaoh of Knowledge Cheikh Anta Diop rang an alarm bell which was ignored. The consequence of the failure to respond to his red flag is evident in our major African linguistic peril today: the consequences of accelerated language deaths (i.e. when communities shift to new languages totally so that the old languages are no longer used) across the continent. The following is Diop's forewarning:

We must remain circumspect about subtle efforts to Anglo-Americanize Black Africa, considering how many of the colonies were formerly British. The joint efforts of Great Britain and the United States especially run counter to established "intellectual" habits and suggest to former French, Portuguese, Spanish, or other colonies that they ought to opt for English,

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so as to make that tongue the *lingua franca* of the whole continent. Linguistic unity based on a foreign language, however one may look at it, is cultural abortion. It would irremediably eventuate in the death of the authentic national culture, the end of our deeper intellectual and spiritual life and reduce us to perpetual copycats, having missed out on our historical mission in this world. Anglo-Saxon cultural, economic, social and even political hegemony would thereby be permanently guaranteed throughout Black Africa. We must remain radically opposed to any attempts at cultural assimilation coming from the outside: none is possible without opening the way to the others. (Diop 1974/ 1978, p. 12)

Given the preceding extract, I argue in this chapter that one area globalization (i.e. the process of going to a more interconnected world by diminishing the world's social dimension and expansion of overall global consciousness) and the new world order (i.e. the dramatic process of change of globalization) have affected Africa's socio-economic and political development the most has to do with African languages and linguistics. In order to support my reasoning, I analyze how globalization and the new world order have impacted African languages and linguistics, with a focus on the state of language deaths across the continent. Employing my theorem of accelerated language deaths (Bangura 2011), I offer a proposition (both to be discussed later) to undergird the analysis.

As a means to explain the concept of accelerated language deaths in Africa, a theoretical framework outlining a model with three levels of structure—(1) Globalization and the New World Order, (2) Sociological Factors, and (3) Accelerated Language Deaths—is delineated. It behooves me to mention here that the discussions of these three levels to follow are reproduced from my article in the United States Department of Education's Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) database, and I am the copyright holder of the article (Bangura 1997). After that, the state of extinct/dead and threatened African languages is presented. The central thesis that undergirds this chapter is therefore the following: As globalization and the new world order continue to accelerate language deaths in Africa, we will continue to lose a substantial part of our culture and indigenous knowledge—an erosion of the rites and rhythms of our African life. A language is culture. It contains a history of a people and all the knowledge they have passed down from generation to generation. A profitable question: From dating to mourning, why are the rules becoming so opaque? Thus, in addition to drawing a conclusion based on the analysis, this chapter also offers suggestions on what

can be done to substantively preserve and develop African languages and linguistic features. Before doing all this, however, it behooves me to end this section by addressing a point that is often raised by those who see no value in preserving and developing African languages. The matter is well articulated by Kiplangat Cheruiyot when he says the following:

Some have argued that since society is not static, people should accept dynamism in both culture and language, to embrace change and fraternize more easily for the purpose of speedy development. If we should give credence to this argument, it then implies that in no distant future, small ethnic groups will lose their cultural identities and languages and become lost tribes, relegated to the history books. (Cheruiyot 2007, p. 1)

There are other severe consequences for language loss, some of which will become evident in the sections ahead. But as a quick example, as David Smith reminds us, “In Canada, there is a clear link between those indigenous people who lost their language and suicide rates” (Smith 2015). Intrinsically, local identity regarding language is critical.

This chapter is therefore important because of its major focus: i.e. accelerated language deaths in Africa propelled by globalization and the new world order. The issue is vital because as Lynette Manaleng succinctly puts it, “The death of a language is the burning of a library...where there is little or no literacy in the community, all the knowledge of its culture lies within the language” (Manaleng 2014, p. 1). And, as the 100-year-old Hanna Koper who, with her two sisters and brother in their 90s, is in the battle to save their N|uu mother tongue, the oldest surviving Southern African San language that is at the edge of extinction, poetically puts it, “This is my language. This is my bread. This is my milk, I didn’t learn it, but I ate it and this is how it is my language....Other people have their own languages. Why must my language be allowed to die? It must go on. As long as there are people, the language must go on” (quoted in Smith 2015, p. 1).

It is also befitting to retell the story of the tragedy of the N|uu language here, albeit briefly. According to Smith, “N|uu and related languages were spoken in most parts of southern Africa...but were wiped out by white settlers with support of locals. Very often they kept the young girls, but killed all the men. Genocide is the major reason for these languages in southern Africa to be extinct now, and then forced assimilation. Farmers were taking their land so there was no subsistence

from them any more” (Smith 2015, p. 1). Smith adds that during the days of white minority rule in South Africa, N|uu speakers were told that their language was “ugly.” He quotes Hanna Koper to have stated: “We were told not to make noise and the baas [a Dutch word for supervisor] would shout at us if we spoke the language because they believed we were gossiping” (Smith 2015, p. 1).

THEOREM OF ACCELERATED LANGUAGE DEATHS

In my paper titled “Accelerated Language Deaths in the Developing World: A Consequence of the New World Order” (1997) and my book, *Ebonics Is Good* (2011), I postulate that since the significance of accelerated language deaths in African and other developing countries is doubly contextual in being both *context shaped* (its contribution to ongoing sequence of linguistic actions cannot adequately be understood except by reference to the context in which it occurs) and *context renewing* (the character of linguistic actions is directly related to the fact that they are context shaped—the context of a next linguistic activity is repeatedly renewed with every current action), *context* then helps an analyst to rule out unintended activities and suppress misunderstandings of certain activities that take place in a linguistic community. In essence, those factors identified as contextual must be those that determine accelerated language deaths in developing countries in actual global activities.

In order to explain the concept of accelerated language deaths, the theoretical framework in Fig. 6.1 outlines a model with the three levels of structure mentioned earlier: i.e. (1) Globalization and the New World Order, (2) Sociological Factors, and (3) Accelerated Language Deaths. The circle arrow process shows the sequential nature of the three levels of structure. The subsequent sections explicate these features.

The *Proposition* for the preceding framework is as follows: Linguistic domains involve conceptually distinct local contexts for each linguistic transaction. It is these contexts to which linguistics provides a pathway; thus, these contexts are the ones a language analyst can discover through analyzing the uses of languages. In essence, those factors identified as contextual must be those that determine accelerated language deaths in African countries vis-à-vis actual global activities.

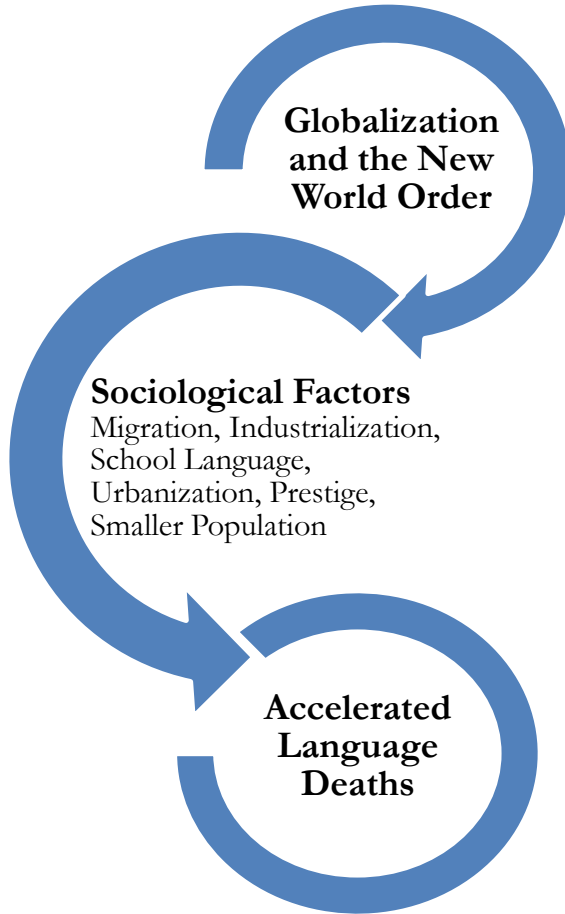


Fig. 6.1 Accelerated language deaths: A theoretical framework

GLOBALIZATION AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Keith Suter captures the nexus between globalization and the new world order very well in his article appropriately titled “Globalisation and the New World Order” (2008) when he states the following:

The process of globalisation is the biggest change to the world order (both the new and the old) for 350 years. The process of change is called “globalization.” This means the erosion of national boundaries and the reduced significance of national governments. We are moving from a world with borders to one without...In the new world order, nation-states are having to share their power with new global actors: international (or more accurately “inter-governmental”) organizations (such as the United Nations), transnational corporations, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). (Suter 2008, p. 1)

According to James Blight and Aaron Belkin, the popularity of the concept “New World Order” can be traced to President George H. W. Bush’s proclamation in his 1991 State of the Union address when he stated that “we have before us the long-held promise of a New World Order.” Blight and Belkin point out that like Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Harry S. Truman before him, Bush sought to build a stable, lawful peace on the foundation of military victory. Nonetheless, these scholars also argue that far short of a New World Order, new orderliness would be salutary in the chaotic, unipolar confusion of the immediate post-Cold War era. Thus, for them, the demise of the Soviet Union has led certain developing countries to export domestic chaos and engage in violent activities at home (Blight and Belkin 1993, p. 715).

For Haider Khan, the so-called “Washington Consensus” (“a complex array of policy reforms underway in the developing countries”), which emerged at the end of the Cold War, seems to be dictating much of the current policy gestures towards Third World countries. These indebted countries are forced to swallow the bitter medicine of structural adjustment regardless of their economic and human conditions. The direct and indirect costs of these policies on the vulnerable groups are evident, according to Khan (1997, p. 1).

In the area of foreign language study, for example, the effects are glaringly evident. As Omar Ka observes, foreign language study, which has traditionally depended greatly on funding from the United States Department of Education through Title VI Foreign Language and Area

Studies programs and from the United States Agency for International Development, is increasingly threatened in the new political order represented by the Republican majority in the United States Congress. In the name of “leaner” government, federal programs, agencies, and even entire departments (such as the Department of Education itself) are either experiencing painful budget cuts or are in danger of being simply abolished (Ka 1995, pp. 92–93). As Richard Falk also notes,

The ending of the Cold war both ended an era of ideological rivalry and stripped away the illusion of consensus about the shape and direction of world order. Beyond the domain of Cold War truisms that have prevailed between 1945 and 1989, there were increasingly evident analytic and explanatory difficulties. First, how to take conceptual account of the globalization of capital and communications. Second, whether to treat the porousness of state boundaries with regard to drugs, illegal immigration, environmental degradation, unwanted ideas and threats, financial flows and banking operations as posing a fundamentally new series of questions about the nature and effectiveness of sovereignty as the basic approach to the distribution of authority on a global basis. And third, the extent to which generalized descriptive narratives about the economic/political/legal conditions of the people of the world homogenized crucial differences or illuminated vital affinities. (Falk 1993, p. 627)

Thus, Falk asserts: “the main statist/market project of the North is to sustain geopolitical stability, which in turn calls for the continuous expansion of world trade, on economic growth, and on the suppression of nationalist and regionalist challenges emanating from the South, by force if necessary” (1993, p. 628). In this regard, Falk adds, “the internationalization of the state, assuredly a strong tendency, can either be a vehicle for promoting emancipatory or oppressive results”...Consequently, “domestic and transnational forces—from society to market activity—will exert various kinds of pressure on the state, often at cross-purposes” (Falk 1993, p. 628).

It is suggested here that various kinds of pressure on African and other developing countries have been felt in the area of language usage. The frequently cited factors for this pressure, as mentioned earlier, include migration, industrialization, school language, urbanization, prestige, and smaller population.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

In this section, instead of discussing each social factor accelerating language deaths in African and other developing countries individually, evidence is provided that highlight these factors together. This is necessary in order to avoid extensive repetitiveness in citing the sources of the evidence.

Until recently, it was feasible for a small speech community to survive in reasonable isolation, to preserve its own language, and to use a language of wider currency for communication with the outside world where necessary. But the growing centralization of life has made and continues to make this kind of situation increasingly rare. The extent of language death, in particular, is undergoing rapid acceleration in the modern world (Comrie et al. 1996, p. 14).

The speed with which a language can die in developing societies is truly remarkable. Within a generation, all traces of a language can become obsolete. Political decisions can force ethnic groups to move or split up, economic prospects can attract younger members away from the villages, and new diseases can take their toll. As David Crystal recounts,

In 1962, Trumai, spoken in a single village on the lower Culuene River in Venezuela, was reduced by an influenza epidemic to a population of fewer than 10 speakers. In the nineteenth century, there were thought to be over 1000 Indian languages in Brazil; today, there are only 200. A quarter of the world's languages have fewer than 1000 speakers; half have fewer than 10,000. It is likely that most of these languages will die out in the next 50 years. (Crystal 1997, p. 47)

In Tanzania, younger people are increasingly abandoning their mother tongues in favor of Swahili, the dominant language of the country (Comrie et al. 1996, p. 14). Swahili has become so prominent in Tanzania that no other language (including English, an official/colonial language of the country) can compete with it in terms of usage.

An assessment of continuity and change in the last stage of the moribund dialect called "Negerhollands" in the Dutch West Indies sketches the demise of a language in contact. The last speaker's language history and vowel system and an assessment of the variation in a Negerhollands corpus show how rapid changes in the modern world can accelerate sociological factors that lead to the death of a language (Sabino 1996).

Field data collected from the last remaining speaker of Hukumina and from the last four speakers of Kayeli spoken on the Indonesian island of Buru reveal a series of social factors contributing to the death of the two languages. A significant historical event set in motion changing social dynamics that forced the relocation by the Dutch in 1656 of a number of coastal communities on the island of Buru and other surrounding islands. This severed the ties between Hukumina speakers and their place of origin (with its access to ancestors and associated power). The same event brought a large number of outsiders to reside around the Dutch fort near the traditional village of Kayeli, leading to the establishment of a multiethnic and multilingual community that gradually resulted in a shift to Malay for both Hukumina and Kayeli language communities. Supporting evidence from other languages in the area also shows that traditional notions of place and power are tightly linked to language ecology in the region (Grimes 1995).

A sociocultural profile of the Ormuri and Paraci language speakers in South-East Iran shows how accelerated global pressures are impinging upon the two languages. Information concerning their past, present and future indicates the disappearance on the dialectological level (Kieffer 1977).

Large numbers of Spanish words are used by speakers of Tlaxcalan Nahuatl, an indigenous language of Mexico. As speakers of these languages think it is more advantageous to improve their Spanish, their increasing use of relexification is contributing to the death of the language (Hill 1977).

It is evident from the preceding discussion that language users are interactionally related in a linguistic framework, and their sociological predisposition to language usage is organized and managed in a global domain. All of these structures provide a framework within which any single language choice is produced. Although integrated in a global arena, these structures are conceptually distinct local contexts for each linguistic transaction; that is, local linguistic domains in which a transaction is situated. It is these contexts to which linguistics provides a pathway—and, thus, these contexts are the ones which a language analyst can discover through analyzing language usage.

ACCELERATED LANGUAGE DEATHS

Two aspects of language death—i.e. when a community shifts to a new language totally so that the old language is no longer used—have interested linguists: (1) the linguistic aspect and (2) the sociolinguistic aspect. The linguistic aspect focuses on the last stage of languages that are in use in a community that undergo interesting alterations in their pronunciation and grammar systems, in some respects reminiscent of pidginization (Dressler 1972). The sociolinguistic aspect is the search for the set of factors that cause people to give up a language in favor of another (Fasold 1984).

As Charles Hanley points out, scholars have predicted that 90% of human languages (an overwhelming majority of which are in the developing world) may die by the mid-twenty-first Century, pushed to oblivion's edge by the spread of English and other “world” languages via media, trade and migration, and by the pressure of dominant vernaculars in their own homelands (Hanley 1996). Although Joshua Fishman (1964) called attention to language death as a phenomenon worthy of study more than half a century ago, the topic inspired a relatively small number of studies until recently. Susan Gal (1979) and Nancy Dorian (1981) were the first to provide widely available monograph-length investigations of language death in a specific community. A number of shorter reports on language death appeared, but European and North American cases received most of the attention. While Ralph Fasold (1984) had suggested that for the time being we have to be content with these available in-depth studies from Europe and North America, it is suggested here that it would be of great interest to have in-depth studies of the phenomenon which is accelerating in African and other developing countries to see what similarities and differences there are compared with the Western cases.

A major question here, then, is the following: Why should anyone care about language death? The answer to this question is quite obvious. While most of the threatened languages come up short in the trite and trendy, they nevertheless make up for it with a wealth of words for nature's works, for myths and age-old rites and magic, and a complexity rich enough to turn a linguist's inquiry into a lifetime endeavor. Unfortunately, as Hanley points out, only a thin, underfinanced line of linguists around the world is trying to hold back the tide, or at least document, many of these dying languages (Hanley 1996).

There is a strong tendency for language death to be attributed to the same causes in study after study. The following are the most frequently-cited causes: migration, either by members of small groups who migrate to an area where their language no longer serves them, or by large groups who ‘swamp’ the local population with a new language (Tabouret-Keller 1968, 1972; Lewis 1972, 1978; Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977; Lieberman and McCabe 1978; Gal 1979; Dorian 1980; Timm 1980); industrialization and other economic changes (Tabouret-Keller 1968, 1972; Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977; Gal 1979; Huffines 1980; Timm 1980; Dorian 1981); school language and other government pressures (Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977; Gal 1979; Kahane and Kahane 1979; Dorian 1980; Huffines 1980; Timm 1980); urbanization (Tabouret-Keller 1968; Gal 1979; Timm 1980; Dorian 1981); higher prestige for the language being shifted to (Denison 1977; Gal 1979; Kahane and Kahane 1979; Dorian 1981); and a smaller population of speakers of the language being shifted from (Lieberman and McCabe 1978; Kahane and Kahane 1979; Dorian 1981; Huffines 1980). Nonetheless, there has been very little success in using any combination of these sociological factors to predict when a language death will occur. In fact, a number of linguists have reached considerable consensus that we do not know how to predict language death (Kloss 1966; Denison 1977; Gal 1979; Dorian 1981; to name some). Although many of the most often-cited sociological factors are present when a language death takes place, it is all too easy to find cases in which some speech community is exposed to the very same factors, but has maintained its language.

Thus, it is suggested in this chapter that the aforementioned sociological factors for language death are outcomes of larger phenomena—i.e. globalization and the new world order. Consequently, a major objective of this reflection is to employ the theorem discussed earlier to demonstrate the relationships among the aforementioned sociological factors, globalization and the new world order, and accelerated language deaths in Africa.

EXTINCT/DEAD AND ENDANGERED LANGUAGES IN AFRICA

As shown in Table 6.1, a majority of the African countries (36 or 65% of the 55) have experienced language extinctions or deaths (54 or almost 3% of the approximately 2000 languages) and/or have endangered languages (322 or approximately 16% of the estimated 2000 languages).

Table 6.1

Extinct/Dead and endangered languages in Africa by countries

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of extinct/dead languages</i>	<i>Number of endangered languages</i>
Algeria	1	13
Angola	1	1
Benin	—	1
Botswana	—	10
Burkina Faso	—	1
Cameroon	4	36
Central African Republic	—	5
Chad	2	29
Côte d'Ivoire	1	—
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1	5
Egypt	3	2
Equatorial Guinea	—	3
Eritrea	1	1
Ethiopia	4	28
Gabon	—	8
Ghana	—	5
Guinea	2	7
Guinea-Bissau	—	3
Kenya	3	13
Lesotho	—	1
Libya	—	6
Madagascar	1	—
Mali	—	2
Mauritania	—	3
Morocco	—	6
Namibia	—	1
Niger	—	2
Nigeria	8	29
Senegal	—	15
Sierra Leone	—	3
South Africa	3	10
Sudan	10	65
Tanzania	2	12
Tunisia	5	2
Uganda	2	3
Western Sahara	—	1
Total	54	322

Sources UNESCO (2010)https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_extinct_languages_of_Africa

A language is considered extinct or dead when it has no native speaker or spoken descendant; it is considered endangered when it has few surviving speakers and at risk of falling out of use. Table 6.1 also reveals that Sudan and Nigeria have the largest numbers of language deaths. Sudan also has the largest number of endangered languages, followed by Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria, and Ethiopia as the next big four.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has established the following four levels of language endangerment between *safe*, i.e. “language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted,” and *extinct*, i.e. “there are no speakers left”: (1) *vulnerable*—“most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)”; (2) *definitely endangered*—“children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home”; (3) *severely endangered*—“language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves”; and (4) *critically endangered*—“the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently” (UNESCO 2010).

The extinct/dead languages include those that are critical for connecting Africa to its first major civilization (and in the world), which Diop had advocated, such as Ancient Egyptian, Ancient Nubian, and Coptic. Some of the endangered languages are even spoken in countries outside of Africa: e.g., Algeria and Morocco’s Judezmo spoken in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Macedonia, Romania, and Turkey; Egypt and Libya’s Domari spoken in Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria (UNESCO 2010). More worrisome is the accelerated rate at which the languages are disappearing. As Lynette Mukami (2013) points out, many African languages died during the last decade. Given this predicament, the rest of this section examines the reasons for the extinction or death and endangerment of African languages based on the sociological factors discussed earlier.

First, in terms of *migration*, many Africans who relocate from one region or country to another tend to abandon their languages and also teach their children the languages of their new locations (Mukami 2013; Cheruiyot 2007; Mbamalu 2017). This state of affairs, according to Socrates Mbamalu (2017), is dictated by the desire to transcend cultural barriers and facilitate acceptability into the new communities.

Second, as it pertains to *industrialization*, the development of industries by colonial administrations, and later African governments, led to changes in certain linguistic groups' lifestyles as a means to survive. This in turn led to the loss of certain languages (Chinguwo 2005; Da-Costa 2017; Mbamalu 2017; Mukami 2013). A case in point is that of the Mukodogo or Yaaku who transitioned from a hunter-gatherer lifestyle to pastoralism. As Mukami tells us, "the group decided to give up [its] old language at the beginning of the 1930s in favor of Maasai...being hunter-gatherers, they lived on game and honey hunting, which brought them problems during the colonial period when hunting game became 'poaching.' Thus, it became unwise to identify themselves as hunters" (Mukami 2013, p. 1).

Colonialism with its attendant industrialization and modern lifestyle also wreaked havoc on the natural inventory systems of indigenous African languages, leading to the demise of some of them. Paliani Gomani Chinguwo affirms this point when he states that "New words came from the colonial source, as opposed to the languages' own ability to invent new words for this new rapidly changing modern world" (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1). Also pertaining to industrialization is the technological and scientific advancement it requires; thus, according to Chinguwo,

It is assumed that technological and scientific advancement is intrinsically tied to the usage of foreign languages which are erroneously regarded to be technically superior to any other African language. It is in this vein that some Africans more especially the educated elite hold that for Africa to advance in the globalised world, one prerequisite among others is the adherence to the foreign languages, particularly English, despite the fact that the vast majority of the African people cannot effectively communicate in such foreign languages. (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1)

Indeed, colonialists and their industries with the accompanying ways of life heralded the beginning of language deaths in Africa. As Mayowa Da-Costa indicates, "Africa had more tribes and languages before the advent of colonialism and westernization. Colonialism made certain tribes abandon partially or totally their ways of life and languages and take on those of their colonialists" (Da-Costa 2017, p. 1).

Third, vis-à-vis *school language*, in most African schools, the language of instruction is the European variety that was superimposed by colonialists and Christian missionaries, and the use of African languages is

greatly contested. For example, in South Africa, according to Deejay Manaleng, “the teaching of African languages has always been contested” (Manaleng 2014, p. 1). Also, as Manaleng points out, “Because of the missionary influence on African languages, English and Afrikaans took root in South Africa, resulting in the marginalization of the indigenous African languages,” which has in turn led to “divisions among the ‘have’ and the ‘have-not,’ those who are communicatively competent in English, those who have partial knowledge and those who speak no English at all” (Manaleng 2014, p. 1).

In Kenya, as Cheruiyot informs us, parents of certain linguistic and elite backgrounds do not want their children taught in their mother tongues at school. These parents, Cheruiyot adds, argue that English “is not simply valuable, but an absolute necessity and so they are content when the children are fluent in it” (Cheruiyot 2007, p. 1).

Fourth, relating to *urbanization*, as families move from rural to urban areas, they tend to assimilate into their new communities and imbibe the languages and lifestyles. Thus, according to Mukami, older adults neither support the maintenance of their indigenous languages nor do they pass them down to the younger generations (Mukami 2013). Also, as Chinguwo quotes [Owen] ‘Alik Shahadah, an African scholar, filmmaker and activist, as saying, “Urbanization is the slaughter house of African languages. And it is not only a threat from outside, i.e. English. Amharic has, on its own, displaced more languages in Ethiopia than English” (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1).

Fifth, with respect to *prestige*, many Africans associate speaking a European language that was made an official language in an African country by colonialists with intelligence. Consequently, one is accorded a higher social status based on his/her competence of a European language. As Chinguwo puts it, for example, “English and French are prestige languages and therefore a social sign of status” (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1). In addition, even more perplexing is that, according to Chinguwo, “the memory of the colonialists was also implanted on our own intellect through language. To a greater extent, African writers, musicians, artists, technocrats, legislators and academics who ought to be generators and custodians of our knowledge and information greatly feel that knowledge and information in this modern day and age cannot be stored in any of the African languages” (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1). Also, like most of the African countries, South Africa, as Manaleng points out, “has 11 official languages, but some Blacks are being brought up to speak only English.

Others equate speaking English with intelligence” (Manaleng 2014, p. 1; see also Mbamalu 2017, p. 1). Furthermore, Mukami notes that language deaths have been accelerated because in official social situations, it is considered prestigious to speak a “global language; for example, English in East and southern Africa, and French in Francophone Africa” (Mukami 2013, p. 1). The same is true for other Anglophone and Lusophone African countries.

The *prestige* factor is also manifest in terms of prejudices harbored by certain linguistic groups for others. This is the case of the Mukodogo, the Cushitic-affiliated Yaaku of Kenya, who assimilated into the Maasai community because of the prejudices that were held about them by the Maasai, leaving the Mukodogo with only 50 speakers by 1980. Mukami narrates the fate of the Mukodogo as follows: “they [i.e. the Mokodogo or Yaaku] were considered by the neighboring Maasai as poor, primitive and ‘living like animals.’ These prejudices led the Yaaku to want to assimilate into the Maasai community” (Mukami 2013, p. 1). The Boon of Somalia and Somaliland faced a similar situation. According to Mukami, “the Boon were outsiders composed of different groups who were adopted by other clans. Despite their full integration into their new clans, some were still regarded as second-class citizens and were subject to some forms of prejudice. The Boon speakers were 59 as at 2000” (Mukami 2013, p. 1).

Finally, apropos *smaller population*, Mukami informs us that the increasing assimilation of smaller language groups by the larger ones is one of the major factors for many African languages becoming critically endangered and disappearing. An example is that of the N|uu language, which was left with only six speakers by 2013 as they assimilated into the larger Nama population (which inhabits South Africa, Namibia, and Botswana) and the younger generation preferred speaking Nama and Afrikaans (Mukami 2013). Also, Cheruiyot (2007) provides a list of many smaller East African indigenous populations that due to intense economic, political and social pressures have given up their languages to embrace those of majority language groups.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I begin this section with three related and apposite quotations. The first excerpt is about the death of South African languages from Manaleng’s article:

A lot of noise is made about saving the rhinos, but where's the noise about preserving our linguistic heritage? We are where we are because our languages are not seen as fashionable. We live in the English age, and English is the global language, so our languages aren't really necessary. Many also see English as a sign of modernity. This is especially so among disadvantaged people living in rural parts of our country. Even those who can't speak it would rather break it up in order to be seen as modern. Imagine if English were the only language spoken in the world. What a disaster that would be. The rainbow nation is about multilingual and cultural diversity and multilingual education. I am not saying let's increase the visibility of other languages and decrease that of English. I am saying let us create an appropriate multilingual environment. (Manaleng 2014, p. 1)

The second extract is from late South African President Nelson Mandela:

If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart. (quoted in Manaleng 2014, p. 1)

The third quotation is from Russell H. Kaschula, a professor of African Language Studies and Chair in the Intellectualisation of African Languages, Multilingualism and Education at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa:

It is time to choose and to choose now either for or against the further evolution of the human and linguistic spirit. It is for us to apply whatever knowledge we have in all humility but with due speed and to try and learn more as quickly as possible. It is for us, much more than any previous generation, to become serious about the future, linguistically, environmentally and otherwise, and to make choices that will be weighed not in a decade or a century but in the balance of geological time. It is for us, with all our stumbling, and in the midst of our dreadful confusion, to try and disengage the tangled wing. (quoted in Manaleng 2014, p. 1)

Given the preceding quotations, the following ultimate question emerges: Why and how must African languages be preserved and developed? To the *why* aspect of this question, there are a number of reasons. First, languages promote and preserve diversity. Cheruiyot captures this verity quite well when he states that "Languages serve as important symbols of group belonging, enabling different groups of people to

know what ethnic group they belong to, and what common heritage they share” (Cheruiyot 2007, p. 1). Also, as Da-Costa states about the Maasai of Southern Kenya and Northern Tanzania who are striving to save their Maa language from demise, “The existence of a common language enriches a culture and gives it extra validation. It encourages close relationship amongst the people and gives them a sense of belonging to their family and [ethnic group] at large” (Da-Costa 2017, p. 1). Thus, in order to keep their language and culture alive, the Maasai have decided to live in close-knit communities (Da-Costa 2017). Unfortunately, as Manaleng (2014) points out, some of us Africans are being so globalized that we are losing this reality.

Second, given the histories of our African countries, it is imperative that our children be taught our languages and be encouraged to use them if they are to understand these histories in their proper contexts and pass on the acquired knowledge to the future generations. The import of this aspect is very well captured by Cheruiyot when he states that “Languages are truly instruments of our perceptions of reality, as they influence the way we perceive things in our environment, the way we think, the way we act and speak as well as the way we behave in any given social context...” (Cheruiyot 2007, p. 1).

Third, languages promote a sense of pride and identity. Put two English, French, German, Italian, or Greek wo/men, not to mention other Europeans, who met each other for the first time in a room with other nationals, you will soon hear them speaking their mother tongues with pride. This aspect needs to be taught to those Africans who now see their languages as relics of which to be ashamed.

Fourth, as Mukami quotes Okoth Okombo, a professor of Linguistics and Communication Skills at the University of Nairobi in Kenya, to have stated, “Language is like a reservoir of culture. Most of our cultural wealth of a community is stored in its language: their philosophy of life, their stories, their medicinal practices” (Mukami 2013, p. 1). Also, as Cheruiyot succinctly puts it, “a lost language is a lost culture, a lost culture is invaluable knowledge lost” (Cheruiyot 2007, p. 1). He adds: “languages are the most authentic ways through which people and communities can retain and safeguard knowledge, wisdom and their nomenclature passed down by their ancestors; they are, in one sense, precious and living heirlooms that must be protected” (Cheruiyot 2007, p. 1).

Finally, the development of African languages is indispensable for the overall development of Africa. As Chinguwo quotes Professor Alfred Mtenje, Director of the Centre for Language Studies at the University of Malawi, to have said, “In African context development in general cannot be realized without taking into consideration the use of the indigenous languages, the languages of the masses, the majority of whom are illiterate and have no access to foreign languages” (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1). Indeed, there is no country which has attained sustainable development without using its own language. Chinguwo encapsulates this certitude very well in the following narrative:

Empirical evidence...suggests that no country has ever achieved sustainable development while using a foreign language. Contrary to a fallacy that is generally held, English is a minority language on mainland Europe and Asia where some of the most technologically advanced nations like Holland, Belgium, Germany, France, Nordic countries, China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Israel and others conduct their entire education system in their own national languages. It is also important to draw lessons from the pages of history which bear witness that the European Renaissance that spanned roughly from the fourteenth Century through the seventeenth Century, was essentially a process of disengagement from hegemonic Latin language, the discovery and development of European nations’ own tongues. Subsequently this led to a massive and sustained translation and transfer of knowledge from Latin and Greek into the emerging European vernaculars. For instance the Bible was first translated from Latin into English in 1383 by John Wycliffe and associates though amidst fierce resistance that cost the lives of the readers of that particular version who were burned at stake with their copies hanging from their necks. Later an English scholar called William Tyndale was tried of heresy, condemned, strangled on 6th October 1536 and his body burned at stake after translating the Bible from Greek to English. (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1)

For the *how* feature of the question some recommendations are offered in the rest of this section. To begin with, we have to teach our languages to our children at home. As Manaleng puts it so precisely,

Home is where it begins. No child should ever feel ashamed of speaking [his/her] own language at home, and if we want to groom our children to be future leaders, they need to know who they are. They need to be told our stories, so that they in turn can tell them to their children, and language matters with stories. It is not for nothing that people usually

prefer to read books in the language in which [they were] written. Great leaders are those who understand the dynamics of society, and the only way to truly understand people you serve is to be one of them, and speak their language. A leader cannot serve people he does not understand. (Manaleng 2014, p. 1)

Next, it is incumbent upon us regular citizens to work as a collective in preserving and developing our languages. We must therefore engage our governments, private sectors, universities and other relevant entities in doing so. Consequently, we must be actively involved in the implementation process of any policy that emerges from the effort.

Also, language policies need to be implemented quickly, and plans to protect, preserve and develop indigenous languages need to be stated very clearly. Failure to do these two things in Nigeria, as Mbamalu points out, “has an adverse effect on the state of indigenous languages” in the country (Mbamalu 2017, p. 1). More specifically, according to Mbamalu, successive Nigerian governments have not implemented the policy of making the three major languages—(1) Igbo, (2) Hausa, and (3) Yoruba—as languages of national culture and integration; they have not implemented the National Policy on Education which states that “the mother tongue should be used as the language of elementary level; this includes pre-primary and primary levels of education”; and their plans have been opaque in terms of how they will protect and preserve the country’s many indigenous languages (Mbamalu 2017, p. 1).

In addition, African and other Africanist linguists must design alphabet charts and rules of spelling and grammar to record indigenous languages. They must also record the speakers of the languages on audio and video tapes to be used for teaching and research.

Furthermore, citizens must launch movements geared towards sensitizing the public and pressuring governments to help preserve and develop indigenous languages. As Smith recalls, the Hawaiian language was almost extinct; but about 40 years ago, the Hawaiians launched a movement to preserve and develop their language which is now quite strong with speakers numbering about 2000 in 2015 (Smith 2015). Governments must also reward such movements, just as former South African President Jacob Zuma did when he gave an award to Hanna Koper (then 95 years old) and her two sisters (Katrina Esau, also known as Ouma Geelmeid, and Griet Seekoei, then 82 and 90 years old, respectively) in 2015 for launching a movement to preserve N|uu, the oldest

surviving Southern African San language that was at the edge of extinction with the three sisters and their brother, Simon Sauls, as the only surviving speakers (Smith 2015).

Moreover, speakers of indigenous languages must volunteer and teach these languages in schools. This is what the four remaining N|uu speakers are doing in Upington, South Africa. Their efforts have gained a great deal of attention and support, both nationally and internationally, leading to the establishment of the N|uu Language Documentation and Revitalisation Centre with foci on teaching, research, publications, and media (Shah, n.d.).

Finally, we must render obsolete the myth that African languages are not equipped to handle Western scientific and technical aspects. If Westerners could appropriate scientific, technical, philosophical, archaeological, mystical, religious, artistic and other ideas in the languages of Ancient Egyptians and other Africans to develop their knowledge systems, why can't Western scientific and technical material be translated into African languages? The following excerpt from Chinguwo's article titled "Fate of African Languages" (2005) answers the question:

Afrikaans is a very good example of one language which has been developed from a status of a non-scientific to a completely technical language over a short period of time. Besides, linguistic research has proved that whatever term, i.e. technical, scientific or otherwise, expressed in English can equally be said in any other language including of course any African language. For instance the Bible has been successfully translated into hundreds of African languages, Einstein's Theory of Relativity has been exhaustively described in a Senegalese language called Wolof, various technical and scientific terminologies have been developed in Swahili (Tanzania), Oshindongo (Namibia) among others. (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1)

Thus, as Chinguwo fittingly concludes,

In the final analysis, the view that African languages by their nature cannot adequately express scientific, intellectual and technical concepts has no valid basis. It is therefore no exaggeration to conclude that the wanton hatred and profound contempt of African languages by the Africans particularly the educated elite is a clear manifestation of the extent to which psychologically the Africans remain entangled in colonial fetters after over 40 years of political independence. (Chinguwo 2005, p. 1)

In essence, doing nothing to ax the accelerated deaths of our languages is tacitly contributing to the genocide of our authentic culture and intellect!

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PART II

Global Knowledge Production, Development,
and Economic Transformation in the Era
of Globalization



Re-Africanizing Breast Feeding as Africa's Gift to Global Health in This Era of Globalization

Kelebogile T. Setiloane

The protection, promotion and support of exclusive breastfeeding in the first six months of life is acknowledged within parenting as the single most critical strategy for reducing child mortality rates in Africa. African countries have some of the highest child undernutrition and mortality rates globally. According to the United Nations Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation (UNICEF 2011), seven countries that have the highest number of children die before their fifth birthday are in Africa. These countries—Angola, the Central African Republic, Chad, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Somalia—all have an under-five mortality rates above 100 deaths per 1000 live births. According to the World Health Organization (WHO 2004), children in South of the Sahara are more than 14 times more likely to die before the age of five than children of the same age in developed countries. Almost half of all child deaths in this region are linked to undernutrition, which weakens the immune system and makes children more vulnerable to diseases like pneumonia,

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diarrhea and malaria, causing their high death rates (Ladomenou et al. 2010). Although the underlying causes of undernutrition are complex and solutions varied, exclusive breastfeeding in the first six months of life is one of the best ways to reduce child deaths and improve children's development outcomes. Antibodies in breast milk help prevent some childhood diseases like pneumonia and diarrhea, the two major causes of child deaths among infants, to which children are vulnerable. Studies have also shown that breastfeeding protects against obesity and non-communicable diseases such as asthma and diabetes (Owen et al. 2005) and is closely linked to improved cognitive development in children, which translates into higher productivity levels when they reach working age (Sauls 1979). Investment in the improvement of breastfeeding is therefore a significant step for global health, especially in areas of the globe with large populations and limited resources in the area of maternal and child healthcare.

This chapter gives an overview of the historical, sociopolitical and cultural aspects of breastfeeding in African cultures. The long tradition of breastfeeding in Africa has been changed by colonization and modernization which brought about new cultural values that contributed to a decline in breastfeeding patterns. The benefits of breastfeeding, particularly the spiritual and emotional, have always been appreciated by African cultures and any interventions to improve the breastfeeding patterns must be cognizant of the cultural factors of breastfeeding in this era of globalization.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical Social Theory is used to frame this chapter. This theory emerged during the 1920s and 1930s from the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt in Germany (Wells 1995) and is used to examine relationships of power and underlying structures in society that produce inequalities among groups (Grams and Christ 1992). Critical Social Theory assumes that cultural political and economic circumstances in society are not natural and fixed but are historically established and can be altered. Moreover, the societal structures developed produce ideologies like racism, sexism, and classism which are made to appear inevitable, natural and constant, all the while serving to reinforce interests of the dominant group (Allen 1987). According to Wilson-Thomas, "Critical social theory can be used to assess how socially derived power structures

filter into healthcare practices, both in terms of how deficits in health are assessed and managed, and how they affect communication between nurses and patients” (1995, p. 573).

Critical Social Theory applies to this chapter because it helps in the development of a framework to understand how political and social factors changed the cultural landscape of African countries that in turn affected breastfeeding patterns adversely. As described earlier, the decreased breastfeeding patterns have led to a public health challenge in the high rate of mortality seen in young children. One of the goals of global public health institutions such as the World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), and others is to reduce the high mortality and morbidity rates seen in African children and to improve their quality of life. Much of the research on breastfeeding in African countries looks only at its biomedical, clinical and nutritional values without addressing it as a social and cultural behavior. By investigating how breastfeeding culture in Africa has changed due to historical and present-day relationship with dominant cultures engendered by globalization, a fuller picture of why and how breastfeeding practices have changed will occur. This will help improve intervention strategies via several avenues, one of which is encouraging health professionals to extend their scope of practice in ways that address public health challenges on a societal level. Health professionals can use Critical Social Theory to consider how they themselves participate in reproducing social structures. Power relations between health professionals and their clients can be uneven in terms of health-related knowledge. By virtue of having biomedical scientific knowledge, health professionals too often believe that they have superior knowledge compared to their clients and believe that the knowledge their clients possess about breastfeeding is inferior. Using the framework of Social Critical Theory helps dismantle this hierarchy of knowledge, by using a dialogic approach in health professionals’ encounters with their clients, to nullify the notion that learning cannot be unidirectional and for them to understand that there is much to be learned from their African clients in traditional settings. Being that globalization is the story of the inter-connectedness of all the communities of the globe, traditional communities will have to learn some practices that will make them globally relevant within mega societies. Inversely, mega societies will have to learn from traditional communities as well.

METHODOLOGY

This chapter uses qualitative research methods. This type of research, in general terms, focuses on describing, explaining, understanding, and recognizing that human experiences should be interpreted in different ways in order to grasp the decline of breastfeeding among African women (Cottrell 2005). Bangura reframed qualitative ethnographic methodology as emphasizing words, as opposed to numerical values to answer existential questions of Who? What? Where? When and How? (Bangura 2011). In this respect, Denzin and Lincoln also noted that the qualitative research method emphasizes “the socially constructed nature of reality and the value-laden nature of inquiry,” and it looks for answers to how the social experiences are created and their meanings to people (2005, p. 10).

Most qualitative research works are based on studies that involve participants studied in their natural surroundings. The approach of the present chapter is different as it is based on research executed by others. Writing was the method of inquiry and used as a strategy of discovery because as a tool it allows one to comparatively analyze breastfeeding behavior from different contexts. At the center of writing as a method of inquiry is the realization that, according to Adams St. Pierre, “language does not just describe reality—does not merely tell it as it is—it also creates it and is not just a mopping up activity at the end of a research project” (2007, p. 963). In this chapter, texts are the data that illuminate how outside forces and their cultural contexts have influenced breastfeeding in Africa. The concepts of postmodern and poststructuralist thinking which see knowledge as being limited by the person trying to generate it (Richardson and St. Pierre 2005) are also evident in this method of inquiry because, according to Richardson and St. Pierre (2005), writing is always connected to the writer’s life and is never entirely objective.

PRE-INDUSTRIAL TRADITIONAL WESTERN CULTURE OF BREASTFEEDING

Traditional pre-industrial infant feeding practices in Western countries were quite similar to those in African countries. Prolonged breastfeeding occurred for at least 18 months, together with supplements of cereals and other substances thought to be protective of the infant’s health

(Sellen 2001). During the nineteenth Century, the length of breastfeeding declined due to the increased employment of women during the Industrial Revolution (Cunningham et al. 1991). Breastfeeding also declined at this time because of the loss of traditional support networks on account of the rise in urbanization. Other factors which contributed to the all-time low rates of breastfeeding during the 1960s and 1970s include the increased availability of infant formula, medicalization and the regimented, scientific approach to infant feeding favored by the medical profession, whose members were mostly men (Sellen 2001).

The long tradition of breastfeeding has been neutralized in many parts of 'modern' Africa by the influences of European colonial cultural values legitimized by Christianity, Western money economy, industrialization, migration and urbanization—all forces and outcomes of globalization. The aggressive marketing of commercial breastmilk substitutes also played a critical role in neutralizing the long tradition of breastfeeding in Africa (Cunningham et al. 1991).

Although lactation, the biological production of milk from the body, is a physiological process, the act of breastfeeding, feeding a child breast milk directly from breast to mouth, is a cultural and learned behavior. The cultural context of breastfeeding informs the scope of understanding the normalcy of breastfeeding. Any appreciation of why breastfeeding in Africa has been neutralized while bottle-feeding rates have increased needs to be understood in its historical and cultural context. This allows for policy formulation that will energize the need for healthy breastfeeding to improve, not only in Africa but in all traditional communities of the globe.

BREASTFEEDING BIOLOGY

While there is no right way to breastfeed, some cultural values are better matched with the biology of breastfeeding than others. Newborns have reflexes that help them learn how to breastfeed. Prolactin and Oxytocin, the hormones of breastfeeding, are created and maintained in response to the suckling baby. The more a baby suckles, the higher the level of prolactin and the more milk the mother produces. Oxytocin ensures the delivery of milk through milk ejection from the breast or the 'let down' reflex. Non-industrial societies, in Africa and other parts of the world, that breastfeed their babies throughout the day in response to the needs of the child, and carry the infant close to the body all day, ensures the promotion

of milk production and confidence in feeding from the mother. These cultures are better matched with the biology of breastfeeding.

Cultures of Western Europe where breastfeeding is regimented by the dictates of the mother rather than the child occurs during fixed intervals and the infant is separated from the mother for long periods during the day, creating a decline in milk production by the mother and difficulty in feeding. The greater the distance between breastfeeding worldview and breastfeeding biology, the more likely the difficulty or dissatisfaction with breastfeeding will be. Two key differences that relate to the breastfeeding worldview between the Western and African cultures have to do with social relationships and the respective cultures relationship to nature. The following section summarizes how these two key cultural differences influence the breastfeeding worldviews.

EUROCENTRIC AND AFRICAN BREASTFEEDING WORLDVIEWS MATCHED TO BREASTFEEDING BIOLOGY

In this section, a number of attributes pertaining to different worldviews are analyzed as they relate to breastfeeding. They are: social relationships, breasts as sexual objects, individualism and motherhood, mother-infant relationship, distance from and control of nature, introduction of Christianity, commercial availability and promotion of infant milk. They are discussed sequentially for the sake of clarity.

Social Relationships

Social relationships are approached in two fundamental ways in society. In European societies, relationships are preferred on the basis of one-to-one individual manner. In African cultures, relationship is built on members functioning in the group. Individualistic cultures emphasize the promotion of personal goals, striving towards independence and clearly defined boundaries between individuals (Battersby 2010). Collectivistic culture on the other hand emphasizes promotion of other people's goals, striving to belong or to be a part of the group. Summarizing from the classic work of Max Weber (1905), the individualistic culture of the Western worldview began with the Reformation, which brought in its wake a questioning spirit as well as the asceticism of John Calvin's puritanical ethics. To gain his or her salvation, the individual was exhorted to work hard, be frugal and reinvest. This meant making profit for the sake of making

profit: i.e. capitalism. The optimum development of the individual became the highest good of the society. This infrastructural economic base transformed European communities into congeries of individuals at war with one another for profit. The highest goal of Western culture became the optimum satisfaction of the individual in whatever role—father, mother, sister, brother, wife, husband, young adult. The individual must pursue his or her own interest alone. If anything stands in the way of that principle, it constitutes a burden and a deprivation on the person's time and energies. Although this transition began in Europe, the United States of America provided the most fertile ground for the notion of the optimum development of the individual.

However, the Reformation brought more than economic restructuring. It also brought puritanical morality based on the hypersexualization as well as the demonization of woman as the source of sin. The cover-it-all habits of the Nuns and the long colorless dresses of Amish women are historical reminders of this intense desire by Western culture to see anything relating to sex as sinful and to see the breast as an extension of the female genitalia flaunted to invite satisfaction. This individualistic cultural way of being and puritanical morality has had far reaching consequences that still informs the cultural messages about breastfeeding today and has created major challenges to breastfeeding as described in the following subsection.

Breasts as Sexual Objects

Self-objectification involves placing looks over health, function and value of the self and can lead to an excessive focus on one's appearance. Research has highlighted how women in Western cultures self-objectify their bodies and believe that breastfeeding maternal bodies are incompatible with sexual attractiveness, sexual availability and physical attractiveness (Johnston-Robledo 2007). Also, many women are reluctant to breastfeed because they fear that their breasts' appearance will suffer and that their men will find their lactating breasts undesirable (Moradi 2010).

Consequently, many women in Western cultures feel uncomfortable about breastfeeding in public, evidenced by a vast body of literature that relates this discomfort to the belief that the main role of breasts is to sexually attract the heterosexual male (Hurst 2012; Britton 2009; Kedrowski and Lipscomb 2008; Harris et al. 2003). This is reinforced, in the United States, by attitudes towards breasts being more explicitly than

ever displayed throughout media as sexual items. Field studies around the world by Katherine Dettwyler (1995) have shown that every society holds beliefs about the function(s) of breasts, as well as how private and public spheres are separated by the function of breasts. In the United States, attitudes towards breastfeeding are shaped by the beliefs that the main purpose of breasts is for sex with men; like sex, breastfeeding requires privacy; and breastfeeding is permissible only when infants are very young. Along this theme, Boyer (2011) states that the two core concepts of patriarchy—women’s bodies primarily meant to attract men and women’s care-work belonging in the home—render breastfeeding as not belonging in the public sphere. Because breastfeeding is a learned behavior or activity, it is very much affected by the lack of exposure and support in many communities in Western cultures where it is seen as a marginal and liminal activity rarely seen and barely discussed. This leads many women to lack the confidence in their ability to breastfeed which results in early cessation of breastfeeding, if it is ever initiated at all.

Individualism and Motherhood

The paradigmatic shift to individualism, which began during the Reformation as described earlier, facilitated the focus of women’s lives to emphasize independence, self-fulfillment and control of both one’s life and body. Women today are used to and expected to act, like men, as autonomous subjects within the public and private spheres. While reproduction is still central to defining womanhood, the focus on motherhood today is predominantly centered around being an independent individual working in the public sphere rather than a focus on being a housewife and mother as in earlier times (Nicolson et al. 2010). This attitude was reinforced by the first wave of feminism, one of whose major goal was for women to gain access to the public sphere, leaving breastfeeding to be viewed as something that tied mothers down (Thulier 2009). Some researchers (e.g., Schmied and Lupton 2001) connect the dislike some mothers have towards breastfeeding to the definition of the ideal body in Western culture today which is masculine, contained and in control. The female body on the other hand is represented as inferior, in part because lactation, as one of the female fluids, disrupts the ideal of a body that is contained and controllable. Studies have shown that formula feeding is therefore linked to women being in control not only of their bodies, but also their time (see, for example, Lee 2007). This autonomous

and self-controlled cultural environment that many women enter motherhood into today is in stark contrast to the interdependent intensive and body altering relationship, between mother and child, that breastfeeding demands.

Mother-Infant Relationship

In those cultures where individualism is highly preferred, mother and baby are seen as two separate individuals in need of independence from each other with the result that children are taught from early infancy to be independent. These beliefs and practices facilitate the separation of mother and child, thereby undermining the breastfeeding practice. Workplaces are not compatible with mothering or breastfeeding and it is now not unusual for mothers and babies to spend large amounts of the day away from each other through the use of daycare and babysitters. Bottles are introduced very early in infancy so that others can feed the baby. Pacifiers are introduced so that the child will not depend on the mother for all his/her suckling needs and babies and children commonly sleep in a separate bed and room from the parents and are expected to sleep through the night. There is also the common belief in Western cultures that mothers should not 'spoil' their children by picking them up when they cry or are hungry. Children should be trained and put on a schedule as to when to breastfeed rather than according to when the baby feels hungry, which is the biological timing and need (Manne 2005).

Distance from and Control of Nature

The relationship between culture and nature contributes to how well a particular culture will accommodate the biology of breastfeeding. Western cultures can generally be described as having mastery over nature while African and other more traditional cultures may be described as living in harmony with nature. The belief that humans are the masters of nature is the foundation of Western culture's reverence for science and the medicalization of infant feeding or the belief that scientists can create an infant food that is at least equivalent or superior to the milk produced by nature (Markus and Kitayama 1991).

In her dissertation on the history of infant feeding in the United States, Berney (1998) shows that the rise of technology took infant feeding out of the realm of mothers and placed it into the hands of science, in the

guise of male doctors, in order to control, civilize and modernize it. The invention of book printing in Europe helped to spread the ideas of regimenting the infant at the breast with the idea by some German doctors that overfeeding was the cause of gastrointestinal diseases, and the, warning that “Nothing is more apt to disorder the child than suckling it too often...,” British physician William Cadogan advocated for moving the medical discipline of infant feeding into the hands of “men of sense rather than foolish unlearned women” and his advice book from 1749 recommended only four feedings in 24 hours and no night time nursing (Riordan and Wambach 2010, p. 57). Berney (1998) outlines that from around the turn of the century on, like the factory, breastfeeding had to be carefully managed and the experts of the time warned that a mother’s milk quality could be altered by her being too thin or too fat, too young or too old, by having constipation or imperfect teeth.

Even today, breastfeeding in Western countries is still largely controlled with infant feeding, including breastfeeding approached from a scientific angle (Wallace and Chason 2007). Rather than being conceptualized as a practice that involves instinct, communal knowledge and experience as in traditional cultures, it is viewed as requiring biomedical knowledge. According to Dykes, even a return to a natural biology in mothering and infant feeding practices over the last few decades, for example, feeding on demand, mother-infant bonding and exclusive breastfeeding, the emphasis is on the nutritional and health benefits of the milk, separated from the women who produce it (Dykes 2005, p. 2285). This is in stark contrast to non-Western relational understanding of breastfeeding that encompasses intimacy, closeness and nurture rather than a “a one-way non-reciprocal transmission of health” view of breastfeeding (Dykes 2005, p. 2287). Even though in the 1970s women reclaimed breastfeeding knowledge, it is now once again perceived as something to be gained from health experts rather than from women and breastfeeding mothers themselves. In so doing, breastfeeding is further medicalized and effectively silences the redevelopment of the emotional and social aspects of breastfeeding. Dykes (2005) highlights how this medicalization of breastfeeding forms the basis to the challenges that many Western mothers experience: a lack of confidence in their ability to breastfeed; a distrust in the quality and quantity of their own milk, and an over-reliance on the rules and advice from perceived experts rather than trusting themselves to respond to their babies needs by learning to watch for cues from their child’s natural course of development.

The shift of Western culture away from breastfeeding was also facilitated, from the late nineteenth Century onwards, by a move towards clear boundaries between human culture and animal nature (Berney 1998). While nature had been viewed positively in earlier times, by the late nineteenth Century, it was something that warranted control. This resulted in a change in the perceptions of women's bodies such that reproductive activities (menstruation, gestation and lactation) were placed in a negative light, and referred to in terms of disease and 'animality' in consumer products, and popular images of the time (Cox et al. 2007). Breastfeeding was viewed by many as primitive and the milk as dirty (Battersby 2007; Cox et al. 2007). Today, participants in a study by Mahon-Daly and Andrews (2002) felt that leaking was a sign to others that they are not coping with motherhood, and many felt ashamed and unclean. Researchers, Britton (2009) and Battersby (2007) noted that rooms designated for nursing are often combined with, or adjacent to diaper changing rooms and/or restrooms, which makes the connection of breastfeeding with excretion (Dowling and Pontin 2012).

White upper-class women were thought to be too refined and civilized to breastfeed as opposed to those of the uneducated and barbarian lower classes (Forbes et al. 2003). Around this same time, the middle class began expressing disgust at the sight of women nursing their babies, and photographs depicting breastfeeding showed mostly women from marginalized groups, such as migrant workers or poor immigrants.

Some of the preceding cultural values have contributed to the decline of breastfeeding in Western countries and are now seen in populations going through modernization—the process of change toward social economic and political systems that were established in Western Europe and North America—initiated through colonization. Traditional African culture was compatible with breastfeeding biology, described earlier, until colonization took over and changed the cultural landscape from traditional to at best a hybrid culture, particularly in urban settings. Today in many parts of Africa, bottle feeding may hold higher social status while breastfeeding is being relegated to being a shameful exercise that equates the breastfeeding mother as being uneducated and of low social status (Dop and Simondon 2001). These changing values affecting infant feeding behavior are an example of how the African environment has changed because of the economic, social and political changes that have occurred through modernization brought about by colonization. The

major factors facilitating these changes in values include the introduction of Christian religion, female participation in the modern labor force, the commercial availability and promotion of processed milks; urbanization and modernization. While the relative importance of these factors might differ among individual African countries, to be discussed next, the introduction of Christianity was a major avenue to the change in cultural values affecting breastfeeding.

Introduction of Christianity

When the Europeans came to Africa as missionaries, their sin-centric culture saw many activities in which Africans engaged as sinful. Religion to the Westerner was an institution that was compartmentalized and made operable only on Sundays (Manala 2013). Sex was condemned and the European historical response to it was to suppress it. Anything relating to sex was seen by the missionaries as sinful and the breast was seen as an extension of sex. African traditional religions are embedded in everyday activity and are the foundation of rites of passage as the individual moved from one phase of life to another from birth to infancy, young adulthood to marriage and adulthood, old age and finally death and transition into 'ancesthood' (Babatunde 1992). Traditional African cultures saw sex as an aspect of life that is to be enjoyed and that brought sacred marriage responsibilities of memorializing the dead through the transfer of names from the dead ancestors to new born babies raised in the likeness of those ancestors whose name the children now bear (Babatunde 1998). Giving birth to children and nurturing them to become responsible achieving members of the society was the price that must be paid for enjoying sex. The breast for the traditional African woman is not a part of the body used to trap men for sex, but rather is seen as the seat of nurture in the body of the mother. It is for nursing children who are the most valuable gifts that mortal humans have to perpetuate themselves. This is why the African worldview identifies giving birth to and nurturing the well-brought up child as the highest good and the most valuable historical marker to the living of the life and achievements of those who have passed on (Babatunde 1998).

Traditional African women's confident and powerful management of breastfeeding and their commitment to the practice was seen, by society, as a labor and a duty of motherhood (King et al. 2010). Moreover, in

the communal nature of African culture, other members of society played a role in supporting the breastfeeding mother. Grandmothers and family members, including fathers, supported breastfeeding from support with food and rest and infant care through to particular religious, sexual and social observances. Breastfeeding women and their infants were treated carefully and with special regard (Babatunde 1992).

These positive associations of the high status and care for breastfeeding women separated them from the cultures of breastfeeding amongst White women in Europe. African cultural values and practices that supported breastfeeding were regarded by the missionaries as curiosities to succumb to the 'superior' Western ways of being rather than cultural practices that are legitimate and workable within their own African social structural circumstance and environment. There was a tendency to coopt middle class African women to adopt a denigrating attitude towards legitimate and more effective African cultural parenting styles in preference for White middle-class practices. This is also seen today and seems to be on the rise, an example of which is seen in the article by Pelesa Thinane-Epondo in the *Mail and Guardian Africa* (March 20, 2016) captioned "Why are a woman's breasts becoming objects of shame in Africa."

Commercial Availability and Promotion of Infant Milk Formula

When infant formula was introduced to African societies, it entrenched Eurocentric ideas in the guise of modernization to make European parenting the norm which should be copied first by recipients of Western Culture, education and life style, and then by others who see those who have copied this Western culture as 'role models.' The tragedy now is that the same people whose interests forced a reduction in the level of breastfeeding in Africa now want to teach African mothers why they must breastfeed.

Female Participation in the Modern Labor Force

The traditional economic roles of African women included agricultural farming, trading and home-based activities. These activities were compatible with breastfeeding biology as they allowed the young infant to be with the mother at all times and enabled mothers to, when necessary, adjust their routine to avoid separation from her baby. Entering the modern employment sector, often in the urban setting, has meant that

babies no longer accompany their mothers to work, and a decline in breastfeeding among working mothers has ensued even though maternity benefits provide for three months of paid leave. On returning to work, mothers are faced with numerous problems including the loss of both the extended family arrangements for childcare and the traditional breastfeeding support networks. This may result in partial or total breastfeeding failure necessitating the introduction of infant formula, which may also come from a desire to imitate the elite for social prestige and to be modern, coupled with negative images of breastfeeding as primitive. Today African mothers employed in the modern labor force in busy African cities find it hard to balance work and motherhood, which helps explain the drop in the duration of breastfeeding seen in Africa.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although African traditional ways of child and maternal care may not express breastfeeding activities in stark biomedical terms, it certainly identifies breastfeeding as one of the unique practices that serve as the foundation of the wholesomeness, integrity and emotional comfort that underpin the sentiment that ‘mother is gold’ which is found in many African cultures. Biomedical research carried out in the 1950s in West Africa, particularly by the University of Ibadan Medical College, reinforced the research finding that between age one day and 2 years, African children who were exposed to African traditional practices of breastfeeding and other traditional child rearing practices outperformed Western children (Morley et al. 1968). African practices that enhance the closeness of mother and child like, being carried on the mother’s back, and sleeping next to her at night, facilitates superior developmental outcomes of children. On the other hand, children from cultures where individualism is forced by discouraging the close bond between mother and child, limited, regimented or no breastfeeding and isolation of the child to sleep in his/her own room reduces the opportunity for laying a foundation of trust intimacy and bonding necessary for the healthy emotional and psychological development of the child.

This Chapter outlines the background against which breastfeeding changes have occurred in individual oriented Western countries and how, through the process of colonization, some of these changes were transmitted to the more communal African setting producing changing

behaviors analogous to those observed in Western countries. Factors producing these changed breastfeeding behaviors include change from African Traditional Religions to Christianity, urbanization, increased female participation in the labor force and increased availability of infant formula and its promotion by companies and the health sector. After the ordeal of Western brainwashing, mothers in African countries are still willing to breastfeed as evidenced by the high (over 90%) initiation rates of breastfeeding seen in all African countries (UNICEF 2011) even while their harsh daily routine, born out of economic necessity, precludes them from breastfeeding exclusively for more than a limited period. There is an obvious need for women to be able both to work and to breastfeed but employment in the modern labor sector appears at present to be incompatible with prolonged lactation. This will involve legislation for improved maternity benefits and the establishment of daycare centers at or near workplaces with spaces for mothers to breastfeed and access to breast pumps and refrigerators to store the breastmilk for their children (Dop and Simondon 2001). These are some of the measures that need to be widely enforced for breastfeeding duration to increase more widely.

Health educators in the health sector need to offer breastfeeding advice based on the realities of mother's daily lives which may often be quite different culturally from their own. The cultural and sociocultural value of breast milk should be respected rather than be made into a problem by objectifying and distancing the mothers of that culture. Greater progress can be made by viewing the barriers to breastfeeding as resulting not from the traditional mother's culture but from the values and beliefs inherent in the Western biomedical culture (Setiloane 2016). Clear policy directive and extensive in-service training for health professionals and administrators are needed in cultural competency that includes the socio-political and historical aspects of breastfeeding which has not been sufficiently attended to by the academic world. Advice offered to mothers should seek to enhance their confidence in their ability to initiate and maintain breastfeeding, rather than undermine it by setting impractical and unattainable goals (Dykes 2005).

In countries with rapidly expanding urban populations and disruption of traditional support networks, voluntary groups of mothers can assist in the provision of close personal support by sharing positive breastfeeding experiences. Health personnel should therefore actively encourage, assist

and foster such groups, and not view them as an intrusion into their professional domain.

On a wider scale, public awareness on the benefits of breastfeeding can be heightened through mass media promotional campaigns. This approach which includes promotional and educational programs must also be sensitive to the realities of the lifestyles of economically-disadvantaged mothers and may achieve greater relevance and, hence, greater success when the target groups for education are actively involved in problem identification, problem solving, and message development. Several campaigns have shown national celebrities who breastfeed their babies. This provides a positive and attractive image for breastfeeding. The leadership role of elite women also needs to be harnessed. For example, it is noteworthy that the resurgence of breastfeeding in Europe, Australasia and North America was led by young elite women and that their example is now being emulated by other social groups.

Particularly important is the role model of health workers themselves who must take the lead by breastfeeding their own babies. A greater recognition of the health sector's role in influencing infant feeding practices is opportune. As experience in Western countries has shown, the combined influence of well-informed elite mothers, the dissemination of knowledge on the pertinence of breastfeeding, and the progressive element in the health sector can lead to the resurgence in breastfeeding. This successful teamwork could prove equally effective in the Global South.

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The Challenges of Increasing Consumerism in Africa in the Era of Globalization: A Systematic Analysis Employing Consumerism Theory

Gerald K. Fosten

That globalization (the process by which businesses or other organizations develop international influence or start operating on an international scale) has some benefits is hardly a matter of contention. With these benefits, however, come certain adverse consequences. Globalization has a direct impact on consumerism (the preoccupation of individuals with the acquisition of consumer goods), as many nations in Africa are experiencing rapid economic growth. There is growing consensus that consumerism is on the rise amongst Africans. The African Development Bank estimates that by the year 2060, the population of Africa's middle class is expected to grow by one billion people (Ncube 2013). This presents huge challenges to nations on the continent and their respective citizens. This chapter therefore seeks to systematically investigate the

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challenges of increasing consumerism in Africa in this era of globalization by utilizing the Consumerism Theory (to be defined and explicated later).

Thus, the two major concepts utilized in this chapter are the following: (a) consumerism and (b) globalization. These concepts are defined as follows:

Consumerism is the belief that personal well-being and happiness depend to a very large extent on a level of personal consumption, particularly on the purchase of material goods. The idea is not simply that well-being depends upon a standard of living above some threshold but that the center of happiness is consumption and material gain. A consumerist society is one in which people devote a great deal of time, energy, resources, and thought to ‘consuming.’ The general view of life in a consumerist society is consumption is good, and more consumption is better. (Miriam Webster Dictionary Online 2018, p. 1)

Globalization, according to Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Shannon L. Blanton, is “the integration of states, through increasing contact, communication, and trade, to create a common global culture for all humanity” (Kegley and Blanton 2010, p. 227) In the international political economy, globalization encompasses “the integration of states through increasing contact, communication, and trade, creating a holistic, single global system in which the process of change increasingly binds people together in a common fate”. (Kegley and Blanton 2010, p. 227)

The correlating rise in Africa’s middle class creates consumerism as a byproduct. Liberalization of economic policies and capitalists’ pursuits create unequal wealth distribution and promote class distinctions. Those who benefit from the continent’s growth will be challenged to support and promote economic and social policies that are designed to uplift the masses of the continent’s inhabitants from subsistent states of existence. Raising living standards for all is necessary for sustainable economic growth and stability on the continent. Between 2017 and 2050, the populations of 26 African countries are projected to expand to at least double their current sizes (UNDESA 2017a). This population increase will compound the challenges to Africa’s development.

Also, according to Mthuli Ncube, middle class consumer spending is expected to grow from \$355 billion in year 2008 to \$2.2 trillion in year 2030 (Ncube 2013). Total gross domestic product (GDP) on the

continent is expected to rise from \$2 trillion in year 2018 to \$29 trillion for Africa South of the Sahara in year 2050 in current 2018 dollars (Robertson 2013). The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) *World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision* report estimates between 2017 and 2050, the populations of 26 African countries to expand to at least double their current sizes (UNDESA 2017a). Will growing consumerism on the continent have a positive benefit in regard to development? How do African nations merge growing consumerism with globalization in a manner that allows national benefits to respective countries' citizens and regionalized benefits in the manner we observe in North America, Western Europe, and East Asia? Can African nations produce end products and services for their consumption? Can the inhabitants of African nations play a more equitable role in the global economic order and trade? Answers to these questions will be key determinants in the growth and stability of Africa's middle class.

Relatively young developing nations gaining independence from colonialization are now threatened with the fact that globalization has led economic decision-making away from local control. Within this broad African middle class category, there are further sub-classes: upper middle class equates to those spending between US \$10 and US \$20 a day. Lower-middle class refers to those spending between US \$4 and US \$10 a day, and the floating middle class comprises of those that are the most vulnerable in society spending between US\$2 and US\$4—this is only slightly above the developing world poverty line of US \$2 person per day (Chimhanzi and Gounden 2012).

The African Development Bank (AfDB) defines the African middle class as those spending between US \$2 and US \$20 a day. While in the developed world, this may appear too low to be classified as middle class spending, the Bank deems this range is appropriate given the cost of living in the world's poorest continent. Middle class is defined in relation to the average income and that average is lower in Africa than in the West (Chimhanzi and Gounden 2012).

Indeed, W. E. B. Du Bois' background in sociology provided him an understanding of the importance of not getting involved and separating sensitive matters that can easily detract from the goal of community development and nation-building. If African nations are to develop greater capacity to positively influence economic development and greater political stability on the African continent and throughout the Diaspora, more understanding of American and Western and, to an increasing growing extent, Asian economic and foreign policies towards Africa will have to

increase. Before engaging in the analysis, however, it behooves me to begin with discussions of the theory and methodology upon which it is grounded.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As mentioned earlier, Consumerism Theory serves as the basis for the theoretical framework employed to help ground the analysis in this chapter. This theory is generally defined as the systematic study of how a rational consumer would make consumption decisions and how people decide to spend their monies, given their preferences and budget limitations (see, for example, Veblen 1899; Swagler 1997).

As byproducts of globalization and economic development, consumerism is rising rapidly and will continue to do so. Thus, the following question is appropriate: What are the consequences of consumerism in terms of globalization? A plausible answer is that the more negative the effects of globalization, the more negative the effects on consumerism. Thus, the hypothesis that underlies this chapter is that while globalization has produced benefits, it has also increased consumerism in Africa with its attendant negative consequences. The powers that control the global economy are not Africans and are not headquartered in Africa. Therefore, the powers that be will continue to exercise control and influence the political and economic affairs of the continent, while simultaneously impacting the cultures of African nations.

While there are many studies that have been done on consumerism in Africa, most of these works are descriptive narratives of the problem and are not theoretically grounded. The few studies that have offered systematic analyses are usually grounded using Social Exchange Theory which explains social change and stability as processes of negotiated exchanges between parties. Social Exchange Theory posits that human relationships are formed by the use of a subjective cost-benefit analysis and the comparison of alternatives (Homans 1961). Therefore, this chapter seeks to add to the small number of systematic studies using the Consumer Theory; in this case, how rational African consumers would make consumption decisions and how they decide to spend their monies, in light of their preferences and budget constraints.

The strengths of Consumerism Theory include allowing us to comprehend (a) the enormous amount of choice in the marketplace; (b) the reasons entities exist to provide specialized products and services; (c)

why big businesses promote brand differentiation; and (d) why capitalists and corporations perceive consumerism to work very well for them. Since it treats the consumer as a rational decision maker, the limitations of Consumer Theory include ignoring (a) the highly wasteful behavior of consumers; (b) impulsive spending spurred by advertisers and big businesses; (c) the great deal of time wasted looking for new things instead of thinking of ways of reusing those we already have; (d) increasing over-production that leads to more energy consumption, amounts of debris in landfills and oceans, etc. To compensate for the limitations of the theory, a more holistic approach was employed to analyze the foregoing aspects and others that emerged during the research process.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As stated earlier, the Exploratory Case Study Methodology is used to ground the analysis in this chapter. This approach is designed to conduct research about a problem when there are a few or no earlier studies to consult, with the intention to identify key issues and key variables (Mselleb 2017; Bangura et al. 2019). The focus of the methodology is on gaining insights and familiarity on a topic for later investigation or undertaken when problems are in a preliminary stage of investigation (Bangura et al. 2019).

The methodology might involve a broad literature search or conducting focus group interviews to learn more on the subject (Ghani 2015; Bangura et al. 2019). The exploration of new phenomena in this way may help a researcher's need for better understanding, may test the feasibility of a more extensive study, or determine the best methods to be utilized in a subsequent study (Bangura et al. 2019).

For example, as cited by Bangura et al. (2019), an explorative qualitative study was undertaken in Malaysia by Mansur A. Ghani (2015) to explore patients' perspectives and satisfaction regarding treatment and services at the Cure and Care Centre in Kota Bharu. A convenience sample of 20 patients was recruited to participate in semi-structured in-depth interviews. Content analysis was used to identify the salient themes that the study generated (Ghani 2015; Bangura et al. 2019).

Since after laborious searches of the Library of Congress, other area libraries and archives in the Washington Metropolitan Area and the Internet yielded no work that has employed Consumerism Theory to analyze the impact of globalization on consumer behavior in Africa, the

Exploratory Case Study Methodology is quite appropriate for exploring as many works as possible that have dealt with globalization and consumer behavior and culture in Africa. This allows for the delineation of as many issues and variables as possible for a broader understanding of the phenomenon investigated.

The methodology has the distinct advantage of allowing a researcher to investigate issues for which there exist no (a) detailed preliminary research, (b) formulated hypotheses, and (c) a research environment that limits the choice of methodology (Bangura et al. 2019). Like the other two types of case study methodologies (i.e. Descriptive and Explanatory Case Study Methodologies), the Exploratory Case Study Methodology is also limited by (a) the inability to generalize results to the wider population, (b) the subjective feeling of a researcher influencing the case study—i.e. researcher bias, (c) difficulty in replicating a study, and (d) it is time consuming (Bangura et al. 2019). To address these limitations, I (a) examined as many examples of the phenomenon being investigated as possible, (b) asked experts on the subject about their perspectives on the issue, (c) analyzed as many variables as possible upon which future research can be developed, and (d) cautioned potential researchers about the challenges for conducting such work.

The data collected for this chapter were gleaned from both primary and secondary sources using the document analysis/archival technique. The primary data were collected from governmental and nongovernmental reports. The secondary data were retrieved from books, journals, newspapers, encyclopedias, magazine and Internet sources. These data will be systemically analyzed using both qualitative (i.e. emphasis on words) and quantitative (i.e. emphasis on numerical values) techniques. The results generated will allow for policy suggestions on how to mitigate the growing challenges of consumerism in the era of globalization.

GLOBALIZATION AND CONSUMERISM IN AFRICA

Veblen's theorizes that Africa South of the Sahara's growing working class will strive to adopt a life style enjoyed by the leisure class. He is noted for describing how class differentiation facilitates unnecessary consumption and consumerism. He states: "Unproductive consumption of goods is honourable, primarily as a mark of prowess and a perquisite of human dignity; secondarily, it becomes substantially honorable to itself, especially

the consumption of the more desirable things” (Veblen 1899, p. 33). According to Chimhanzi and Gounden,

In a globalised world, Africa is not impervious to new trends and influences that are fast shaping consumer behaviours and consumption patterns. Africans are also aspirational. African consumers want the same as consumers elsewhere—a mobile phone, a bank account, and the latest Beyoncé CD bought in a store at a shopping mall. And indeed, shopping malls are sprouting in the continent’s major capitals—Dakar, Lagos, Accra, Nairobi and Lusaka. In Deloitte’s interactions with various clients expanding on the continent, it is clear that there is a need for formal retail infrastructure (2012, p. 1).

The world has increasingly taken notice to the enormous growth potential of the African consumer. Also, segmented populations of African consumers are sure to grow with its burgeoning populations. Because of enormous language diversity challenges, niche marketing targeting the many diverse segments will play a key role in expanding consumerism.

THREE CASES AS EXAMPLES OF GLOBALIZATION’S IMPACT ON AFRICAN CONSUMERISM

In this section, three countries (South Africa, Nigeria, and Kenya) are examined as case studies of globalization’s impact on African consumerism. They are discussed separately for the sake of clarity.

South Africa

2014 Estimated GDP/capita (nominal): \$6458

2014 GDP/capita Purchasing Power Parity (PPP): \$10,346

Gini Index: 63.1 (Wiafe-Amoako, 2015)

Although there is a mass international support for consumer protection in South Africa, the notion exists that consumer protection can only exist in developed countries with ample physical resources and expertise to properly act in the interest of consumers. This conception treats consumers as being in an emergency and transitional position that is pending and required (van Oordt 2015). With the new South African Consumer Protection Act that came into effect in 2011, South African consumers can now claim to be among the best protected consumers in the world.

It is, however, an undeniable fact that South African consumers are often still unaware of their rights, while very little is known about dissatisfied consumers' cognitions and complaint behaviour following dissatisfaction with the performance of complicated and expensive products (van Oordt 2015).

In a cross-sectional study conducted on 351 South African consumers who have experienced dissatisfaction in a consumer electronic product, Dr. S. Donahue of the University of Pretoria discovered that high levels of knowledge could be associated with complaint behavior, but attitudes towards consumerism did not play a role in that behavior. The residents' perceived levels of severity of the consumer electronics products' performance failure did not influence the type of complaint action taken (van Oordt 2015).

There are very few differences in consumerism between least developed countries and more developed countries. Consumers in least developed countries are more vulnerable and struggle more to protect themselves than consumers in more developed countries. In more developed countries, consumers have access to consumer protection organizations that can assist them in protecting their rights. South Africa is a very diverse country that needs a consumer protection approach to address both least developed country and more developed countries characteristics (van Oordt 2015).

South Africa's average income is above floating middle class. GDP per capita for 2014 was estimated at \$6458 (nominal); \$13,046 (PPP). South Africa is characterized as having a strong central government. Post-apartheid, post-Mandela South Africa faces challenges associated with the skillful leader's emphasis on reconciliation and development in the lives of its citizens (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Once in power, the African National Congress (ANC) demonstrated the ability of balancing ideology and the practicality required by the responsibility of governance. Its initial budget envisioned a million new housing units and a million new jobs over a five-year period, without the necessity of new taxes (Wiafe-Amoako 2015). The ANC encouraged foreign investment and significant privatization of state-owned companies (Wiafe-Amoako 2015). It promised more than it could realistically deliver to Blacks. As the months wore on after the political contest, their lives experienced minimal change (Wiafe-Amoako 2015). Mandela criticized what he termed "a culture of entitlement" and accused Blacks who

“misread freedom to mean license to enrichment” (Wiafe-Amoako 2015, p. 317).

By contemporary regional standards, and even continental ones, the South African economy is huge. Nevertheless, the giant is sluggish. South Africa’s growth rate over the past several years has stagnated, and the global economy has made it vulnerable to the worldwide recession (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Unemployment is a major issue in South Africa. In the early 2000s, independent estimates showed that it was high as 45% in many areas and much higher than official figures. For those aged 16–25, a 2005 report estimated an employment rate of 52%. Three-fourths of South Africa’s unemployed are Black Africans, the principal constituency of the ANC. The government estimates that the economy must achieve a minimum of 6% growth to offset unemployment (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

The government has targeted the mining sector in its drive for Black economic empowerment (BEE). Part of the government’s plan is to transform the economy by giving Black Africans a significant share of major economic sectors. The ANC wants to see South Africa’s Black majority hold major stakes (largely unspecified in the economy). Whites, about 12% of the population, still control the economy, the mines, banks, factories and farms. White men own more than 70% of the land and dominate the banking, manufacturing and tourism industries. According to government figures, white-run companies control 95% of the country’s diamond production, 63% of platinum reserves, and 51% of gold reserves (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

As BEE deals unfolded, however, former President Thabo Mbeki’s empowerment model came under increasing attack as enrichment of a few well-placed Black businessmen which has done little to improve the conditions of average South Africans. The benefits to BEE tycoons are startling against the backdrop of Black South African poverty (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Among the most important issues facing the ANC governments is the distribution of social services, particularly education. The crisis in education has been ongoing, a consequence of apartheid policies on curriculum and funding. And Mbeki spoke often and with conviction of an African Renaissance, saying that the new African Century must produce doctors, engineers, and scientists. Yet the education system has been in shambles. South Africa’s dropout rate is huge, sometimes reaching more than 50% (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

The legacy of apartheid inequalities and disparity is still apparent. A pattern of regional inequality in results reflects long-term inequality of resource distribution (Wiafe-Amoako 2015). For the government, the issue is critical; education remains at the heart of South Africa's plans for social transformation. According to the Educational Research Unit at Witwatersrand University, at about the same time, 43% of South African schools had no electricity; 27% had no running water, and a staggering 80% had no library (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Of the many proposals for educational reform, perhaps the most controversial issue has been the question of language. The 2005 education reform plan made the teaching of English and African languages optional, instead of offering learners the choice of studying any two of the country's 11 official languages. According to official statistics, Zulu is the mother tongue of nearly 24% of the population, followed by Xhosa, the mother tongue of approximately 18% of the population. Only about 8% of South Africans speak English as their first language (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

South Africa remains a country of contrasts. Rich in natural wealth, cosmopolitan and diverse, and culturally vibrant, it is also a country of horrific inequality. Violent crime continues, although there were indications it is on the decline, and there is continued evidence that highly educated people (Blacks and Whites) have left the country in large numbers (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Nelson Mandela's death marked a turning point in looking ahead on South Africa's future. Mandela passed away during a tumultuous time in South Africa, given rising protests from minors and the impoverished masses, and increasingly public disillusionment with the ANC. Retired Archbishop Desmond Tutu stated that he was "happy Nelson Mandela is dead, so he does not have to see what South Africa's current leaders are doing to the country" (Wiafe-Amoako 2015, p. 330). Recent allegations that President Jacob Zuma spent huge sums of government money forced him to resign from his position.

The future of South Africa will come down to how the ANC government handles several issues going forward: the HIV/AIDS epidemic, public service provision, political unrest, and the securing of an industrial and mining base that generates income and wealth for more than just a small fraction of the population. The mishandling of any one or any combination of these policy areas could turn the ANC's greatest triumph of the 1990s into its greatest tragedy in the twenty-first Century.

Conversely, stopping the epidemics and bringing a broader base of wealth and income opportunities could enable South Africa to remain the motor for much of the continent's development (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

The question that emerges here is the following: How have all these factors impacted consumerism in South Africa? Due to inflation and low real growth in wages, South African consumers have experienced tremendous financial pressure to consume. Private consumption in South Africa has been growing at a fairly subdued annual rate of 2.8% for many years and a mere 1.6% in 2016—this is slower than Africa's other major economies (Hattingh et al. 2016).

Chris D Pentz, Nic S Terblanche and Christo Boshoff have examined South Africa's consumer ethnocentrism and attitudes towards foreign convenience products. Their study advances the body of knowledge for developing markets by investigating possible relationships between consumer ethnocentrism and demographic variables in South Africa (Pentz et al. 2014). Using Black and White respondents, their study revealed that for both groups of respondents, there was a positive relationship between age and consumer ethnocentrism, while a negative relationship was found for both groups in the relationship between consumer ethnocentrism and income. In respect of the relationship between the consumer ethnocentrism and gender, the results differ between the two groups of respondents (Pentz et al. 2014).

This should have significant implications since Africa nations have such a diverse tapestry of ethnic groups. This will make niche marketing even more important if African nations are to maximize benefits on growing African consumerism and domestic consumption. Pentz, Terblanche, and Boshoff state:

...even though the survival of domestic firms is constantly threatened by international competitors, it seems that there are certain local consumers who view themselves as globalized, but still Express a negative bias towards imported products. It can therefore be argued that local marketers, especially in developing countries, can build on these negative feelings towards imported products to encourage local consumers to purchase domestic products, and in this way, to support the domestic economy. (2014, p. 412)

Also, a survey of 1000 South African consumers confirmed that most of them are concerned about their financial prospects and are holding back spending and delaying purchases (Hattingh et al. 2016). These factors suggest that in the short-term, post-Apartheid and post-Mandela South Africa's policymakers are challenged to find economic policies enabling the strong economic growth necessary to expand consumerism.

Nigeria

2014 Estimated GDP/capita (nominal): \$3298

2014 GDP/capita Purchasing Power Parity (PPP): \$6031

Gini Index: 48.8 (Wiafe-Amoako 2015)

Mismanaged oil wealth thwarts Nigeria's economic growth (Stebbins 2019). Too much reliance on oil and raw material leaves the continent's major economy vulnerable to outside nations. Oil is finite, and Nigeria must diversify and invest in other sectors. How will the largest African nation with its burgeoning population power its future energy needs if oil and gas are depleted or near completion and resources today are not invested into its future economy? Unresolved social issues lead to destruction of much-needed revenue. Nigeria loses an estimated 300,000 barrels of crude oil every day to thievery which goes to funding local militias and fueling the Delta's destabilizing arms race. The challenge is the inability to positively transform the society, even incrementally (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

The petroleum industry in the Delta region of the Niger River dominates Nigeria's economy. In recent years, it has accounted for nearly 95% of foreign exchange earnings, 80% of federal government revenues, and a whopping 50–55% of GDP. Nigeria still possesses massive oil reserves, most of them along the Niger River delta (Wiafe-Amoako 2015). Other sectors of the economy must therefore be expanded.

Pervasive corruption, colossal economic mismanagement, and excessive dependence on oil are largely responsible for the country's poor economic performance over the decades even though the economy has boomed with high oil prices from 2009 to the present (Wiafe-Amoako 2015). An estimated two-thirds of the population lived below the poverty line of a dollar a day in the mid-2000s, compared to only 43% in 1985. The education system is also under pressure, even though Nigeria has the most universities in Africa. According to USA Aid, only 60% of those

eligible are enrolled in primary school and then half of them eventually drop out before completing primary education; of those who complete sixth grade, only 40% are functionally illiterate (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Despite its many challenges, Nigeria is one of Africa's top industrial economies, with conglomerates dominating West African markets in areas from food production to concrete manufacturing. The country is also a telecommunications leader, with Nigerian satellites offering broadcasting, telecommunications and broadband Internet services for Africa (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

How can Nigeria be able to lift its masses of citizens into middle class status? While recent oil price recoveries have benefited Nigeria and growth is at around 7%, the country is infamous for failing to parlay its profits into positive investment. Oil producing regions of Nigeria have not reversed the long decline, and conflicts around production with the commodity are perpetuated with each passing year. Nigeria's economy potential will not be fully realized in the coming years unless the country develops much improved systems of governance and invest in ways that distribute the proceeds of natural resources broadly. Industrial and agricultural development will need to be stabilized in order to complement the boom from extractive resources (Wiafe-Amoako 2015). Aliko Dangote, a Nigerian business tycoon, leads the Dangote Refinery reinvestment project that is scheduled to go online in late 2020. The \$10.5 billion refinery will have the capacity to produce 650,000 barrels of petroleum daily. This will increase Nigeria's capability to produce downstream petroleum derivatives and byproducts such as plastics, fertilizers, fuels, etc. (Baker/Lagos 2018). Ideally, investments will be made in spinoff industries that will expand other economic sectors, potentially creating a perpetual burgeoning of middle-class consumers (Baker/Lagos 2018).

So, how have the preceding factors affected consumerism in Nigeria? In recent years, Nigeria has overtaken South Africa as the largest economy in Africa. However, per capita income in South Africa far outpaces that of Nigerian citizens. Nigeria is typical of other African nations in that growth is concentrated in a few markets and income segments (Hattingh et al. 2017). Nigeria cannot continue to rely upon oil derivatives as the primary driver of GDP with the elite class being the primary financial beneficiary. Nigeria has the potential to be the economic driver and catalyst for West Africa. To maximize this unique opportunity, it is imperative that current and sustained investments be made in alternative growth sectors of its

economy. Nigeria is at a stage in its development whereby its policymakers must strike the right balance of ethnocentrism consumerism, while simultaneously participating and making investments in the global economy. McKinsey and Company analysts offer one economic model that describes Nigeria's potential as follows:

Companies looking to grow across the continent should develop a strong position in their home market, use that as a base for expanding into markets well beyond their immediate region, adopt a long-term perspective and build the partnerships needed to sustain success over decades, and be ready to integrate what would usually be outsourced. (quoted in Bughin et al. 2016, p. 1)

As it pertains to consumer protection rights, Ndu Oko and Linus state the following:

The issue of consumer protection rights represents a common theme shared by those in powers as they struggle to lift the living standards of their citizens. Nigerian consumers' lack of knowledge of consumer protection rights represents a common theme shared with South African consumers. Even though today's Nigerian consumer is better educated, cases of consumer rights abuse in Nigeria are common. Marketers as producers and vendors have employed aggressive methods, strategies, and media to influence consumer opinion, attitude and actions, thus consumers are misled into wasteful expenditures. (2013, p. 1)

Nigeria is forecasted to have the world's third largest population in the coming decades. It is imperative to the financial health of its economy that Nigerian consumers adopt and enforce widespread trade and consumer exchange. Growth of a consuming middle class will be hampered if exchange of goods and services are not practiced at the highest standards. Findings include that the inactive nature of consumerism in Nigeria contributes significantly to the exploitative attitude of manufacturers, explicitly through high prices for products and implicitly by the debasement of the environment through improper management of residues (waste), resulting in poor health and environmental standard (Ndu Oko and Linus 2013). Consumerism as practiced in other nations (developing and developed) has the tendency of improving the welfare of the different targets of defined and specified marketing efforts. Nigeria is a negation of standards (Ndu Oko and Linus 2013).

Meeting future increased consumer demands associated with huge population increases requires that Nigeria begins to systematically diversify its expanding economy. Diversification of the petroleum industry offers tremendous job creation opportunities necessary for facilitating the growth of Nigeria's middle class. One of Nigeria's wealthiest men, Aliko Dangote, believes that Africa is ripe for high return investment opportunities, and that if more investors shared his view that the continent is a source for both consumers and labor, economic growth will be a prosperity for all (Baker/Lagos 2018).

Relatedly, the growth of consumerism in a society is inseparably linked to the growth of its middle class. The Dangote Refinery will be coming online in an economic recession not experienced since the Great Depression. The global coronavirus pandemic has led to a substantial decrease in the global demand for petroleum. Dangote's sentiments are echoed by Amy Jadesimi, managing director of Ladol, a privately owned Nigerian industrial free zone. Capitalizing on Nigerians' entrepreneurial spirit, policy incentives targeting investors will have to be supported and incentives distributed by the government to overcome start-up and market entry costs (Kazeem and Adegoke 2020).

Kenya

2014 Estimated GDP/capita (nominal): \$1416

2014 GDP/capita Purchasing Power Parity (PPP): \$3084

Gini Index: 47.7 (Wiafe-Amoako 2015)

Kenya possesses minimum mineral resources. The economy of Kenya has traditionally rested on agriculture and tourism. Prior to 1979, Kenya was relatively prosperous by African standards. A series of economic shocks forced Kenya to introduce economic liberalization and take measures to address mismanagement of the economy and allow for greater transparency in governance (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Kenya in large part is an agricultural country. Agriculture is a major source of income for the bulk of the population, employing over three-quarters of rural inhabitants. Despite its scale, agriculture contributes only about a quarter of the GDP. And acute shortage of arable land and uneven distribution have meant that most farmers work lots of less than five acres. Cultivation is relatively labor-intensive, requiring about 200 workers for 15 acres. The workers, mostly women, earn a little more than US\$1.50

per day, and the industry directly supports an estimated 500,000 people. Kenya has long been a favorite tourism destination in Africa. Spending by tourists has been one of Kenya's most important foreign exchange earners and constitutes over 10% of the economy (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Kenya has become a regional leader in information technology. Safaricom is an industry leader banking services to the poor in rural areas, using transfers via mobile phone and innovation that has the potential to alleviate poverty and spur economic growth. The M-PESA program enables Kenyans to transfer cash value over their cell phones because withdrawals can be made anywhere that phone cards are sold (including small kiosks and rural markets). Millions of Kenyans who have never been Bank clients have been able to access the financial system in new and socially beneficial ways. Broadband is also being extended across Kenya, making it a communications hub for much of East and Central Africa (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Despite a seemingly robust economy, growth does not necessarily translate into improved life situations for ordinary Kenyans. Social statistics indicate that Kenyans on average are not better off today than they were at independence, and a majority of Kenya's population still lives on less than two dollars a day, although such indicators as infant mortality have fallen impressively in the past decade (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

Economically, the country suffered some consequences from the shock to the stability in 2008 (and from the global financial crisis), what is relatively steady at present. Kenya's growth may well be able to hold comfortably at around 5%. That would be well above the population growth rate which will mean real improvements in the standard of living. Recent positive signs in the economy include the public offering by Safaricom and the expansion of broadband access through submarine cables under the Indian Ocean, a project that came to fruition in 2009. Both of these have the potential to make Kenya the information technology hub for East Africa. An ambitious deep-sea port building project at Lamu suggests a country that has confidence in its trajectory and prospects. If political stability can hold, domestic and international capital can increasingly be mobilized in the way is needed to promise development. Kenya looks like a risky, albeit promising, bet on the future (Wiafe-Amoako 2015).

How have the foregoing aspects affected consumerism in Kenya? Kenya is a diverse nation trying to recapture its past prominence and is emerging in status as an economic powerhouse in East Africa. In efforts to serve

this diverse market, and as a sign of growing optimism, multinational companies such as Coca Cola, Dell, and Visa have heavily invested in the nation's future (Sunday 2013).

Nonetheless, Kenya's consumerism is presented with challenges. Data from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics reveal that the average income has grown by 33% in the last three years. In 2008, Kenya's per capita GDP was Sh 57,350. In 2011, this figure grew to Sh 76,489 (Sunday 2013). A growing number of Kenya's citizens have now found themselves in possession of significantly more disposable income and the ready willingness to spend it. Thus, consumerism in Kenya has resulted in wasteful consumption among many of the middle class.

The quest for status through consumption is threatening and has deeper ramifications to the financial stability of Kenyans. Many Kenyans are living beyond their means and are failing to invest in assets such as property (Sunday 2013). In many instances, healthy spending stimulates growth. However, overextending of finances creates the risk of falling into debt.

Many of Kenya's citizens are now resorting to credit to finance their purchases. Spending money they don't have is leading many to incur perpetual cycles of debt (Sunday 2013). As more Kenyans sink their money into consumer goods and services, few people are saving or investing their money, putting the country's trajectory and growth prospects in jeopardy (Sunday 2013). According to the World Bank, in comparison to other low-income countries that typically save 26% of their GDP, Kenya saves 13–14% of its income. Kenyans may be aspiring and subscribing to the 'bigger is better' cultural phenomenon that characterizes many citizens of Western cultures purchasing attitudes and excessive spending habits.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Growth in disposable income, urbanization, and large young population demographics are the three most significant variables fueling the growth of African consumerism (Chimhanzi and Gounden 2012; Wiafo-Amoako 2015), and South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya are no exceptions. Increasingly faster modes of communications, in combination with Africa's fusion of modernization, urbanization, and increasing knowledge economies will exponentially propel future growth in consumerism (Chimhanzi and Gounden 2012; Wiafo-Amoako 2015).

The major question for these nations in this era of globalization is the following: As they attempt to ramp up production of goods and services, will middle class and working class consumers of their respective nations consume their domestically-produced products and services to further stimulate their economies or will they favor internationally produced goods and services? Previous research in the field of international marketing suggests that the concept of consumer ethnocentrism can be an important factor when consumers decide to purchase locally produced rather than imported products (Pentz et al. 2014).

Ultimately, the emergence of the African middle class can only be sustained if the continent puts in place strategies that expand prosperity for all. Without such measures, which include expanding opportunities for technical training and job creation, the growth of the middle class is likely to be undermined by social friction. Policies that foster improved infrastructure, sustained and shared growth, enhanced human resources, private sector participation, and improved accountability and governance also spur the growth of the middle class. Social policies can accelerate this emerging trend, for example, through pro-poor spending on education and health. Over the next 20 years, with the appropriate policies on human capital development and job generation, Africa can transform its social fabric, as more and more of its population exit out of poverty to join the ranks of the middle class (Ncube 2013).

As African consumers become more sophisticated, their desire and appetite for material goods and services will reflect their upwardly more mobile status. According to Wiafe-Amoako, “Africa is the last region in the world where people will come out of poverty in large numbers, increasing their consumption and boosting economies as they do so” (Wiafe-Amoako 2015: ix).

For consumerism to have real maximizing long-term positive outcomes in Africa, a sustainable middle class must be developed and cultivated, and “it is vital to develop tools to guide policymakers, planners and practitioners in formulating and implementing urban and industrial policies in a coordinated way, as they focus on national targets of growth and transformation. They may appreciate the need to coordinate urbanization and industrialization...” (UNDESA 2017b, p. 1).

Will Africa’s growing middle class be allowed fair access to labor, financial capital, human capital-labor migration control, interest blocs, regional interests, liberal interests, market access, and labor migration? Inhabitants on the continent should increase their knowledge of consumption

through Internet usage and other social media devices and applications. Investments in infrastructure improvements such as improving electrical power grids should be collaborated with other nations in order to increase investments in information technology. The goal should be to provide the continent's residents access to information as it occurs in real time.

Improvements must be in place for sanitation as a byproduct of growth in consumption. Environmental protection methods should be designed to mitigate the growing challenges of consumerism in the era of globalization.

Employing Consumerism Theory to analyze the impact of globalization on consumer behavior in Africa allows us to see the impacts and challenges to economic and social development. The theory also permits us to realize the urgent need for Africa to participate in the global knowledge economy in order to meet the continent's modern transformation and development aspirations.

Furthermore, members of the African Diaspora, especially in the European Union and the United States, have increased their efforts to use their businesses to invest in Africa and encourage African investment abroad. Education intermediaries should therefore play a significant role in expanding knowledge and technical training.

Moreover, growing sophistication of the consumers' knowledge is expected. One challenge will be the issue of language diversity. African countries are hampered from communication difficulties caused by language diversity. Greenberg's Diversity Index shows that the probability that two randomly selected people would have different ethnic languages and, thus, face some challenges in communication is real. Out of the most diverse 25 countries in the world according to this index, 18 (72%) are African. This includes 12 countries for which Greenberg's Diversity Index exceeds 0.9, meaning that a pair of randomly selected people will have less than 10% chance of having the same mother tongue (Simmons and Fenning 2018). Tapping existing consumer markets and the creation of new markets will require companies to have a detailed understanding of income, geographic and categorical trends. Thriving in business markets will require them to offer products and develop sales forces able to target the relatively fragmented private sector (Bughin et al. 2016).

Despite all their challenges, South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya (and the other African nations) are giving rise to a growing middle class (and working class) that seeks to indulge in a lifestyle more characteristic of leisure class consumerism. This supports Thorstein Veblen and

W. E. B. Dubois' articulation of 'conspicuous consumption.' The quest for status and the acquiring of more and more material goods representing more status has been a motivating force throughout the history of humankind—and will not be any different as African nations emerge on the globe stage. As African nations begin to reclaim their proud history into the future, they will grow in global economic influence. The 54 nations on the continent will be ripe for niche marketing targeting its many *demographic* groups. It is hoped that global knowledge production will parallel alongside the growth of consumerism in the African Renaissance.

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The Continuing Impact of HIV/AIDS on Development in Africa: A Systematic Analysis Using the Political Systems and Contagious Disease Theories

Cindy McGee

While hundreds of works now exist on HIV/AIDS in Africa, most of them are simply descriptive case studies. The small number of the methodologically and/or theoretically grounded works is now a bit dated. This chapter seeks to add to this latter works by using a combination of Contagious Disease and Political Systems Theories to systematically examine the impact of HIV/AIDS on development in Africa. Briefly stated, the Contagious Disease Theory is important to this study because it is used to reveal the deadly consequences by which an otherwise healthy individual can contract this infection with detrimental consequences to his/her health. This theory is also employed to show how the contiguous spread of HIV/AIDS can affect anyone. Political Systems Theory stresses the way the political system (the institutions and activities of government) responds to demands that arise from its environment,

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such as public opinion and interest groups. This theoretical approach emphasizes the larger social, economic and cultural contexts in which political decisions and policy choices are made. This approach provides clarification and understanding regarding the interrelationships among interest groups, public opinion, political culture, and government as the challenges of HIV/AIDS are tackled. Both quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches are incorporated in order to examine the impact of HIV/AIDS on development in Africa. The data for this study were gleaned from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources comprised governmental and non-governmental reports in order to establish a general idea of HIV/AIDS in Africa. The secondary sources included books, journals, newspapers, magazines, and Internet sources.

Blood-to-blood and sexual intercourse are ways the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) can be transmitted from one person to another. A baby can also be infected by a mother during gestation, giving birth, and feeding the baby with milk from her breast. These individuals are susceptible to acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) without early medical intervention (Tennessee Department of Health 1997). AIDS is a way of describing a whole group of symptoms and diseases associated with the damage to immune defense cells and the body becomes increasingly less able to fight off infection. This means that individuals with advanced HIV are susceptible to infections that do not show up in people with healthy immune systems. They are called opportunistic infections because they take advantage of the weakened ability of an HIV positive individual to fight off disease (CDC 2012).

According to statistical studies reported by the World Bank in 2011, HIV/AIDS is a major public health concern and cause of death in many parts of Africa. As in the statistical data presented in this study, it was estimated that the continent of Africa was home to 15.2% of the world's population, and more than two-thirds of the total, some 35 million infected, were Africans, of whom 15 million had already died. AIDS has decreased the adult's expectancy rates for ages 20 through 49 by 20 years. In many countries in Africa due to HIV/AIDS the adult mortality rates has declined to 34 years of age. Southern Africa was reported at the time of this study to be the worst affected region on the continent. According to statistics collected by the World Bank in 2011, HIV has affected at least 10% of the population in many of the countries in the continent of Africa (World Bank 2011). Also, according to a 2013 special report issued by the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), the number of

HIV positive people in Africa receiving anti-retroviral treatment in 2012 was over seven times the number receiving treatment in 2005, with nearly one million added in the last year for this 2013 report (UNAIDS 2013).

Older people are also heavily affected by the epidemic; many have to care for their sick children and are often left to look after orphaned grandchildren. Many children face hardships as well. Many children living in Africa whose parents have AIDS are now the new heads of their household and are expected to earn money by producing their own foods for survival. Some of these children after the death of one or both parents become orphaned or live alone without the support of a parent. This epidemic has also impacted many of the school systems in Africa to either close or rely on one or two teachers to educate the entire school body due to teachers dying from AIDS. The death rates from AIDS can impact the entire economy for many adults aged between 20 and 49 years (countrytogoing.blogspot.com/2017). This group now accounts for 60% of all deaths in many countries in Africa and for adults in their most economically productive years and removing the very people who could be responding to the crisis. Unfortunately, the majority of people in need of treatment are still not receiving it, and campaigns to prevent new infections are lacking in many areas (Avert.info 2016).

The purpose of conducting this study is to identify and analyze the impact that after more than 30 years into this epidemic, HIV/AIDS continues to take a heavy toll on Africa. HIV/AIDS is a worldwide anomaly. Given the historical background of HIV/AIDS, another objective of this study is to determine why the death rates are so significant in Africa. A sub-objective is to determine what impact HIV/AIDS will be on many communities in Africa. Given the current rates of infections and transmissions of this deadly disease, HIV/AIDS will continue to plague Africa.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to explore the impact that HIV/AIDS has on Africans living with this deadly disease in Africa. The chapter utilizes data collected from 2008 to 2016 because 2008 was when HIV/AIDS first impacted Africa at record numbers significant for the World Health Organization to speak on this epidemic. The data collection relied on primary information, mainly through The World Bank, World Health Organization (WHO), National Development Reports for some African countries and reports released by the United Nations (UN). These reports strictly deal with the impact of HIV/AIDS on human development in Africa.

Finally, this chapter adds to the body of knowledge about the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Africa, which will add to the literature that many other geographical locations, scholars, health care communities and political scientists ignore. Meanwhile, the infection rate for HIV/AIDS continues to grow in Africa. After more than 30 years into this deadly disease, the likelihood for cure and prevention is far away.

The major challenges of this chapter included time, location, and the financial resources to conduct interviews and administer questionnaires. Also, the willingness of the World Health Organization members to discuss their failure to help to decrease the HIV/AIDS infection rate in Africa was a major limitation for the chapter. However, the greatest limitation for this chapter was the fact that there were not enough current and sufficient data from the secondary sources to support this research for many of the regions in Africa. Most of the data collected were generated from articles which lack current infection rates and treatment modalities to support the future impact on HIV/AIDS in Africa.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework used to inform and direct this chapter consists of the Political System Theory and the Contagious Disease Theory. The Political Systems Theory stresses the way the political system (the institutions and activities of government) responds to demands that arise from its environment, such as public opinion and interest groups (Easton 1965). This theoretical approach emphasizes the larger social, economic and cultural contexts in which political decisions and policy choices are made. The approach provides clarification and understanding regarding the interrelationships among interest groups, public opinion, political culture, and government (Kraft and Furlong 2013).

The Contagious Disease Theory is important to this chapter because it reveals the deadly consequences by which an otherwise healthy individual can contract this infection with detrimental consequences to his/her health. This theory is used to show how the contagious spread of HIV/AIDS can affect anyone. It is not just a disease of gays, Black people, or intravenous drug users, and it is not even exclusively sexually transmitted. Fleming suggests that “its origin are obscure, and although it is widely believed by some that the most commonly occurring form of the virus, HIV-1, originated in Africa, there is currently no clear evidence to

support this hypothesis, although recent research points increasingly to that possibility” (Fleming 1990, p. 6).

May et al. (1991) suggest that the disease invites moral panic rather than the careful judgments and effective policies that will save lives and, thus, knowledge of the origin and spread of HIV is important for the understanding of its genetic make-up and might contribute to a strategy for dealing with it. However, the authors go on to recognize that in a world where prejudice and discrimination along ethnic and sexual lines are widespread, such knowledge, if misinterpreted, threatens another epidemic of prejudice and discrimination.

HIV/AIDS does not only affect the physical body. It also affects the ‘social body,’ the relationships between people. As with any other illness, HIV/AIDS makes people dependent, less able to play their part in their family or household. It may put them into a condition of socially defined “impurity. This is never more so than when a disease resonates with people’s sexuality. Indeed, in the nineteenth Century, such diseases were known as ‘social disease.’ A disease such as AIDS which is understood socially as being both sexual and life-threatening are likely to be socially disruptive in the extreme” (Douglas 1996, p. 8). This chapter is therefore significant because it is a comprehensive examination of the lives of those Africans who become infected and die from the complications of HIV/AIDS in the continent.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter utilizes both quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches to examine the significance of the political culture for people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa. According to Hossein Tavakoli, “both of these strategies allow for comparison and integration of evidence from multiple methods of data collection” (2013, p. 674). As Michael Q. Patton also states, “the points of these methods are to test for consistency from different data sources or inquiry approaches” (2002, p. 248).

Quantitative data comprise of numerical records that result from a process of measurement on which basic mathematical operations can be done (Singh 2007, p. 12). According to Newman and Benz, “The quantitative approach is used when one begins with a theory (or hypothesis) and tests for confirmation or de-confirmation of that hypothesis” (1998, p. 3). For Balnaves and Caputi, “The basic aim for quantitative research is

to investigate how variables interact with each other to guide the study” (2001, p. 46).

Qualitative data measure behaviors, which are not computable by arithmetic relations. Newman and Benz assert that the qualitative approach is used when observing and interpreting reality with the aim of developing a theory that will explain what was experienced (Newman and Benz, 1998). Thus, case studies were utilized to analyze data on a subject, individual, or social process.

The data collected for this chapter came from both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources comprised of official statistics in order to establish a general idea of HIV/AIDS in Africa. The secondary sources were collected by using the document analysis technique which entailed systematically analyzing books, articles and Internet sources to assess their validity and reliability through consistency. The intent of these data collection techniques is to reconstruct the knowledge of experts (Belting 2008).

OVERALL IMPACT OF HIV/AIDS ON DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA (QUANTITATIVE EMPHASIS)

According to the World Health Organization, HIV/AIDS continues to be a major global public health issue, having claimed more than 30 million lives so far (WHO 2010). It adds the following statistical information:

In 2016, one million people died from HIV/AIDS related causes globally. There were approximately thirty-six million people living with HIV at the end of 2016 with two million people becoming newly infected in 2016 globally. There were 54% of adults and 43% of children living with HIV are currently receiving lifelong antiretroviral therapy (ART). Global ART coverage for pregnant and breastfeeding women living with HIV is at 76%. The African region also accounts for almost two-thirds of the global total of new HIV infections. HIV infection key populations are groups who are at increased risk of irrespective of epidemic type or local context. They include: men who have sex with men, people who inject drugs, people in prisons and other closed settings, sex workers and their clients, and transgender people. In 2015 (WHO) reported that an estimated 44% of new infections occurred among these key populations and their partners. There is no cure for HIV infection...(WHO 2010, p. 2)

In addition, the World Health Organization informs us about the transmission of HIV/AIDS pathophysiology as follows.

The Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) targets the immune system and weakens people's defense systems against infections and some types of cancer. As the virus destroys and impairs the function of immune cell, infected individuals gradually become immune deficient. Immune function is typically measured by CD4 cell count. The most advanced stage of HIV infection is Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), which can take from 2 to 15 years to develop depending on the individual. AIDS is defined by the development of certain cancers, infections, or other severe clinical manifestations. HIV can be transmitted via the exchange of a variety of body fluids from infected individuals, such as blood, breast milk, semen and vaginal secretions. Individuals cannot become infected through ordinary day-to-day contact such as kissing, hugging, shaking hands, or sharing personal objects, food or water. (WHO 2010, p. 1)

Indeed, Tables 9.1 and 9.2 highlight the serious nature of HIV/AIDS in Africa. They clearly show that the continent is severely besieged by this very deadly disease and requires continued and greater attention than it is receiving these days.

Table 9.1 Estimate number of people living with hiv worldwide, 2008

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number of people living with HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa</i>	<i>Number of people living with HIV World wide</i>
North America	1.4 million	1.2–1.6
Western and Central Europe	850,000	710,000–970,000
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	1.5 million	1.4–1.7 million
Caribbean	240,000	220,000–260,000
Middle East & North Africa	310,000	250,000–380,000
East Asia	850,000	700,000–1.0 million
Latin America	2.0 million	1.8–2.2 million
Sub-Saharan Africa	22.4 million	20.8–24.1 million
South and South East Asia	3.8 million	3.4–4.3 million
Oceania	59,000	51,000–68,000

Source Self-generated by the Author Using Data from the United Nations Programmed on AIDS (2009)

Table 9.2 Estimate number of people living with HIV by countries and prevalence rate

<i>Country</i>	<i>HIV prevalence rate by country (%)</i>
Benin	1.2
Mali	1.5
Burkina Faso	1.6
Ghana	1.9
Nigeria	3.1
Togo	3.3
Cote d'Ivoire	3.9
Cameroon	5.1

Source Self-generated by the Author using data from the United Nations programmed on AIDS (2009)

FOUR BRIEF CASE STUDIES (QUALITATIVE EMPHASIS)

In this section four brief case studies (Cameroon, Senegal, South Sudan, and Zimbabwe) on the HIV/AIDS in Africa are presented. They are discussed sequentially for the sake of clarity.

CAMEROON

According to the National AIDS Control Committee, Cameroon's HIV prevalence rate is 5.1%, this percentage represents the highest rate of HIV/AIDS transmission among the entire regions for both West and Central Africa combine. The AIDS pandemic in Africa has cause this continent to suffer both socially and economically. It is estimated that in Cameroon alone accounts for six new cases of AIDS each hour per day (healthpolicyplus.com).

According to UNAIDS, in order to control the devastating effects of its epidemic, Cameroon needs to expand HIV and AIDS treatment, care, and support services and prevent mother-to-child transmission and other new infections among the general population and most-at-risk groups. Approximately 90% of new HIV cases in Cameroon are transmitted by people having multiple sexual partners and the lack of condom usage. Whereas, just 6% occurs from mother to child contact during gestations and just 4% occurs by blood and body fluids accidents (UNAIDS 2010).

AIDS progresses more quickly in children than in adults because a child's immune system is not yet mature. In 2010 in Cameroon, 7300 babies are estimated to be born HIV positive due to mother-to-child

transmission. Cameroon's adult HIV prevalence rate (percentage of population ages 15–49 who are HIV positive) has gone from 6% in 1990 to 5.1% in 2010. If Cameroon continues to expand and strengthen its national programs against HIV, the national prevalence rate could stay below 6% through 2020. The prevalence of HIV varies across the different regions. The prevalence of HIV varies across the different regions of Cameroon. Four regions have HIV prevalence rates of 8% or higher: North West (8%), East (8.6%), Yaoundé (8.3%), and South West (8%). The two northern regions have prevalence rates at or below 2% (UNAIDS, 2010). The factors that contribute to the spread of HIV in Cameroon are the following: women do not demand more from their partners to request the usage of condoms, women have lower social economic power which leads to multiple sexual partners, lack of continue condom usage, predisposition to other infection due to the lack of behavior modification to practice safe sex (healthpolicyplus.com).

By 2010 there were an estimated of 560,000 people living in Cameroon who were HIV positive. This number represented the largest number of Cameroonians who were positive for this virus than any other region in North Africa or the Caribbean. The number of HIV cases has grown over time by the early 1990's there were fewer than 32,000 cases. By 1995 the numbers of positive cases reached an all-time high of 276,000. At that time it was projected that by 2020 Cameroon would reach an estimate of 726,000 cases of HIV. These numbers do not accurately represent people who are infected with HIV or for those who are not aware of their status. This lack of awareness puts others at risk for contracting this virus if their partners are not tested and funds are not made available to those who are at risk for this disease (UNAIDS 2010).

The government of Cameroon must strive to increase people's knowledge about HIV and AIDS, enabling them to take appropriate action to protect against infection, obtain HIV testing and counseling, and seek treatment when necessary. At the same time, the government needs to facilitate a national response on prevention, treatment, care and support, working with civil society and private sector partners, both local and international to do the following:

- Community based programs to support and protect those who are HIV/AIDS positive.
- Accurate HIV/AIDS information and behavior modification programs are needed to reduce transmission.

- Voluntary counseling and testing needs to be provided and easily accessible.
- Accessibility for treatment measures for those who are HIV positive or who have contracted others Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD's).
- Programs available to assist pregnant mothers and children who are HIV positive and preventive programs for those who are not.
- Multidisciplinary programs centered on teaching preventive care measures that focus on family planning, behavior modification, and risk factors to reduce the infection rates (healthpolicyplus.com).

In Cameroon there is a growing need to increase funding for those who are living with HIV/AIDS. The government had allocated more than three billion dollars for prevention and treatment programs in 2008. This number accounted for greater than 16 % of all funding programs just on HIV/AIDS alone. The private and nongovernmental sectors have donated more than two billion dollars collectively to fight against HIV in Africa. Despite the funding donated so far, the incident rate continues to rise (healthpolicyplus.com).

SENEGAL

In Senegal it is estimated that 74% of the population works in agriculture. Senegal is best known for producing rice, nuts, cereals, fish and rich cotton products. The producers of these goods and services accounted for 59% of the GDP in 1997. The port of Dakar controls most of the trading centers for goods and services. Senegal is also known for its rich mining of calcium phosphates. However, Senegal has a highly dense population and growth rate which can lead to high employment rates. In Senegal, the low prevalence (about 1%) implies that the overall impact of HIV/AIDS has not been significant as of yet (AIDS Analysis Africa 1996).

The government in Senegal plays a major role in public education. In order to help keep the incidence rate for Sexually Transmitted Disease (STDs) and HIV low. The government has also invested in programs on public education and preventive measures to support safe sex. Since the legalization by the government for women to work as sex workers in Senegal each person is required to undergo regular health check-ups to promote safer sex practices. In 1969, Senegal made all sex workers legalized. However, it is known that many sex workers are not registered to

work in this occupation as required by the government. Therefore, for those who are not among the registered group do not participate in the regular check-ups and educational programs offered by the government. By 1997 in Senegal 67% of men reported that they use condoms is one of the reasons why the HIV/AIDS rates continued to drop at that time. Since then the government has spent nearly 20 million dollars on prevention and safer sex measures which has helped to contribute to the low transmission rates for HIV in Senegal (policyproject.com).

SOUTH SUDAN

In South Sudan there is a surge of people who are HIV positive. This surge of cases is mainly due to people who are sexually active do not practice safer sex measures which can put most of the population at risk for Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STD's) and HIV. Many women in South Sudan become Commercial sex workers to help support their families and therefore, are not requiring that their partners use condoms. These risky behaviors help to predispose these worker to Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STDs) and HIV. These risky behaviors can help to increase South Sudan's overall HIV transmission rates. The risk factors that lead to higher HIV rates in South Sudan are seen in Commercial sex worker who do not use condoms, IV drug abusers who share the same products to inject drugs, and people who have sex with multiple partners pose the greatest risk for the population. Studies conducted by Behavior Modification Specialist reported that in South Sudan in 2008 found that 10% of the Sex Workers have reported that they have risky sexual behavior with multiple partners and do not use condoms. Sex Workers can be found in the rural and larger populated towns throughout South Sudan. Despite that there are many studies conducted globally in South Sudan the issue surrounding the Sexual Workers impact on transmitting HIV is not well investigated. However it is known that 13% of the population has collected money in exchange for sex (unaids.org 2015).

In South Sudan the people most at risk for HIV infections are the public service workers such as the military, truck drivers, and policeman who make up 5% greater than the national population in Sudan who are HIV positive. The overall population for South Sudan as of 2013 had a HIV infection rate of 2.6% than that for the public service providers at 5% greater. These workers are at most risk due to age and gender related issues. Many of the public service providers are absent from their

homes for extended periods of time making them more susceptible to risk factors in contracting HIV infections and other Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STD's).

South Sudan has prioritized reduction of new infections among the general and key populations in its strategic plan as the first priority. It had aimed to reduce new HIV infections by 50% by 2017 through achieving increased utilization of prevention services by the general population and especially certain key populations, as well as reducing mother to child HIV transmission (IOM/UNAIDS 2006).

ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe is one of the countries in South Africa where as in 2005 had the third highest HIV rates in Africa. It is in this country where the HIV rates were around 20% of their population which accounted for an estimation of 12.7 million people who were infected with HIV. About 92% of those living with HIV are considered to be in heterosexual relationships. Women in Zimbabwe have the highest HIV/AIDS rates which represents 62% of people who are positive. The second most common mode of transmissions is from mother to child during gestation, child birth, and breastfeeding.

Since then Zimbabwe has made major strides in decreasing the HIV infection rates by investing in Behavior Modification programs, increasing treatment modalities to those with the virus, the use of increasing condom participation and other preventive programs as a means of decreasing this epidemic. Despite all the programs in place women are still hit the hardest. As of 2013, Zimbabwe's HIV rates have declined to about 15% as oppose to 20% in 2005 (popcouncil.org 2014).

Zimbabwe has been hit the hardest in regards to its social and economic relationships over the last decade. This decline had also affected the health standards and treatment modalities for those living with HIV. Despite Zimbabwe decline in social services and treatment program's indicators its government is determine to educate the public on the use of condoms and to decrease the number of sexual partners could be beneficial to its population as a hold in the long run (popcouncil.org 2014).

However, in Zimbabwe, resources are scarce on data that represents sex workers who have same sex partners because it is illegal in Zimbabwe to do so. However, this could be an indicator that this type of same-sex

partners is under reported due to this practice being illegal. There is no data collected regarding this type of behavior being reported which can mean that in some cases the overall HIV infection rates can be much higher. The number of deaths in this country has declined for new HIV infections. The incidence of AIDS from the early 1980s to 2009 has seen a decline as well in death rates from this disease. In 2001 Zimbabwe estimated that there were 160,000 deaths from AIDS to just under 39,000 deaths in 2012. Despite these numbers related to low death rates there is a total of 1.2 million adults and children who still live with HIV/AIDS infections in Zimbabwe as of 2012. It was reported in 2012 that more than 69,000 were new cases and 14.7% of those new cases were for those aged 15–49 years old (popcouncil.org 2014).

Most of Zimbabwe's funding for its treatment programs is generated from non-governmental resources. With the help of these resources, Zimbabwe has also benefited from interventions on how to fight against their HIV and AIDS epidemic. Programs led by international based programs have had an impact for best practices to reduce the spread of HIV and AIDS. The declining HIV and AIDS rates in Zimbabwe has meant that the use of condoms and the reduction in sex workers having multiple partners have led to a drastic decline in the transmission for this disease (Halperin et al. 2013; Gregson et al. 2010).

In Zimbabwe today the government continues to play an active role in implementation for behavior modification and actively participate as a change agent to reduce the spread of HIV and AIDS. HIV prevention programs are continuing to emerge. Despite that this country's best efforts in reducing the numbers of people who become infected, there are some who continue to practice unsafe sex. Many of the residents who live in some of rural and domestic areas will continue to be at risk if these behavior modification programs are not taken seriously. Many of the organizational programs have so modest success at changing some of the behavior patterns for those most at risk (popcouncil.org).

Zimbabwe's momentum in curbing the HIV epidemic, experience with new technologies and clinical trials, and its capacity for operations research makes it a conducive setting for designing and conducting the necessary demonstration projects (UNAIDS 2013; ZIMSTAT 2012).

CONCLUSION

As the preceding findings reveal, the theoretical framework employed in this chapter was quite useful. It allowed the chapter to demonstrate that Political Systems Theory and the Contagious Disease Theory are important in understanding the nexus between the impacts of HIV/AIDS have on the countries studied and their responses to it, which have at best been inadequate.

There is a need to continue this research in order to find better avenues to teach people about the importance of HIV prevention. This is a disease that has been prevalent since the early 1980s. Thirty-one years after its introduction and billions of dollars later spent on education, Africa is still not effective with its prevention programs. The major difference based on the research is that this disease is now affecting children as young as aged 11 in the continent of Africa. Countries in Africa such as Senegal and Uganda must be willing to share its successful models with other countries that have had less success in the fight against the HIV and AIDS epidemic.

There must be a dedicated political agenda to fight against this AIDS epidemic. This agenda must be in place to set the tone in the fight against HIV and AIDS spread. This agenda is important to first, help reduce discrimination and stigma surrounding people who are positive for this disease. Second, the goals must be clear that the fight against this disease take president over all other matters to keep the community safe. Third, the community must be assured that this fight against AIDS is crucial to the health of its people (docplayer.net). Finally, the programs must have adequate funding from multiple resources to secure the fight against AIDS is important to its community.

The government has a responsibility to ensure that the people it serves should have effective programs which are geared towards preventive measures to secure a positive outcome to preventing the spread of HIV and AIDS in its community. The fight against AIDS is a national and international priority for its communities and countries at large in preventing the spread of this deadly disease if not funded and proper treatment measures not provided for timely. The fight against AIDS needs a multidisciplinary team approach from all sectors in the community and governmental relations to prevent, support, and engage in dialogue to support the fundamental rights for those who are living with HIV and AIDS and a commitment to prevent the spread of this disease (AIDS Analysis Africa 1996).

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Multiple actions are required by African governments to prevent HIV transmission, mitigate the impact of HIV and AIDS, and provide care and treatment for people infected and affected. They are the following:

- The governments must bear the responsibility to educate those who are HIV positive in their communities.
- The governments must develop the ability to allocate funding.
- The governments with the assistance of other agencies must bear the responsibility to provide for treatment programs.
- The governments must increase and provide ART coverage.
- The governments must provide coverage for mothers and children who are infected with HIV and AIDS.
- The government must educate those who are at risk for transmitting this disease.
- The government must monitor surveillance data collected at the point of data collections and implementation.
- The governments must educate the global community to be engaged in preventive measures.

It is obvious that these recommended actions require strong and continual leadership by public sector officials. As stated by UNAIDS, any national response to HIV and AIDS needs to be made increasingly effective and sustainable for the foreseeable future (UNAIDS 2010).

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The Impact of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund on African Sustainability and Growth in the Era of Globalization

Billie Dee Tate

Poverty is a scourge of any society. What comes to mind when one tries to define object poverty? Do we think about starvation? Do we think about contaminated water sources? Does the lack of adequate healthcare and access to free education constitute poverty? Who defines poverty? Is it the government's responsibility to address poverty or the perpetual suffering of the people? Does governmental policies and fiscal ineptness cause poverty? Is poverty the result of systematic policies initiated by colonialism, imperialism and Western capitalist institutions? One has to wonder how the African continent which holds much of the world's natural resources has the highest levels of poverty. Africa and perpetual poverty go hand in hand and is interwoven in virtually all aspects of everyday life for most Africans. Today, Africa constitutes the majority of the world's poorest population.

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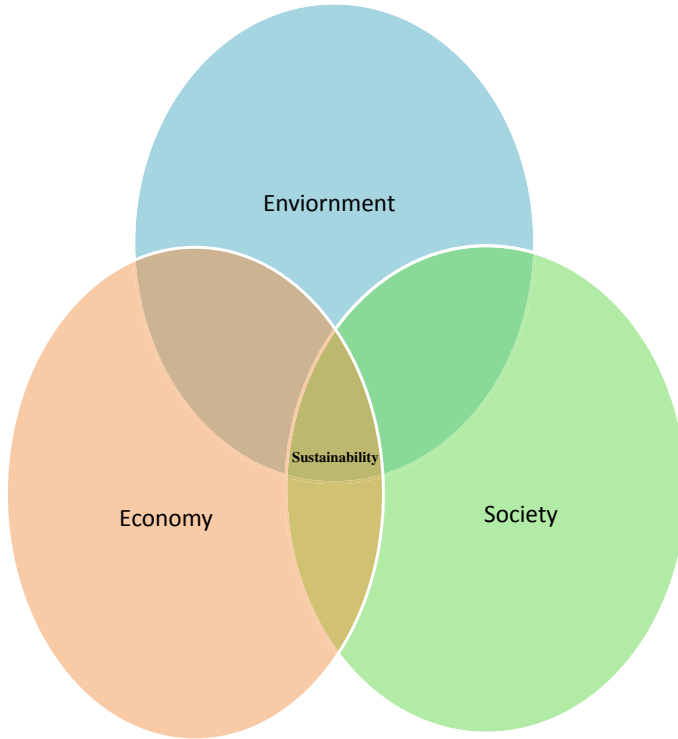


Fig. 10.1 Sustainability model (*Source* Self-generated by the author)

In order to obtain a clear understanding on the level of despair in Africa, the following major concepts—Sustainability, Growth, and—Globalization are defined and employed to help conceptualize poverty. Sustainability in layman’s term is the ability of government or country to maintain a certain level of economic growth without depleting the natural resources. There are three core principles which represent the current sustainability model; they are (a) the economy, (b) the society, and (c) the environment. These elements are depicted in Fig. 10.1 which outlines how they are entwined, interconnected and interdependent.

According to the *Brundtland Report* published by The World Commission on Environment and Development, maximum sustainability is achieved when “development that meets the needs of the present

without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland Commission 1987, p. 54). The definition of growth is broad and can be applied to numerous disciplines including the social and hard sciences. For this chapter, the focus is on economic growth and how the African continent thrives in a capitalist favored globalized climate. According to Herman Daly, economic growth is determined by the gross national product (GNP) and gross domestic product (GDP) of a state. Daly defines GDP and GNP as follows:

Market value of all goods and services produced in one year by labor and property supplied by the citizens of a country. Unlike gross domestic product (GDP), which defines production based on the geographical location of the production, GNP indicates allocated production based on location of ownership. In fact it calculates income by the location of ownership and residence, and so its name is also the less ambiguous *gross national income*. GNP is an economic statistic that is equal to GDP plus any income earned by residents from overseas investments minus income earned within the domestic economy by overseas residents. GNP does not distinguish between qualitative improvements in the state of the technical arts (e.g., increasing computer processing speeds), and quantitative increases in goods (e.g., number of computers produced), and considers both to be forms of “economic growth. (Daly 1996, p. 1)

The Levin Institute of The State University of New York defines globalization as the “process of interaction and integration among the people, companies, and governments of different nations, a process driven by international trade and investments and aided by information technology. This process has effects on the environment, on culture, on political systems, on economic development and prosperity, and on human physical well-being in societies around the world” (SUNY 2016, p. 1).

This chapter explores, analyzes, ascertains and gauges the impact of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) on African regionalism, cooperation and growth in this era of globalization. Africa South of the Sahara is buckling under the weight of its external debts and debt reduction payments. Since the independence movement of the 1960s, many African states have relied on Western financial institutions and organizations for economic and monetary aid. Recently, many African states and non-governmental organizations have questioned the purpose and impact of the IMF’s fiscal policies.

According to *Survey of IMF's Impact on Africa* by Robert Naiman and Neil Watkins, 50% of Africans live below the poverty line; 40% live on less than \$1 a day; debt services take more than 80% of Africa's export earnings and is on the rise. Analysts and African governments have concluded that the economic policies of the IMF have not fostered an atmosphere for economic prosperity. The IMF's economic programs were designed to alleviate poverty and disparity in African states; however, this is not the case. The IMF's economic initiatives have forced African countries to shift their spending priorities from social and health programs to debt repayment. As a result, the African governments are unable to provide for their people sufficient goods and services, a situation that undermines the economic development and sustainment of the continent as a whole (Naiman and Watkins 1999).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework for this chapter is rooted in Walter Rodney's premise that European institutions of slavery, capitalism and dominance over international trade are the main catalysts for the underdevelopment of the entire African continent. In his ground-breaking study titled *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Rodney makes the clear distinction between the concepts of development and underdevelopment and how these terms represent more than just economics. Rodney postulates the following:

Development in human society is a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility, and material well-being. Some of these are virtually moral categories and are difficult to evaluate—depending as they do on the age in which one lives, one's class origins, and one's personal code of what is wrong. However, what is indisputable is that the achievement of any of those aspects of personal development is very much tied in with the state of the society as a whole. Of course, each social group comes into contact with others. The relations between individuals in any two societies are regulated by the form of the two societies. Their respective political structures are important because the ruling elements within each group are the ones that begin to have dialogue, trade, or fight as the case may be. (Rodney 1972, p. 3)

Rodney goes on to argue that the concept of underdevelopment is much simpler to communicate and explain. Rodney delineates underdevelopment as follows:

Underdevelopment is not absence of development, because every people have developed in one way or another and to a greater or lesser extent. Underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development. It is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic viewpoint some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming more wealthy. The moment that one group appears to be wealthier than others, some inquiry is bound to take place as to the reason for the difference. (Rodney 1972, p. 13)

Rodney also makes the distinct connection between the causes of underdevelopment and the effect of exploitation between the dominant and subjugated group. This distinction describes how the exploited countries had history, culture and were developing and thriving before the arrival of the European capitalist powers. This interaction causes the exploited nations to export much of their natural resources and labor to the dominant countries. The connection between slavery and underdevelopment is further described by Rodney when he articulates that the capitalist market system created by Western governments contributed to the underdevelopment of the African continent. The capitalist market system creates an unequal trade system in African labor and vital resources are extracted by European countries while restraining and regulating African economic potential.

In addition, Rodney's methodical and comprehensive assessment on the origins of African underdevelopment is deeply rooted in Dependency Theory. The theory gives credence to Rodney's study on the historical relationship between European powers and Africa and helps to articulate the origins of African poverty.

Dependency Theory grew in popularity, recognition and acceptance in the late 1950s and early 1960s under the director of the United Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch. According Vincent Ferraro, Dependency Theory began to take shape when Prebisch and his contemporaries began to realize the downward trend of economic growth of developing nations versus the world's strongest economies. Ferraro further states:

Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. Such a possibility was not predicted by neoclassical theory, which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all (Pareto optimal) even if the benefits were not always equally shared. (2008, p. 58)

Ferraro also maintains that the fundamental solution to dependency and underdevelopment is that “poorer countries should embark on programs of import substitution so that they need not to purchase the manufactured products from the richer countries. The poorer countries will sell their primary products on the world markets, but their foreign exchange reserves would not be used to purchase their manufactures from abroad” (Ferraro 2008, p. 58). Ferraro adds that there are three working definitions to explain and summarize the main tenets of the Dependency Theory. The first definition characterizes dependency in terms of the international system being comprised of two sets of states, variously described as dominate/dependent, enter/periphery or metropolitan/satellite. The dominant states are the advanced industrial nations in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The dependent states are those states in Latin America, Asia, and Africa which have low *per capita* GNPs and which rely heavily on the export of a single commodity for foreign exchange earnings (Ferraro 2008).

The second definition proffered by Ferraro propounds on the influence and role of organizations and independent and autonomous forces which impact economic growth in the respective regions. Ferraro maintains that “both definitions have in common the assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external forces include multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications, and any other means by which the advanced industrialized countries can represent their economic interests abroad” (Ferraro 2008, p. 64).

The third definition of Ferraro’s dissemination of the Dependency Theory reflects the historical intricacies between the dominant and dependent states. Ferraro asserts that “the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns.

Moreover, dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism. Dependency is an ongoing process” (Ferraro 2008, p. 64).

In essence, Dependency Theory helps to explain the nature of the economic and social relationship between the dominant and dependent state. This relationship is more beneficial to the dominant party and leaves the historical subjugated nation in a perpetual state of economic disparity and turmoil. This supposition is clearly articulated by Rodney when he stated that “African economies are integrated into the very structure of the developed capitalist economies; and they are integrated in a manner that is unfavorable to Africa and insures that Africa is dependent on the big capitalist countries” (Rodney 1972, p. 25).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methodology used in this chapter is qualitative in nature and fashioned along the lines of the explanatory model, which is used to explore how the fiscal policies of the World Bank and the IMF have stymied growth and sustainability in Africa. The model is employed to answer the “who” “what” “how” and why” of a specific event in history.

In the book *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* Edition (2009), Robert K. Yin insinuates that “in general, case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon with some real-life context” (Yin, 2009, p. 1). The tenets of the explanatory model are employed here to interrogate the adverse effects of Western economic policies on Africa.

The research intent for this chapter is to allow for the probing about whether the IMF and the World Bank SAPs are having a negative or positive impact on African poverty rate during this era of globalization. Therefore, the research question for this chapter is stated as follows: Do the Structural Adjustment Programs formulated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and established in African countries reduce the poverty rates in those countries? Key factors and indicators measure the growth to debt ratio, deficits, exchange rates from the World Bank and the IMF statistics. These sources were augmented by the works of some of the leading authorities on poverty in Africa.

WALTER RODNEY'S CONCEPTUALIZATION OF EUROPEAN DOMINANCE IN AFRICA

What is the source of Africa's poverty? The answer is quite simple from the Rodneyan point of view. The institutions of European colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism led to the exploitation of Africa's natural resources. The legacy of these European monetary policies has fundamentally led to the underdevelopment of Africa and fosters an atmosphere of (a) dependency, (b) political and economic instability, and (c) poverty. These causes African poverty and despair continues to be debated by scholars from the African, European, and American Diaspora. Poverty in the African Diaspora is not a recent phenomenon. The people of African ancestry did not become entrenched in poverty overnight. The seeds of Africa's economic, political and social decline were firmly planted with two significant events: (1) contact with the first European explorers and (2) the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885. The Berlin Conference was the formal meeting among the European monarchies to decide how to partition Africa, which was known as the “great divide.” In their work, *Geography: Realms, Regions and Concepts*, Harm de Blij and Peter O. Muller state that “The Berlin Conference was the alternative to European war and conflict for control of the continent's vast resources. In 1884 at the request of head of state of Portugal and the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, major European powers came to negotiate and bring an end to the confusion over the control of Africa” (1997, p. 340).

At the time of the Berlin Conference, roughly 80% of Africa remained under traditional and local control. The Berlin Conference ultimately resulted in the creation of artificial and geographical boundaries which sliced and divvied Africa into 50 counties. Without regards to any of indigenous populations, cultures and languages that preceded European involvement and dominance on the continent. According to Blij and Muller, “This new map of the continent was superimposed over the one thousand indigenous cultures and regions of Africa. The new countries lacked rhyme or reason and divided coherent groups of people and merged together disparate groups who really did not get along” (1997, p. 340).

By 1914, the Berlin Conference participants had fully divided Africa among themselves into fifty countries. Blij and Muller state:

Major colonial holdings included: Great Britain desired a Cape-to-Cairo collection of colonies and almost succeeded though their control of Egypt, Sudan (Anglo-Egyptian Sudan), Uganda, Kenya (British East Africa), South Africa, and Zambia, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and Botswana. The British also controlled Nigeria and Ghana (Gold Coast). France took much of western Africa, from Mauritania to Chad (French West Africa) and Gabon and the Republic of Congo (French Equatorial Africa). Belgium and King Leopold II controlled the Democratic Republic of Congo (Belgian Congo). Portugal took Mozambique in the east and Angola in the west. Italy's holdings were Somalia (Italian Somaliland) and a portion of Ethiopia. Germany took Namibia (German Southwest Africa) and Tanzania (German East Africa). Spain claimed the smallest territory—Equatorial Guinea (Rio Muni). (1997, p. 340)

The Berlin Conference of 1884 affected the African continent politically, economically, and socially. European powers maintained control over their African colonies by “direct” and “indirect” rule. The European powers also controlled virtually every aspect of their African “subjects.” Essentially, European control and rule over the African continent were facilitated through the system of colonization and imperialism. A major effect of colonialism is the culture of economic dependency and political instability. What was the state and nature of development in Africa before European incursion into the continent? Were the European monarchs and empires responsible for civilizing a continent, which had culture and customs in place for hundreds of years? The answer is simply no. Each region prior to the division had its own distinct culture and customs engineered by the indigenous population.

Rodney argues that African culture was highly civilized and sophisticated; therefore, cultural ideals should not be judged on a European scale. Africans had developed their own customs, forms of arts, religion, and technology long before the first European explorer arrived. Rodney maintains that a culture is a total way of life. It embraces what people ate and what they wore; the way they walked and the way they talked; the manner in which they treated death and greeted the newborn. In addition, the continent of Africa South of the Sahara formed a broad community whereby resemblances were clearly discernible. For example, music and dance had key roles in “uncontaminated” African society. They were ever present at birth, initiation, marriage, death, as well as times of recreation. Africa is the continent of drums and percussion. African

peoples reached the pinnacle of achievement in that sphere (Rodney 1972).

With regards to societal relations in African culture, Rodney states that “before the fifteenth century, the predominant principle of social relations was that of family and kinship associated with communalism. Every member of an African society had his position defined in terms of relatives on his mother’s side and on his father’s side. Some societies placed greater importance on matrilineal ties; others on patrilineal ties” (Rodney 1972, p. 36). He adds that “those things were crucial to the daily existence of a member of an African society, because land (the major means of production) was owned by groups such as the family or clan—the head of which were parents and those yet unborn” (Rodney 1972, p. 36).

The focal point of the African societal structure was the family and adherence to kinship relations. Before the arrival of Europeans, African societal structures and commerce flourished through agriculture and cultivation of the land. Therefore, I can safely state that Africans possessed the tools, knowledge and technology for their self-sustainment and cultivation of the land. Rodney maintains that by the Fifteenth Century, Africans everywhere had arrived at a considerable understanding of the total ecology of the soils, climate, animals, plants, and their multiple interrelationships. The practical application of this lay in the need to trap animals, to build houses, to make utensils, to find medicines, and above all to devise systems of agriculture. In all the settled agricultural communities, people observed the peculiarities of their own environment and tried to find techniques for dealing with it in a rational manner. The single most important technological change underlying African agricultural development was the introduction of iron tools, notably the ax and the hoe, replacing wooden and stone tools. It was on the basis of the iron tools that new skills were elaborated in agriculture as well as in other spheres of economic activity (Rodney 1972).

These concrete examples referenced by Rodney disputes the European ideology that Africans were “uncivilized and savages” destined for civilization. The notion of European dominance and sense of superiority would be the fundamental cause for the exploitation and domination of the African continent. The end of feudalism in the European political-economic scheme ushered in the age of capitalism and territorial expansion. With most of Europe already conquered and under the rule of English and French monarchies, new sources of wealth were necessary

to sustain the glory and prestige of the European crowns and nations (Rodney 1972).

European domination of the African continent was maintained through the systematic practices of imperialism and colonialism. Imperialism, characterized by Russian Communist Leader Vladimir Lenin as “the highest stage of capitalism,” took towards the end of the Nineteenth Century the form of “the extension of capitalism into new territories, and the economic and political struggle among the older capitalist countries to gain these territories,” as argued by Rosa Luxemburg in *L'Accumulation du capital*, vol. 2 (1976, p. 153).

Colonialism is essentially a political process which reinforces the dominant-dependent relationship among two states. More importantly, under this parasitic exchange the dominant state ignores the sovereignty of the weaker state. Competition among the European empires and financiers for Africa's raw materials fostered an atmosphere of hostility and war. Rodney reaffirms this notion by arguing that European monopoly firms operated by constantly fighting to gain control over raw materials, markets, and means of communications. They also fought to be the first to invest in new profitable undertakings related to their line of business, whether it is inside or outside their countries. Indeed, after the scope for expansion became limited inside their national economies, their main attention was turned to those countries whose economies were less developed and which would therefore offer little or no opposition to the penetration of foreign capitalism. This penetration of foreign capitalism on a world-wide scale from the late Nineteenth Century onwards is what is called “imperialism” (Rodney 1972).

European colonialism of the African continent would last for more than 60 years, until the end of the Second World War. During this time, European domination and culture infiltrated every aspect of African life. European nations also controlled the means and methods of trade, production, commerce and the heavily influenced the societal structure of their respective colonies.

REGIONAL COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN AFRICA

Regional cooperation and integration is viewed as the fundamental economic and political apparatus for facilitating development and growth in African states. In his profound work, *Africa in World Politics: A Pan-African Perspective*, Guy Martin ascertains that while many African

institutions for regional cooperation and integration were created soon after independence, progress toward integration has been disappointingly slow. He affirms the notion that while African scholars and policy-makers generally agree on the need for and desirability of African unity, they seriously disagree on the level, strategy, and ultimate goal of unification, as well as on the scope of cooperation (Martin 2002).

Martin's summation and rationale outlining the purpose and intent of regional cooperation and integration in Africa is based on the economic state of despair plaguing the continent. Martin asserts that: of all the developing regions of the world, Africa is by far the poorest, least developed and heterogeneous. Africa is the only continent where the number of the poor is increasing, with close to 350 million people (out of a total of 765.5 million) living on \$1 a day or less, and up to 150 million children living below the poverty line (Martin 2002). The economic disparities plaguing the continent have forced many scholars and policy makers to formulate a new strategy aimed at fostering economic development and sustainability. Martin adds that African regional cooperation and integration as a political and economic solution to address poverty emerged during the end of the 1970s when the Organization of African Unity (OAU) called for the creation of an African common market based on progressive coordination and integration. Martin contends that

The plan proposed by the OAU was termed the 1980 *Lagos Plan of Action and Final Act of Lagos*. The *Lagos Plan's* goal was to be achieved in two stages. During the first stage (decade of the 1980s), the objective was to strengthen the existing regional economic communities and to establish economic groupings in the other regions of Africa in order to cover the continent as a whole; to effectively strengthen sectoral integration at the continental level; and to promote coordination and harmonization among the existing and future economic groupings for the gradual establishment of an African Common Market. During the second stage (decade of the 1990s), sectoral integration was to be further strengthened and measures towards the progressive establishment of a common market and an African Economic Community were to be taken. (2002, p. 126)

African regional cooperation and integration blossomed during the independence movements from 1960 to 2000; however, economic development has been stagnant. African regional cooperation and integration pacts are prone to internal and external factors which inhibit an atmosphere for development. Martin maintains that there are five fundamental

flaws with the implementation of regional cooperation and integration in African nations. These five flaws are (1) the uneven distribution of the benefits and costs of integration, (2) institutional deficiencies, (3) politico-ideological factors, (4) external dependence, and (5) ethno-regional conflicts (Martin 2002).

In the scheme of globalization, the key factor in securing Africa's economic independence is the need for the development of the infrastructure and firm control over primary resources. The disparities between Africa and Western trading partners have seriously undermined Africa's ability to reap the much-needed benefits by determining the value of raw resources. Presently, regional integration and cooperation are still of great importance to the economic viability and stability of the African continent. In 2000, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) passed and adopted the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU) which called for the following

The Constitutive Act of the African Union was approved in 2000. It is based in Addis Ababa and includes nearly all African countries. Following this step, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, NEPAD, was created. Both initiatives received significant international support, ranging from the Millennium Declaration to the Africa Action Plan adopted in 2002 by the G8, in which countries pledged to work to establish peace and security, develop human resources, foster gender equality and combat AIDS. In that same year, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) welcomed the NEPAD initiative and decided to establish a permanent dialogue between NEPAD and the OECD. The funds for development aid doubled. The World Bank also laid down the lines for support for regional integration in 25 specific initiatives that make up its Africa Action Plan. We should also mention the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, originally launched in 1964 and subsequently taken up again with the signing of the Treaty of Lagos in 1975 by 15 countries. Alongside ECOWAS, other regional blocks have been forming in West Africa. There is, for example, EMUWA (Economic and Monetary Union of West Africa). (OAU 2000, pp. 4-5)

WORLD BANK AND IMF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS

Under the control and leadership of Western and European powers, the IMF and the World Bank dictate the economic policies of most African

nations. One major policy initiated to address poverty in Africa was the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), which are loans designed to address the nature of Africa's economic crisis.

Most African countries participate in the IMF's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (EASF). This scheme is the IMF's concessional lending facility for the least developed countries. Unlike other IMF programs, which lend at market rates, EASF offers low interest rates (0.5%) and repayment terms of five and a half to ten years. It was established in 1987, although its predecessor, the Structural Adjustment Facility (SAF), began its operations in 1986. As a condition of receiving these loans, countries must agree to adopt IMF SAPs. According to Robert Naiman and Neil Watkins of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, SAPs generally require countries to adopt policies such as the following:

- Reductions in government spending;
- Monetary tightening (high interest rates and/or reduced access to credit);
- Elimination of government subsidies for food and other items of popular consumption;
- Privatization of enterprises previously owned or operated by the government; and
- Reductions in barriers to trade, as well as to foreign investment and ownership (Naiman and Watkins 1999, p. 2).

The major concern with the IMF's EASF program is that African countries that participate in it cannot realistically afford to honor the terms of repayment. This system of borrowing requiring more than you can pay back perpetuates the system of dependence. Furthermore, this dependency on foreign sources of income curtails the ability of African governments to seek measures which promote internal economic growth.

The repayment terms of the IMF's structural debt programs cause many internal strife and hardship on the people of the recipient country. I believe that the repayment structure depletes the recipient country's much needed resources necessary for the health, security, and development of the country. The IMF's SAPs force the recipient country to experience numerous consequences that inhibit development and economic growth. Some of these consequences are (a) currency devaluation, (b)

privatization, (c) the fall of the standard of living, (d) unemployment, (e) inflations, (f) political and social unrest, (g) ethnic tension, and (h) military dictatorships.

The nature and structure of the IMF's debt program further serves to keep Africa underdeveloped and dependent on European and Western powers. In the course of studying the various issues in African politics, there are numerous causes contributing to the economic underdevelopment in Africa. The most profound cause is Africa's reliance on foreign sources of currency and economic aid. Why is this so? The answer is simple: Africa was the predetermined continent for exploitation because of the sheer nature, size, and abundance of its natural resources.

In the quest for self-reliance and self-sustainment, the African Development Bank Group was formed. The group is comprised of the African Development Bank (ADB), the African Development Fund (ADF) and the Nigeria Trust Fund (NTF). The ADB as of June 1, 2018 consists of 54 African countries. In the study, *The African Development Bank, Taking Stock and Preparing for the 21st Century*, Ignatius Peprah states that "The African Development Bank was established to contribute to the economic development and social progress of its regional member-countries both individually and collectively" (1994, p. 10). To accomplish this, Peprah adds, the ADB was ascribed the following functions by its founding members:

- To use the resources at its disposal for financing investment programs and programs relating to the economic and social development of its (regional) members, giving special priority to: (i) Projects or programmes which by their nature or scope concern several members; and (ii) Projects or programmes designed to make the economies of its members increasingly complementary, and bring an orderly expansion in their foreign trade.
- To undertake the preparation and selection of activities contributing to such development.
- To mobilize resources in Africa and outside Africa for the purpose of financing such investments and programmes.
- To promote, generally, investment in Africa of public and private capital in projects or programmes designed to contribute to the economic development or social progress of its (regional) members.
- To provide technical assistance for the preparation, financing, and execution of development projects and programmes.

- To cooperate with national, sub-regional, and regional development institutions in Africa in the fulfillment of these objectives.
- To undertake such other activities and provide such other services as may advance its purpose (Peprah 1994, pp. 10–11).

The Nigeria Trust Fund was established in 1976 in response to the OPEC oil crisis of 1973. Peprah states that “in 1973, Nigeria had only just emerged from its economically devastating civil war and was faced with an enormous task of reconstruction and reconciliation. Nigeria was fortunate in having massive oil resources. Although it needed the oil revenue for reconstruction, it recognized that many African countries would be hard hit by the impending high oil prices and that they would need concessional aid in order to cope with the resulting problems” (1994, pp. 11–12). Peprah continues by noting that “in 1976, the Government of Nigeria approved the establishment of the Nigeria Trust Fund (NTF) with an initial subscription of 50 million Naira (US \$ 80 million). The agreement establishing the NTF was signed in Lagos on February 26, 1976, and it came into force in April that year” (1994, p. 12). The objectives of the Nigeria Trust fund were two-fold:

1. “To provide loans to African countries that are less resource-rich than Nigeria” and
2. “To serve as an example to other wealthy African countries and to inculcate into them a spirit of continental assistance and co-operation” (Peprah 1994, p. 12).

Peprah further points out that there were two significant events which increased the trend in ADB lending. These were the opening up of the Bank’s membership to non-regional countries and the gaining of full access to international capital markets. The two decisions were, of course, related. The decision to open the Bank helped the institution to have a larger resource base and consequently increase its operations. It also helped enhance the image of the Bank in the international capital markets re-enforcing and consolidating the top credit ratings that the ADB had obtained. Both events significantly increased the resources available to the Bank Group and, hence, the lending program (Peprah 1994).

By the beginning of the 1980, the realities of the debts of African countries were brought to light. Peprah attributes the African debt crisis

to Africa South of the Sahara's financial obligation to multilateral institutions and official creditors. The debts owed to multilateral institutions witnessed a steady annual increase from about 16% in 1982 to nearly 22% in 1990. Since the eruption of the debt crisis in 1982, commercial banks have reduced the number of new loans to Africa, although they continue to claim significant portion of debt service payments. The increasing share of multilateral debts in the debt profile of African countries poses quite a serious problem for Africa as new disbursements from multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank and IMF required that debt be fully paid off (Peprah 1994).

The ADB's solution to the African debt crisis was the establishment of a specialized unit within the Bank to deal with the specific problems faced by regional member countries. The objectives of the Debt Management Unit (DMU), established in November 1990 within the Bank's Development Research and Policy Department (CDEP), are to coordinate the monitoring of developments concerning the problems of Africa's external debt; present initiatives designed to address the problem; assist regional member countries (RMCs) in the verification, management and renegotiation of their debts as well as in the preparation of strategies to achieve a reduction in such debts; maintain close relations with international agencies concerned with these issues; and eventually provide consultancy services for African countries on debt questions.

The African debt crisis had a devastating impact in the areas of development and advancement of African states. A direct result of the debt crisis was the steady increase in the African poverty rate. The ADB was well aware of the plight of the African masses; therefore, poverty alleviation was thrust to the forefront of the Group's agenda. To address the poverty situation in Africa, the ADB shifted its resources and development policy to bolster its African Development Fund (ADF). The objective of the (ADF) was to meet the primary needs of the poorest sections of the populations in low-income countries; foster employment creation and increase incomes, as well as elicit or promote the direct involvement of the ultimate beneficiaries, including women in the design and implementation of projects and programs.

Peprah denotes that "some of the first steps taken by the (ADF) to address poverty reduction were through the reallocation of funds in the lending portfolio in favor of agriculture and the social sector; focus also shifted to address women's concerns in project activities" (1994, p. 84). He also points out that "measurement of the ADF's poverty alleviation

programs is difficult to ascertain, due to rapidly increasing poverty rate and lack of performance indicators for specific programs and projects” (Peprah 1994, p. 84). He further suggests that the ADF must improve the collection of socio-economic data and employ relevant information to increase efficiency in the planning and management of projects and programs. In addition to the lack of planning and performance evaluation indicators, Peprah also notes that although the ADB Group is committed to poverty alleviation, it faces the following four major constraints:

1. Operational: such as insufficient institutional guidelines and lack of poverty indicators;
2. Financial: poverty-orientated policies and programmes tend to be more time consuming and costly than traditional operations. Poverty assessments, profile, etc. have to be developed. Baseline surveys have to be conducted;
3. Human resources: lack of adequate skill-mix; and
4. Political: lack of sincere commitment on some Regional Member Countries to poverty alleviation as an important public goal (Peprah 1994, pp. 84–88).

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the IMF report titled *While Poverty in Africa Has Declined, Number of Poor Has Increased* published in March, 2016 the World Bank estimates that

The share of Africans who are poor fell from 56% in 1990 to 43% in 2012. The report argues that the poverty rate may have declined even more if the quality and comparability of the underlying data are taken into consideration. However, because of population growth many more people are poor, the report says. The most optimistic scenario shows about 330 million poor in 2012, up from about 280 million in 1990. Poverty reduction has been slowest in fragile countries, the report notes, and rural areas remain much poorer, although the urban-rural gap has narrowed. The picture on African inequality is complex. Seven of the 10 most unequal countries in the world are in Africa, most of them in southern Africa. Excluding these countries and controlling for GDP levels, inequality is not higher in Africa than elsewhere in the world. The household survey data do not reveal a

systematic increase in inequality across countries in Africa. But the number of extremely wealthy Africans is increasing. Differences between urban and rural areas and across regions are large. Intergenerational mobility in education and occupation has improved, but remains low. (Beegle et al. 2016, p. 4)

A major concern for the developing nations of Africa is the amount of debt a sovereign nation carries and the impact on that nation's gross domestic product. The IMF's October 30, 2017 report titled *Sub-Saharan Africa: The Path to Recovery* states the following concern

Vulnerabilities have increased in the region, notably, due to rising public debt, financial sector strains and low external buffers. Public debt is high not only in oil exporting countries but in many fast-growing economies as well. At the end of 2016, public debt exceeded 50 percent of GDP in nearly half of the sub-Saharan African countries. Debt servicing costs are also becoming a burden, especially in oil-producing countries. In Angola, Gabon, and Nigeria they absorb more than 60 percent of government revenues. (Wieczorek 2017, p. 1) International Monetary Fund (IMF) (2017)

The SAPs initiated and mandated by the World Bank and IMF are having a negative impact on the economic growth and viability of African nations. One of the main requirements of the SAPs, as argued by Howard White in his *Adjustment in Africa*, is that the receiving country must keep its debt at a minimum and must participate in deficit reduction and austerity programs which are some of the main causes of economic stagnation (White 1996).

Poverty continues to be a major concern and impacts the livelihoods of all that reside on the African continent. Laurence Chandy of The Brookings Institution points out that “2015 marks the 20th year since sub-Saharan Africa started on a path of faster economic growth. During that period, growth has averaged 5.2% per year. Meanwhile, the number of people on the continent reportedly living under \$1.25 a day has continued to creep upwards from 358 million in 1996 to 415 million in 2011—the most recent year for which official estimates exist” (2015, p. 1).

The Dependency Theory and the explanatory model actually helped to reach the conclusion that Africa is under-developing as a result of the IMF and World Bank SAPS. The main premise of the Dependency Theory

is that the dominant states seek to exploit the resources of the weaker states. This is evident in the foregoing analysis. The explanatory model was useful because the main tenets of this method are aimed at addressing the main catalysts of high rates of poverty in Africa. The model helped in the examination of how economic policies enacted by the IMF and World Bank under-develops Africa and lead to lack of sustainability and anemic economic growth.

In sum, poverty in Africa is not a recent or new phenomenon. Exploitative ideological policies and systems were enacted by Western powers for the mere purpose of extracting the wealth from the great African continent. African poverty results from a combination of factors, which are (a) colonialism, (b) capitalism, (c) European and Western fiscal oversight, and (d) SAPs. The major research question of this chapter queries the economic impact of the World Bank and IMF's SAP program on Africa. According to the findings, while some African economies may be experiencing higher than expected levels of growth, poverty remains a major hindrance to economic growth. It is obvious that the SAPs are failing to decrease the poverty rate in Africa, especially in this era of globalization. Therefore, the hypothesis undergirding this chapter should be accepted. I would recommend that SAP programs be terminated, the loans provided to African nations should be forgiven, and the funds should be invested in Africa's infrastructure. This reinvestment would help to foster growth and help to reduce the poverty rate.

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Combining Rehk Methodology and Cheikh Anta Diop's Postulates as a Systematic Approach for Assessing the Substantiveness of Indigenous Knowledge Production Systems in Africa

Abdul Karim Bangura

It was the Pharaoh of Knowledge Cheikh Anta Diop who made the following observation more than half a century ago but the specter of which still prevails in many aspects to this day:

The difference in the intellectual approach of the African and European researcher often causes...misunderstandings in the interpretation of facts and their relative importance. The scientific interest of the European scholar with regard to African data is essentially analytical. Seeing things from the outside, often reluctant to synthesize, the European clings basically to explosive, more or less biased microanalysis of the facts and constantly postpones *ad infinitum* the stage of synthesis. The African

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scholar distrusts this “scientific” activity, the aim of which seems to be the fragmentation of the collective historical consciousness into minute facts and details. If the African anthropologist made a point of examining European races “under the magnifying glass,” he would be able to multiply them *ad infinitum* by grouping physiognomies into races and sub-races as artificially as his European counterpart does with regard to Africa. He would, in turn, succeed in dissolving European reality into a fog of insignificant facts. (Diop 1867/1974, p. 275)

Indeed, as can be gleaned from the preceding excerpt, deciphering the essentiality of indigenous African knowledge systems is not as simple as many people believe. Concomitantly, while a great deal of work has been done on these knowledge systems and many calls have been made for the development of new or aligning existing methodologies to study the phenomena, to the best of my knowledge, no methodology exists on how to assess the substantiveness of these systems. This chapter therefore seeks to fill the gap in the literature by suggesting and discussing the amalgamation of Rehk Methodology and Diop’s postulates (i.e. suggestions of facts or truths as a basis of reasoning, discussions, or beliefs) as a systematic approach for assessing these knowledge systems in Africa. By employing the Ancient Egyptian *rekh* framework, related postulates on Africa and its people proffered by Diop in his book titled *Black Africa: The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State* (1974/1978) are discussed in the chapter.

Ancient Egyptians believed that *rekh* (“knowledge”—meaning “science,” “to know,” “to be wise,” “to be acquainted with,” “to be skilled in an art or craft”) involves both *ren* and sometimes *ka* (meaning “to name,” “to create,” “to form,” “to fashion,” “to beget,” “to produce”) and *âr* or *âri* (meaning “to do”). In essence, knowledge involves both naming and action → abstract and concrete → competence and performance = logic. Consequently, an *âru* or *âriu* (“a doer”) is more preferable to an *âkhem* (meaning “a do nothing,” “to be ignorant,” “to have nothing,” “inert,” “weak,” or “feeble”) (for the definitions of these terms, see Budge 1978).

Dipo Irele provides what appears as the Yoruba equivalence of the Ancient Egyptian concept of knowledge, albeit he might not have known that he was doing so. According to Irele, *Imo* (“knowledge”) has evidential status in Yoruba epistemological discourse while *Igbagbo* (“belief”) does not (Irele 2010, p. 343). He adds the following:

If someone *mo* (to know) or has *Imo* (knowledge), that person has first-hand information rather than secondhand information. The person's *Imo* must be through direct acquaintance with the object he or she claims to know. In other words, the justification for such knowledge is that it is acquired through direct acquaintance rather than through secondhand information, which is not reliable. The acquaintance should be through direct observation (seeing), which the Yoruba consider as the most reliable of all perceptual senses. The concept of *Igbagbo* is, on the other hand, what could not be perceived, and is based on secondhand information; in other words, on what other people have told us or information acquired other than through perception. Eventually, *Igbagbo* could become *Imo* if one is able to acquire the knowledge of the object of *Igbagbo* through direct observation (sight). (Irele 2010, p. 343)

In addition, Emmanuel Babatunde informs us about ethnographic adventures in Yoruba epistemology as follows:

Yoruba excursus into deep fundamental aspects of existence and ways of knowing and inbuilt systems of checking and cross-checking what is known are often presented in existential terms of proceeding on a journey. Even existence itself begins with the journey of passing from *Orun* through the physical womb of the mother who is gold, into *Aye*—the world of the living. That of course came after the epistemological moment of selecting the elements of one's destiny, the template of one's chosen existence. In the *Aye*, the world of the living, existence is conceptualized as a journey. Core existential problems wanting to be explained are couched in the *Odu Ifa* as a journey by *Orunmila* in *Ese Ifa*. Emphasis on knowing is tailored to the environment in which the Yoruba live and the respect it has taught them to have for the rainforest if they are to survive. Thus the Yoruba, wherever located, do not want to dominate and conquer the environment. Experience has taught them that generations would continue to die as the environment waxes strong. Rather, arising from that certainty of mortality, the Yoruba assign deities to be in charge of land, water, mountain, rain, wind and air with the understanding that when these deities are propitiated not just by rituals but by good moral behavior that puts the needs of the community over that of the individuals, then they can control nature. Yoruba epistemology is not keyed on using empirical sources of knowledge to dominate nature. It focuses on virtue and how it succeeds to socially engineer a morally caring and just society with strong work ethics each of whose members is an *Omoluwabi*. (Babatunde 2015, p. 1)

Also, as I point out in *Toyin Falola and African Epistemologies* (Bangura 2015), Falola in his *Yoruba Gurus: Indigenous Production of Knowledge in Africa* (1999) focuses primarily on the life histories, the times, the political and economic contexts of the intellectual production of the prominent Yoruba intelligentsia outside of the Western academy. His data comprise a few selected texts in English and Yoruba written by these Yoruba gurus. A careful analysis of the data leads him to make several arguments. First, in the quest to promote “universal knowledge” and create Western style institutions in Africa, the intellectual contributions of Africans lacking university certificates or connections to the Western academy have been misrepresented, ignored, or marginalized. Second, there are African scholars and thinkers without academic credentials engaged in important intellectual work that are treated merely as “sources.” Third, the Western academic mode has frequently privileged itself at the expense of other sites of knowledge production and voices. Accordingly, Falola concludes with the clarion call that intellectual contributions need neither be divorced from the concerns of the local communities nor be deliberately constructed to foster narrative inequality and distance.

In addition, in his article titled “‘Alternative History’: The World of Yoruba Chroniclers” (1993), Falola examines the clash between academic historians and Yoruba chroniclers over the writing of the history of the Yoruba in Nigeria. He ends his essay by making the following important point about the essentiality of both groups in the production of knowledge: “We stand to benefit by encouraging the production of local histories, if only to contribute to historical consciousness, promote literacy, and understand the production of knowledge” (Falola 1993, p. 6).

From a Diopian perspective, vis-à-vis his (i.e. Cheikh Anta Diop) postulates, an indigenous African knowledge production system is substantive if it seeks to fulfill the following four aspects: (1) restore African historical consciousness, (2) contribute to the compendium of energy sources, (3) subscribe to the industrialization of Black Africa and, most importantly, (4) add to the steps towards African unity. It is the last aspect for which Diop proffers the following 15 imperatives: (1) “to restore consciousness of our historic unity”; (2) “to work for linguistic unification on a territorial and continental scale...”; (3) “to raise our national tongues to the rank of governmental languages used in Parliament and in the writing of laws...”; (4) “to work out an *effective* form of

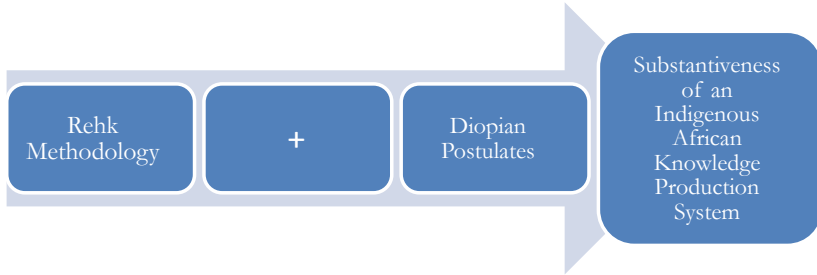


Fig. 11.1 Rehk-Diopian methodological framework (*Source* Self-generated by author)

representation for the female sector of the nation”; (5) “to live in African federal unity...”; (6) “to oppose out of hand any idea of creating White states anywhere in Black Africa, no matter where the idea comes from”; (7) “to make sure our Constitution is so written that no industrial bourgeoisie can come into being...”; (8) “to create a powerful State industry, giving primacy to industrialization, development and mechanization of agriculture”; (9) “to create a powerful modern army, possessing an air force and endowed with civic education...”; (10) “to create the technical institutes without which a modern State cannot exist...”; (11) “to reduce luxurious living standards and judiciously equalize salaries...”; (12) “to organize production cooperatives...”; (13) “to create model State farms with a view to broadening the technical and social experiences of still ungrouped individual farmers (peasants)...”; (14) “to repopulate Africa in proper time”; and (15) “to carry out with conviction a policy of full employment...” (Diop 1974/1978, pp. 88–89).

The combination of the Rehk Methodology and the Diopian postulates makes it possible to delineate the Rehk-Diopian methodological framework presented in the continuous block process structure represented in Fig. 11.1. Thus, the suggested sequential relationship is quite straightforward: Rehk Methodology + Diopian Postulates → Substantiveness of an Indigenous African Knowledge Production System.

In the rest of this chapter, I begin with a discussion of the attributes of the Rehk Methodology. Next, I explore the naming and action postulates on Africa and its people teased out of Diop’s *Black Africa: The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State* (1974/1978) as mentioned earlier. After that, I assess three randomly selected indigenous knowledge

production systems in Africa. I then end with a conclusion with regard to the findings.

REHK METHODOLOGY

Based on the characteristics of the Rehk Methodology mentioned earlier, the following 11 features are necessary for determining the level of substantiveness of a particular indigenous African knowledge production system if it allows a person

1. *to know*—be aware of through observation, inquiry, or information;
2. *to be wise*—having or showing experience, knowledge, and good judgment;
3. *to be acquainted with*—make someone aware of or familiar with something;
4. *to be skilled in an art or craft*—the ability to do art or craft well; expertise;
5. *to name*—a word or set of words by which a person, animal, place, or thing is known, addressed, or referred to;
6. *to create*—bring something into existence;
7. *to form*—bring together parts to make something;
8. *to fashion*—make something into a particular or the required form;
9. *to beget*—bring something into existence by the process of reproduction;
10. *to produce*—make or manufacture from components or raw materials; cause a particular result or situation to happen or come into existence; and
11. *to do*—perform an action that is suitable or acceptable; achieve or complete a particular task; act or behave in a specified way.

In essence, from a Rehk perspective, as mentioned earlier, knowledge involves both naming and action → abstract and concrete → competence and performance = logic. Consequently, as also stated earlier, an *āru* or *āriu* (“a doer”) is more preferable to an *ākhem* (meaning “a do nothing,” “to be ignorant,” “to have nothing,” “inert,” “weak,” or “feeble”) (for the definitions of these terms, see Budge 1978).

It is therefore only fitting that as Aminuddin Hassan, Nurul Ashikin Amir Khairul Anuar and Norhasni Zainal Abiddin discovered during their research on the philosophy of Ancient Egypt that

Arguments in ontology explain why most activities of the people (of ancient Egypt involved agriculture and how they perceived their lives in the midst of this activity; this includes the concept of human creator, treatment to man and woman, and Egyptians' Gods and Goddesses. In addition, cosmology analyzes the universe; everything inside and out of it, as well as what makes them stay and move...Epistemology (shows) how ancient Egyptians appreciated the existence of knowledge among them by considering the sources, types, categories and importance of particular knowledge that was gained in different ways...The aspects of axiology...in ancient Egypt's hieroglyphics (reveal) the level of aesthetical value posed by all these Egyptians, even at the time of about 3000 B.C. They could discuss to form pictographic as their written language. This activity lasted for thousands of years...Last but not the least, logic is another aspect that can be used in the discussion across metaphysics, epistemology and also axiology; for instance, the thinking of the philosophy behind Egyptian life. (Hassan et al. 2012, p. 43)

Diop's Postulates

A total of 109 postulates about Africa and its people were combed out of Diop's text. Of these, 31 (28%) are naming and 78 (72%) are action postulates (i.e. the 15 imperatives for the steps towards African unity mentioned earlier and the 63 that follow in the second subsection). In so many words, what Diop was urging us to do in contemporary parlance is to 'walk the walk more than talk the talk.' The two types of postulates are defined and presented separately for the sake of coherence.

Naming Postulates

These are propositions that suggest the existence of facts or truths about a word or set of words by which a person, animal, place, or thing is known, addressed, or referred to as a basis for reasoning, discussions, or beliefs. The naming postulates about Africa and its people in Diop's text are presented here in alphabetical order (the definitions are from the Google online dictionary).

1. *Artists*—persons who practice any of the various creative arts, such as sculptors, novelists, poets, etc.
2. *Black*—the human group having dark-colored skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry.
3. *Black civilizations*—stages of human social development and organization that are considered most advanced established by the human group having dark-colored skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry.
4. *Black Continent*—the continuous expanse of land of the human group having dark-colored skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry.
5. *Black empires*—extensive groups of states or countries under single supreme authorities, formerly especially emperors or empresses of the human group having dark-colored skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry.
6. *Black power base*—a source of authority, influence, or support, especially in politics or negotiations, of the human group having dark-colored skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry.
7. *Countries*—nations with their own governments, occupying particular territories.
8. *Country*—a nation with its own government, occupying a particular territory.
9. *Creators* (of the Nilotic Sudanese civilization: Egypt)—persons that bring somethings into existence.
10. *Dark Continent*—the continuous expanses of land with little or no light; hidden from knowledge; mysterious.
11. *Democratic*—relating to or supporting democracy or its principles: i.e. a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.
12. *Federated Black State*—a nation or territory of the human group having dark-colored skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry considered as an organized political community under one government established by a number of states formed into a single centralized unit, within which each state keeps some internal autonomy.

13. *First civilizations in the world*—stages of human social development and organization that are considered most advanced coming before all others on earth in time or order
14. *Homo sapiens*—the species to which all modern human beings are members.
15. *Jet-Black*—a human group having very dark-colored/ebony skin, especially of African or Australian Aboriginal ancestry.
16. *Linguistic family*—a group of people related to one another by language.
17. *Linguistic mosaic*—a combination of diverse languages forming a more or less coherent whole.
18. *Matriarchal system*—a set of connected things or parts forming a complex whole based on a social organization in which descent and relationship are reckoned through the female line.
19. *Nation*—a large aggregate of people united by common descent, history, culture, or language, inhabiting a particular country or territory.
20. *Nations*—large aggregates of peoples united by common descents, histories, cultures, or languages, inhabiting their particular countries or territories.
21. *New country*—a nation with its own government, occupying a particular territory not existing before; made or introduced for the first time.
22. *Origin of civilization*—the place where the stage of human social development and organization that is considered most advanced began.
23. *People*—a group of human beings considered collectively.
24. *Peoples*—the men, women, and children of particular nations, communities, or ethnic groups.
25. *Precolonial Family*—a group of people related to one another, and so to be treated with a special loyalty or intimacy, existing before the beginning of colonial rule: i.e. the practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically.
26. *Researchers*—persons who carry out academic or scientific research: i.e. the systematic investigation into and study of materials and sources in order to establish facts and reach new conclusions.

27. *Society*—an aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community; a community of people living in a particular country or region and having shared customs, laws, and organizations.
28. *State*—a nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government.
29. *States* (of the Middle Ages, with Ethiopia being the oldest State in the world)—nations or territories considered as organized political communities under their individual governments.
30. *Technicians*—persons employed to look after technical equipment or do practical work in laboratories; experts in the practical applications of the sciences; persons skilled in the techniques of arts or crafts.
31. *Writers*—persons who write books, stories, or articles as a job or regular occupation.

Action Postulates

These are propositions that suggest the existence of facts or truths about processes of doing things, typically to achieve certain aims, as a basis for reasoning, discussions, or beliefs. The action postulates about Africa and its people are presented here in the order in which they appear in Diop's text.

1. Create a Federated State.
2. Harness our immense sources of energy.
3. Exhume and revive work on our history.
4. Restore our historical consciousness.
5. Demonstrate the kinship of the various tongues/languages.
6. Fund literary prizes.
7. Translate scientific works.
8. Create a national commission to draw up an academic dictionary and other specialized ones.
9. Raise an African language.
10. Reduce the possibility of offending regional sensibilities.
11. Radically oppose attempts at cultural assimilation coming from outside.
12. Drive for cultural unity.

13. Rid our minds of intellectual formulae and tidbits of thoughts.
14. Engage in active research.
15. Select a single language for the continent.
16. Stop fooling the masses with minor patchwork.
17. Strengthen organic federal ties.
18. Rid ties that bind us to former "mother countries."
19. Provide a collective directorship.
20. Repopulate Africa in optimum time.
21. Must not consider large-scale immigration from abroad.
22. Reinforce national consciousness.
23. Permit political cleansing.
24. Prohibit the creation of White States.
25. Insist upon democratically proportional participation.
26. Liberate ourselves through political education and cultural formation.
27. Counter the budding anti-intellectualism.
28. Offer solutions to problems on a national scale.
29. Gain respect through efficiency, taste for unselfish work and clarity.
30. Be sincere in our work by feeling truly animated.
31. Avoid flashy pseudo-intellectualism.
32. Avoid self-defense anti-intellectualism.
33. Guarantee the free flowering of both men and women.
34. Remain faithful to the democratic and profoundly human past of our forbearers.
35. Free society from a latent millennial contradiction of pitting men against women.
36. Inspire other countries in ordering their affairs.
37. Reestablish ancestral bicameralism on a modern basis.
38. Normalize the political role of women.
39. Restore the dignity and rights of women.
40. Forgo our dependence on the outside.
41. Establish national fishing, canning and refrigeration/ice industries.
42. Establish a policy of hygiene and systematic birth encouragement.
43. Mechanize agriculture and automotive production.
44. Establish a technical and industrial doctrine that will eschew present and future trial-and-error and the costly luxury false starts.
45. Place technicians squarely before their responsibilities.
46. Replace foreign technicians.
47. Establish assembly plants for various machines and implements.

48. Acquire foreign patents for the production under license of our first modern engines and machines.
49. Rapidly go on to the phase of autonomous native technical construction and accomplishments.
50. Train second-level personnel in large part right on the job, in factories, shops and work sites.
51. The State and the people as a whole must crown industrialization.
52. Adopt a New Economic Policy (NEP) of jointly owned companies and operated with the State's share constantly increasing.
53. Exchange our precious metals, gold, silver, and platinum for hard currencies and machinery.
54. Sell our excess strategic raw materials only if our industry cannot absorb them.
55. Conduct a continent-wide systematic survey of its treasures to be mined.
56. Invest in the human character the collective will of the peoples to serve the State.
57. Help ourselves before anything else.
58. Refuse any aid that carries strings with it, however unbinding it might appear to be.
59. Win and hold in a large part our own domestic market.
60. Develop a whole book devoted to the study of our domestic market.
61. Universities must rightfully claim the required funds for the construction of high-energy accelerators.
62. Applied research must be shared as quickly as possible.
63. Create institutes of nuclear chemistry and physics, electronics, aeronautics and astronautics, applied chemistry for industry and agriculture, tropical agronomy and biochemistry, and health.

ASSESSING THREE INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION SYSTEMS IN AFRICA

As mentioned earlier, three randomly selected indigenous African knowledge production systems are examined in this section. These systems appear in the works of Njoki Nathani Wane (2014), Hassan O. Kaya (2014), and Charles Takoyoh Eyong (2007). These sources are numerous cited and also the first three that came up many times during a

Google search on the Internet. They are assessed here based on the 15 Rehk and Diopian attributes discussed earlier and summarized in Table 11.1.

As can be seen in Table 11.1, Eyong's study encompasses the largest number and all 15 (100%) of the Rehk-Diopian features. Wane's and Kaya's works each entails seven (47%) of the elements. Also, in Table 11.2 the mean (average of all scores), the standard deviation (extent of deviation among the scores), the standard error of the mean (statistical accuracy of an estimate), the lower and upper 95% confidence interval of the difference (difference in sample means used to estimate the difference in population means), the *t*-statistic (ratio of the departure of an estimated parameter from its notional value and its standard error), with 14 degrees of freedom (each of a number of independently variable factors affecting

Table 11.1 Three indigenous knowledge production systems by Rehk and Diopian attributes

<i>Attribute types</i>	<i>Wane (2014)</i>	<i>Kaya (2014)</i>	<i>Eyong (2007)</i>
<i>Rehk attributes</i>			
1. To know	✓	✓	✓
2. To be wise	✓	✓	✓
3. To be acquainted with			✓
4. To be skilled in an art or craft	✓	✓	✓
5. To name			✓
6. To create			✓
7. To form			✓
8. To fashion		✓	✓
9. To beget			✓
10. To produce	✓		✓
11. To do		✓	✓
<i>Diopian attributes</i>			
12. Restore African historical consciousness	✓	✓	✓
13. Contribute to the compendium of energy sources		✓	✓
14. Subscribe to the industrialization of Black Africa	✓		✓
15. Add to the steps towards African unity	✓		✓
Total Number/Percentage of Attributes	7/47%	7/47%	15/100%

Source Self-generated by the author

Table 11.2 Paired samples test for the three indigenous knowledge production systems

<i>Paired sample statistics</i>	<i>Wane—Eyong & Kaya—Eyong</i>	<i>Kaya— Wane</i>
Mean	−0.53	−0.00
Standard deviation	0.516	0.655
Standard error of the mean	0.133	0.169
95% confidence interval of the difference		
Lower	−0.82	−0.36
Upper	−0.25	−0.36
<i>t</i> -statistic	−4.000	−0.001
Degrees of freedom	14	14
Significance (2-tailed)	0.001	1.000

Source Self-generated by the author by Using MATLAB

the range of states in which a system may exist), show that the differences among the scores for Eyong's investigation versus those for the studies of Wane and Kaya are statistically significant at the 0.001 level. In fact, those for Wane and Kaya are perfectly similar.

The preceding differences in entailments may be due to the fact that, on the one hand, Eyong examined eight examples of indigenous knowledge production in the Central African region: (1) indigenous healing practices, (2) knowledge of plants and animals and their uses, (3) indigenous agricultural systems, (4) food habits, (5) disease vector control, (6) indigenous conservation techniques, (7) indigenous governance, and (8) indigenous early warning systems. On the other hand, Wane and Kaya each investigated one indigenous knowledge production system, albeit there is a slight variation between them in terms of the types of the encompassed aspects (see Table 11.1). Also, Wane studied food processing among Kenyan rural women and Kaya researched the indigenous system of knowing in Lokupung Village in South Africa. Details on how each author's work fits the Rehk-Diopian properties follow.

Beginning with Wane's investigation, the *to do* trait is evident when she witnessed and participated in the processing and consumption of organically grown, indigenously prepared foods which allowed her to understand why multinational companies were appropriating the imagery of the Kenyan rural women's food processing activities. The *to be wise*

characteristic is obvious in terms of the realization that knowledge is cumulative as it builds on itself and also the concomitant teachings that were captured in the rhythm of the women in their food preparation. The quality of *to be skilled in an art or craft* is apparent in the storage methods that have evolved according to local customs and economic conditions associated with certain varieties of grain. The distinction of *to produce* is noticeable when women are seated on short, home-made stools and surrounded by their tools, and were never idle for even a single moment (Wane 2014).

In addition, the hallmark of *restore African historical consciousness* in Wane's work is conspicuous in the women not being interested in glorifying or romanticizing the past for its own sake; instead, they astutely realize that knowledge is cumulative and the past must be restored. The sign of *subscribe to the industrialization of Black Africa* is perceptible in the considerations given to the environment, gender, generation, and language vis-à-vis the entire process of food preparation, food preservation, management, organization, and utilization of indigenous resources. This sign is also visible in the use of indigenous technology and the influence of new innovations. The mark of *add to the steps towards African unity* is discernible in how the daily itinerary of four women were employed to show the positive contributions of women in domestic chores, albeit the indices used in the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA) consciously negated these contributions (Wane 2014).

Next, in Kaya's study, the attribute of *to know* is evident in a number of situations. First, intra- and inter-cultural dialogues allow a person to know the nexus among knowledge production, ways of knowing, and value systems. Second, "there is an increasing emphasis that intercultural learning should be based on local experiences as a necessary prerequisite and a first step towards intercultural dialogue of knowledge systems" for their sustainable development and "contribution to the global pool of knowledge" (Kaya 2014, p. 1). Third, learners are provided the "opportunity to learn appropriate community attitudes and values for sustainable livelihoods...due to the fact that African indigenous communities have lived in harmony with their environment and utilized natural resources without impairing nature's capacity to regenerate them" (Kaya 2014, p. 1). Fourth, African indigenous knowledge systems "can help to develop and promote these sensitive and caring values and attitudes for the environment" (Kaya 2014, p. 1).

Also, Kaya's research exhibits the quality of *to be wise* in that because of "their concern and experience with interfacing indigenous and modern knowledge systems," the community members in the village of Lokupung initiated the project (Kaya 2014, p. 1). Kaya adds:

[The village community members] indicated that, in most situations, the application of technologies from outside (such as extension services, hybrid seeds, fertilizers, chemicals, machinery, and credit systems) were not always appropriate to the local conditions, i.e. the local ecological conditions could be inappropriate for their applications, the inputs required might be unavailable locally, maintenance and follow-up systems might be lacking, or conditions might be socially or culturally (including linguistically) inappropriate. (Kaya 2014, p. 1)

Kaya further points out:

Pastoralists observe the flora and fauna for any unusual behavior, paying specific attention to the noises made by certain bird species, the appearance of sparrow weavers, bees migrating, emaciated livestock species when there is plenty pasture, the invasion of certain ants, the making of noise by crickets at night, and unusual flowering of certain trees (e.g, *Lonchocarpus sp. sterile*)...Astrological constellations, like the position of the sun and moon, are also observed in great detail...a number of these indicators have also been used for drought monitoring.... (Kaya 2014, p. 1)

In addition, the *to be skilled in an art or craft* element is clear in Kaya's study in that various cultural forms on knowledge are shown to be stored by villagers in folk drama, folk stories, legends, myths, proverbs and songs. The aspect of *to fashion* is plain in that in order to foster positive interactions between African knowledge systems and others, it is insisted that "collaboration must be initiated between equal partners" and fashioned on "mutual respect and understanding, transparent and open dialogue, and informed consent and just returns for the indigenous knowledge holders and practitioners through the flow of rewards and benefits" (Kaya 2014, p. 1).

Furthermore, the property of *to do* is clear-cut in Kaya's work in that African communities attempt to understand the differences between theirs and other knowledge systems so that they can reconstruct theirs and "make better informed decisions about which knowledge (internal

or external) is appropriate for their sustainable future” (Kaya 2014, p. 1). These communities also build on generations of experience to best support their adaptive capacities and strategies. Thus, according to Kaya, “There is increasing acknowledgment that indigenous forecasting methods are locally relevant and needs driven, focus on the locality and timing of rains, and are ‘communicated in local languages and by local experts known and trusted by the people themselves’” (Kaya 2014, p. 1).

Moreover, the sign of *restore African historical consciousness* is manifest in several instances in Kaya’s investigation. First, it is well articulated that the “foundation of all knowledge systems is local, but due to unbalanced power relations stemming from colonialism and other forms of imperialism, other nations and cultures have universally imposed their knowledge systems, cultures, and languages” on Africans, many of who seek to repel the encroachment (Kaya 2014, p. 1). Second, there is an effort to necessitate “the convergence of African indigenous worldviews—embedded in African social practices through orality in their indigenous languages and knowledge systems—with other ways of knowing and knowledge production embedded through literacy” (Kaya 2014, p. 1). Third, holders of community knowledge in learning, research and teaching are helping learners across generations “to appreciate and respect the knowledge of elders and other community members” (Kaya 2014, p. 1).

In addition, in terms of the hallmark of *contribute to the compendium of energy sources*, “a number of indicators—like local temperature, humidity, and wind conditions—to the presence or absence of certain types of clouds, rainfall patterns, and rain amounts [are employed to make decisions on daily activities]. These weather indicators are also used in formal climate monitoring” (Kaya 2014, p. 1).

Finally, in Eyong’s work, the mark of *to know* is patent in several illustrations. For starters, when a person’s health has deteriorated and needs a cure, the questions that are first asked are the why types: “Why me, why at this time, place, day and date?” “The many why questions,” Eyong asserts, “mean [that] no scientifically proven answer will be satisfactory since modern science and technology deals with the how and what (mechanics). The obvious decision is to consult a witchdoctor, shaman, soothsayer, or traditional healer for diagnosis and cure” (Eyong 2007, p. 125). This is because, as Eyong points out, “Indigenous medicine or mind-body medicine is holistic and tends to treat patients in their totality

by also giving answers to the ‘why’ questions often asked by indigenous Africans” (Eyong 2007, p. 125). Next, sufficient information is available on how farm plots are prepared and the many different tilling practices that have been employed over the centuries to ensure sustainability (Eyong 2007). Also, detections and reports have been made about impending poor harvests, famine, and other epidemics before they occur (Eyong 2007).

In Eyong’s study, the palpability of the distinction *to be wise* can be discerned from several illustrations. To begin with, when three mothers were asked about why fertility was declining, they answered that it was due to poor agricultural yields. These mothers could also feel this and related phenomena by touching the leaves of plants as they grew in the fields (Eyong 2007). Next, “traditionally prepared bands and bush sheds have served as food storage places throughout seasons. Sometimes, collected seeds are stocked in walls of houses, maize is smoked in kitchens as well as some plant species are used to keep away weevils in addition to many other storage techniques” (Eyong 2007, p. 128). Also, Eyong states the following about hunting habits:

Hunters are cautious that not too many people hunt in one area at the same time for safety reasons. Hunters respect areas for trapping reserved for them in the forest since hunting with guns is considered to be dangerous when too many hunters act too near each other in the same forest. Hunters try to avoid young animals and pregnant ones because they are not yet big enough to be eaten or sold...In the rainy season, hunting with guns is restricted and only minimal trapping is carried out. These attitudes are seen to be positive for the animal population since there is limited disturbance in the forest over a period of about six months. (Eyong 2007, p. 129)

In addition, vital knowledge about biodiversity conservation and sustainable livelihoods exists in the biodiverse regions. This recognition has led to the classification of two-thirds of Dzanga-Sangha National Park as a “Special Reserve” or protected area. The designation allows the Ba’Aka pigmies to remain in the reserve and continue their traditional lifestyles (Eyong 2007).

Thereafter, several examples of the attribute of *to be acquainted with* are tangible in Eyong’s text. To start with, the indigenous inhabitants of Central Africa are becoming well aware of the animals and plants that have multi-purpose uses and economic value at the local, national and

international levels. Next, smallholder farmers are becoming more aware that the centuries-old methods of “shifting cultivation, crop rotation, mixed cropping, farm fallowing and the slash and burn type” are the most prudent, and therefore dominate. Also, there is growing acquaintance with and reliance on “people with specialized powers to read natural signs and predict an event and subsequently warn the villagers” (Eyong 2007, p. 131).

Thereupon, many occurrences of the trait *to be skilled in an art or craft* are distinct in Eyong’s work. To begin with, causes of ailments are diagnosed and symptoms are treated with traditional medicine. By going beyond the physical body (germ theory) to the spiritual realm, traditional medicine is advantageous over Western healthcare which focuses on the former. Next, plants such as the *iboga* are carefully processed by indigenous healers to treat cancer, diabetes, drug addiction, obesity, and other ailments. Also, in order to meet domestic needs and preserve forest ecosystems, small-scale farmers cleverly rotate the cultivation of beans, groundnuts, and maize followed by cassava, taro, yam tubers, etc. In addition, women have developed the expertise of using wood ash from kitchens or manure from livestock waste to tackle poor yields. Knowing that these biodegradable fertilizers have very little adverse effects compared to chemical fertilizers, villagers today “apply nitrogenous fertilizers to cash crops like coffee, cocoa and banana and hardly to food crops. Often, locals complain that food grown with fertilizers does not taste good” (Eyong 2007, p. 128).

Subsequently, glaringly appearing in Eyong’s study is the feature of *to name* vis-à-vis the different local names for *Gnetum aricanum* and *Gnetum buchholzianum*. Used as medicine and also as food, the two species are called *koko* in the Central African Republic, Congo, and Gabon; they are called *eru* and *okok*, respectively, in Anglophone and Francophone Cameroon. Also, the aspect of *to create* is indisputable in the fact that there exist indigenous cultivation practices that “conserve soil and water and increase soil fertility for increased crop production” (Eyong 2007, p. 127). In addition, an element of *to form* is striking in how the pygmies by sharing their knowledge to add “to a greater understanding of the often fragile links within the forest ecosystem, and in invaluable for planning and management purposes. Also, the pygmies appreciate that their accumulated knowledge is important in the ‘modern’ world” (Eyong 2007, p. 129). Thereafter, the characteristic of *to fashion* is marked by two examples: (1) certain sections of streams and rivers are contrived as sacred

due to the declaration of certain areas as restricted and forests as sacred; and (2) pygmy communities realizing “that current levels of hunting are not sustainable...are helping to reduce pressures by supporting the establishment of a no-hunting zone in the Dzanga-Ndoki area” (Eyong 2007, p. 130).

Furthermore, a *to beget* element is pronounced in Eyong’s investigation in terms of the founding of the California (United States) based Shaman Pharmaceuticals in 1989 and its birthing of the commercialization of indigenous pharmaceutical uses of plants because of the indigenous knowledge it obtained from Central Africa (Eyong 2007) and probably elsewhere. The *to produce* quality is unmistakable in the following cases: (a) specialist healers keep commonly used medicinal plants sourced from the edges of paths, farms, informal gardens kept by them, secondary forests, and village peripheries (Eyong 2007); (b) fruit trees are grown around the villages and on the farms by forest dwellers (Eyong 2007); and (c) relying on the barks of trees, leaves, and roots, the inhabitants of Korup in Cameroon have developed great knowledge of different plants for making medicine. They also have increased their knowledge about animals and other forest products that yield more nutritional value and cash income (Eyong 2007).

Moreover, exemplars of the attribute of *to do* are numerous in the work of Eyong. They are summarized as follows:

1. Western-based pharmaceutical companies send their agents to the region to milk indigenous healers of their knowledge and pay billions of dollars to sponsor research on plant varieties and species being conducted by botanical gardens (Eyong 2007).
2. Certain plants in the region are used for food and to cure many diseases (Eyong 2007).
3. Certain leaves with medicinal values are eaten raw or shredded thinly and added to stews and soups. For example, gnetum is used as an antidote for some poisons and to treat nausea, warts, boils, and pain from childbirth (Eyong 2007).
4. The indigenous people of Central Africa provide us with a great deal of knowledge pertaining to sustainable agriculture for use in the areas of clearing and tilling the land; selecting seed variety for planting; and planting, harvesting and storing crops (Eyong 2007).
5. Intercrop and mixed planting is done because of its advantages of yielding more crops. Leguminous plants are not only intercropped

- with other crops, they (i.e. leguminous plants) are also planted for soil enrichment during the fallow seasons (Eyong 2007).
6. For slash and burn, seedbed preparation, hand hoeing, weed control and harvesting functions on the farms, manual labor is supplied by members of the extended family networks and self-help groups on a rotatory basis (Eyong, 2007).
 7. To grow groundnuts, maize, round (Irish) potatoes, and vegetables, *ridges* (with or without imbedded organic residues) are widely used. Farmers make flat-top ridges on plateaus, round-top ridges on hilly areas, and contoured ridges to retain moisture for plant growth and prevent soil erosion (Eyong 2007).
 8. Across farm plots, *trash lines* constructed by placing residues from crops (e.g., sorghum and millet which are slow to decompose) in lines are widely used (Eyong 2007).
 9. Tree trunks on the ground are filled with crop residues or weeds to make lines in primary forests. These lines help to protect newly cleaned farm plots from destruction by ants, termites, and deluges of water (Eyong 2007).
 10. To facilitate the passage of water while still retaining soil in some areas, semi-permeable *earthen bunds* are constructed (Eyong 2007).
 11. In order to protect and increase the size of cultivated land, stone earth terraces are utilized. Also, as a means to capture runoff water for crop roots to tap, *retention ditches* are made in steep areas (Eyong 2007).
 12. The land's fertility is continuously rehabilitated by adding animal manure such as cow dung and *composting* plant residues, all of which yield high content of incorporated organic matter (Eyong 2007).
 13. For conserving soil and water, maintaining soil fertility, and reducing weed growth, *mulching* is employed (Eyong 2007).
 14. Pygmy communities enjoy full rights to gather fruit, medicinal plants and other wild foods, and to hunt. Nonetheless, national legislation is in place to prevent those communities from hunting certain protected species such as chimpanzee, elephant, and gorilla (Eyong 2007).

Next, a number of *restore African historical consciousness* elements are evident in Eyong's research. First, the knowledge of traditional healers, soothsayers, shamans and traditional doctors are considered important by members of indigenous communities, prompting the latter to consult the former for the physical and spiritual explanations of their illnesses since the spiritual explanation is absent in Western medicine. Second, indigenous people continue to utilize time-tested farming techniques and are passing them down to the new generation just as they had received them from the past generation. Third, the knowledge of wildlife accumulated by the elder Ba'Aka pygmies over many generations is being passed down to the present one to help its members manage the reserve. Fourth, some men observe the taboos of not eating certain animals because of their memberships in certain traditional associations (Eyong 2007).

Also, in Eyong's study, there exist a couple of examples of the feature of *contribute to the compendium of energy sources*. One example is the planting of leguminous plants during the fallow period to allow them to "fix nitrogen by harbouring nitrobacters in their root nodules" (Eyong 2007, p. 127). The other example pertains to grass burning in tropical forests being utilized as a useful method to increase soil fertility when it is done in a manner that does not "generate bush fires and since rural population densities are low" (Eyong 2007, p. 127).

In addition, there are many aspects of *subscribe to the industrialization of Black Africa* in Eyong's essay. The first aspect is that various botanic gardens in the Central African region and others elsewhere across the continent collaborate in studying and growing the more than 30,000 known species of plants in Africa (Eyong 2007). The second aspect deals with the realization of the essentiality of indigenous knowledge on plants and animals that has propelled pharmaceutical companies to collaborate with traditional doctors and communities to identify plant species that are being used to cure type II diabetes (Eyong 2007). The third aspect pertains to the utilization of the indigenous knowledge on endod (*Phytolacca dodecandra*) to deal with some global environmental and health challenges. As Eyong describes it, "Endod is an indigenous technology that came to the rescue of industrialized nations, effectively preventing zebra mussels (*Dreissena polymorpha*) from clogging water intake pipes in North American waters since the early 1990s" (Eyong 2007, p. 128). The fourth aspect has to do with the "best-known perennial African soapberry [which] has been selected and cultivated for centuries by many indigenous Africans [using its] berries as laundry soap and shampoo [and

also using it] as a broad spectrum intoxicant...to catch edible fish, [and also] used for skin itching, abortion, gonorrhoea, leeches, intestinal worms, anthrax and rabies” (Eyong 2007, p. 128). The fifth aspect concerns the many benefits that have been gained by integrating indigenous hunters in biomonitoring surveys conducted by independent researchers for the Korup Project. An excellent example is the discovery of the medicinal vine that has been proven to be active against the HIV/AIDS virus (Eyong 2007).

Furthermore, there also are many traits of *add to the steps towards African unity* in Eyong’s work. For starters, as a sign of brotherliness and for a small token, Cameroon’s Korup forest inhabitants have been granting Nigerians and other Africans access to their forest. Next, as a way to bind members of a community and promote the smooth functioning of society, food rituals are highly respected and advocated. As Eyong points out, “Ill-health is in most instances associated with non-respect of a taboo, causing ancestors to be angry and to punish the [violator] by inflicting some mystical pain or ailment. Serious cleansing ceremonies are often performed to heal the sick” (Eyong 2007, p. 129). Also, totem animals in the forest die when their owners pass away; thus, the killing of these animals is strictly forbidden. An attendant mystery is that killing these animals during hunting is extremely difficult. In addition, during pregnancy, women are not allowed to eat duikers, certain snakes, chicken, chimpanzees, eggs, elephants, foxes, leopards, deer, bush babies, tortoises, dogs, pigs, and domestic animals because of the belief that they cause foetal/fetal abortions. Moreover, the Ba’Aka pygmies serve as tourist guides to teach foreigners about the physical elements of the forest and its mysteries (Eyong 2007).

Based on the preceding analysis, it is therefore tenable to state that the indigenous knowledge production system in the Central African region studied by Eyong is more substantive compared to those of food processing among Kenyan rural women and knowing in Lokupung Village in South Africa examined by Wane and Kaya, respectively. It is, however, possible that more of the Rehk-Diopian attributes are embedded in the knowledge production systems investigated by Wane and Kaya and their absence in these studies is just a case that they were not the foci of their investigations.

CONCLUSION

Once again, to the best of my knowledge, this is the first attempt at developing a methodology for assessing the substantiveness of indigenous African knowledge production systems. The observations I have made in this chapter are therefore not directed at a pedagogical panacea. I present them in complete modesty in the belief that what matters the most is not the method but the professor and researcher. May my observations serve then, at best, as a starting point for that self-examination. Since teaching about and conducting research on indigenous African knowledge production is one to which many of us are deeply committed, I venture to address my colleagues in the profession with the hope that they will not only give serious consideration to my suggestions and perplexities, but also strive to suggest better solutions than those I have here proposed.

Indeed, as I advocate in many of my writings and is worth repeating here, we ought never to falsify the cultural reality (life, art, literature, etc.) which is the goal of the student's study. We would, thus, have to oppose all sorts of simplified, or supposedly simplified, analyses and stress instead the methods which will achieve the best possible access to real life, language and philosophy.

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PART III

Lessons from Old and New Pan-Africanism
for Dealing with the Challenges
of Globalization in Africa



Old and New Pan-Africanism Vis-à-Vis Regional Integration: Lessons for Dealing with the Challenges of Globalization

Janeen C. Guest

Pan-Africanism is alive today in Africa and the rest of the world and is seen much more as a cultural, social and economic philosophy than the politically-driven movement it was in the past. Historically, Pan-Africanism was developed as a way to build relationships among people of the African Diaspora. Early Pan-Africanists focused on eliminating racial oppression, establishing equal rights, eliminating colonization, and unifying the political and cultural ties of Africans around the world. Early Pan-Africanists such as Marcus Garvey formed the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914 which sought to promote racial pride among Blacks. Garvey also popularized the phrase “Africa for the Africans” and established the “Back to Africa” movement (Black History Milestones, n.d.). There were other Pan-Africanists such as W. E. B. Du Bois who organized several Pan-African congresses to fight for African countries’ independence from European colonialism. In addition, there was Kwame

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Nkrumah who fought for the liberation of Africa from colonial domination and stated that “Africans Must Unite!” In addition to the political focus, early Pan-Africanists also launched cultural and literary movements through the Harlem Renaissance, which enlightened the world about the cultural and intellectual contributions of Black people (*New Dictionary of the History of Ideas* 2005). More recently, technological advances in communication have evolved the political and cultural Pan-Africanism toward economic unity. Pan-Africanism’s focus became one of economic freedom. Regional integration was one method used to build economic unity through regional relationships among African countries. The United Nations Economic Commission of Africa (UNECA) became the heart of regional integration in Africa. The ECA proposed the unification of Africans into regions for promoting economic development (UNECA, n.d.).

This chapter examines some of the lessons learned from early regional integration as it relates to globalization. A comparison will be done to examine the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which consists of African countries within the Western region of Africa; the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), which consists of 11 members of Central African states; and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), which consists of 15 members of Southern Africa. It was Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o who said that for Africa “Taking stock of its own weaknesses and strengths should be the beginning of any proactivism...If Africa were to examine its history seriously, the continent could learn useful lessons for the present” (Thiong’o 2004, p. 2). Based on this postulate by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, a historical analysis was conducted on the three regional organizations to understand their histories and some of their early weaknesses. These weaknesses were examined to offer lessons learned so that African countries could better address the challenges of globalization in the twenty-first century.

It is important to define the following key terms in this chapter in order to provide a clear perspective: Old Pan-Africanism, New Pan-Africanism, Regional Integration, and Globalization. Old Pan-Africanism began to take root in the early twentieth century. The objective of early Pan-Africanists was to re-establish African people to their places in history. Early Pan-Africanists argued that slavery and colonization displaced the foundation of African people and African history (Clarke 1988). The early Pan-Africanists such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Henry S. Williams, C. L. R. James and George Padmore gave Pan-Africanism its

early development (Clarke 1988). John Henrik Clarke added that the objective of Pan-Africanism is to restore land, nationhood and respect. In addition, Clarke added that Du Bois believed that the best preparation for Pan-Africanism and African nationhood was through education and improving communication between African people around the world (Clarke 1988). Overall, the aim of Old Pan-Africanism was to create unity among African people worldwide.

Technological advances in communication have evolved Pan-Africanism from political and cultural Pan-Africanism toward economic unity. Economic freedom became the focus of Pan-Africanism. The new Pan-Africanism began in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Globalization has been one of the key elements that have created the blueprint for modern Pan-Africanism. The Old Pan-Africanism focused more on identity while the focus of New Pan-Africanism is on factors such as good governance and economic development. According to African Arguments, “The new renewal of this Pan-African attitude is manifested through increased intra-African trade, increased exchanges within Africa’s universities, continent-wide calls for good governance, and the ubiquitous and growing membership of pan-Africanist groups on social media platforms” (African Arguments 2015, p. 1). There are various definitions of globalization. For this chapter, globalization is defined as “economic integration; the transfer of policies across borders; the transmission of knowledge; cultural stability; the reproduction, relations, and discourses of power; it is a global process, a concept, a revolution, and ‘an establishment of the global market free from sociopolitical control’” (Al-Rodhan 2006, p. 1). Regional integration is defined as the process by which neighboring countries work together for political or economic reasons to stimulate trade and investment, create larger markets for goods and services, greater competition, better allocation of resources and additional economic benefits that are aimed at promoting economic growth within the participating countries. In addition, Blomström & Koko added that regional integration refers to the reduction of barriers of trade and investment (Blomström and Koko 1997).

There have been several attempts to industrialize the economies within Africa. Regional integration has been one of the methods used in the attempt to further industrialize nations. The goal of early Pan-Africanists was to unite the African people both on the continent and abroad. The goal of modern Pan-Africanists is to focus on economic development. Pan-Africanists have argued that one way to achieve economic

development for the continent is through the promotion of regional integration. According to Alan Matthews, the UNECA introduced the idea of regional integration in Africa by proposing to divide Africa into regions in order to promote economic development. The Lagos Plan of Action initially promoted three sub-groupings which consisted of: West Africa, serviced by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Preferential Trade Area, later replaced with Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), which includes the sub-groupings of Southern African Development Community (SADC); and the East African Community (EAC); and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) together with the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) in North Africa were expected to become a part of an All African common market by 2025 (Matthews 2003). Rasul Shams added the following:

Since the 1960s Africa has produced a rich assortment of institutions and initiatives for Pan-African integration. The result of all this endeavour is not encouraging. Today Africa is neither politically a unitary region nor economically integrated. The many regional integration schemes do not have contributed significantly to the economic integration of the continent. The intra-regional trade remains further on low. All this demands for an explanation why a drive for integration still exists without observable successes. (2005, p. 2)

There were various reasons for the lack of success in the regional organizations. It is hypothesized that better political coordination among the countries of Africa will lead to stronger economic cooperation. It appears that Pan-Africanism should be a two-phased approach in that once political cooperation is achieved there will be fewer failures in achieving economic cooperation. The objective of this chapter then is to highlight some of the weaknesses of the African regional organizations and examine lessons learned for the African countries to better address the challenges of globalization in the twenty-first century. The methodology that guides the analysis is the Historical Analytical Approach (explained in the following section). The data collection technique is the document analysis approach which involved collecting some perspectives of failures of the African regional organizations and conducting an analysis of the successes of select regional organizations to highlight lessons to be learned in building successful regional organizations in Africa.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

In this section, I discuss the theory and methodology upon which the ensuing analysis is grounded. As Ngūgĩ wa Thiong’o (2004) pointed out, it is important to examine the weaknesses and strengths of the history of Africa in order to learn how to advance the continent in the future. I examine from various perspectives some of the failures, weaknesses and strengths of the three main regional organizations within Africa—ECOWAS, ECCAS and SADC—and then discuss how these regional organizations can learn from their experiences to build for the future. The limitation of this methodology is that the research examined is based on various perspectives that may contradict one another and is not based on quantitative data. To overcome the limitation, various secondary sources were examined to determine if multiple primary sources agree on the strengths and weaknesses of the organizations. If there was an area in which sources disagreed, I considered the source that accorded best with common sense. There was also an attempt to gather multiple primary sources to determine the validity of the secondary sources.

Based on the definitions of globalization, it appears that the phenomenon is making the world smaller because of the ease of global communication. After many of the African countries began to gain their independence in the 1960s, development became a major topic among these countries. The problem that persisted is that there were various perspectives of development globally. There are disagreements among scholars about the core values of development. According to authors Idris and Abdullahi, three core values have emerged among scholars regarding development. These include providing basic needs, respect for members of society, and freedom of choice as it relates to individual needs (Idris and Abdullahi 2016).

It also appears that many of the African leaders began to embrace the Western view of development and started to focus on industrialization as a way to increase development as it was done in the West. The problem this presents is that taking on the Western view of development is much different than tackling development within Africa. Development is not a one-size-fits-all methodology. A key aspect of many African economies is their over-reliance on natural resources as a method of foreign exchange. Many of the prices of natural resources such as petroleum are determined by demand, which means that the success of these countries is at the mercy of the demand of that natural resource (Idris and Abdullahi 2016).

The argument that many scholars such as Idris and Abdullahi seem to be making is that globalization made the world smaller in that everyone began to fish out of the same pond. As a result, many developing countries are forced to compete in the same pond as developed countries, making it more difficult for these developing countries to compete. As a result of this competition, many argue for the increased need for Pan-Africanism and its importance in unifying the continent of Africa. As Dani Nabudere pointed out,

Kwame Nkrumah's great dictum: "Divided We Fall, United We Stand" applies with equal force to the present situation of the Africans on the African continent and those in diaspora. This division and lack of unity, on Africa itself as well as in the diaspora is the very basis on which Africans are being marginalized, discriminated against and exploited in the globalization process. In this condition Africans remain an enslaved people under modern conditions and we have seen the reason for this as lying in the very character of the post-colonial state which could have not given full meaning to these aspirations since the an Attempt to create an African nation were doomed to failure by the fact that the colonial state which was inherited could not by its nature countenance pan-African unity. (2001, p. 25).

The preceding quote illustrates the impact that the division among the countries in the continent is impacting the African countries' ability to deal with the challenges of globalization. It is important for all African leaders to meet and discuss development policies, strategies and programs that will aid in the development of Africa. It is important that the countries of Africa not model their development strategies upon what worked in the Western world and instead work to develop their own unique development strategies. Once colonialism ended, many African leaders, upon taking office, maintained many of the same practices of the imperial powers.

Nabudere (2001) highlighted key aspects of an article in the *Economist* titled "Africa: The Hopeless Continent." The article highlighted the impact that colonialism had on the continent and argued that colonialism impacted the self-esteem of the continent. This perceived lack of self-esteem has allowed educated African leaders to come in and take over the countries that were run like businesses by the European powers. The expectation was that the new leaders would come in and rebuild the countries and develop their own methodologies for advancing and rebuilding

their countries but instead, many continued the practices of the imperial powers. Nabudere noted the quagmire as follows:

The African ruler finds himself trapped. He wants power and control; but the outside world (of capital-DWN) makes demands about democracy, human rights and good governance, which weakens his position and could cost him his job. If he cannot use the treasury as his private bank account and the police as his private army, he tries to create alternative sources of wealth and power. This is why more and more African rulers are turning their countries into shell states. (2001, p. 26)

The preceding extract highlights the importance of African nations working together to rebuild their countries from an African perspective. This rebuilding will need to come from rebuilding the African identity and understanding the cultural roots because understanding oneself is important in guiding one's future. The formation of key organizations that work to bring unity to the continent will aid in building the continent. The formation of the Organization of African Unity and Liberation Committees will create unity amongst the African people and create a better life for Africans. Nabudere added: "Only a cultural and political reunification of the African people is the key to any African renaissance and recovery from oppression" (2001, p. 26). This will require a cultural and political reunification and it also stresses the importance of working together to benefit the continent as a whole rather than individual countries.

GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA

In order to improve the current impact of globalization vis-à-vis regional integration in Africa, it is important to understand which countries are performing well in terms of three key areas of globalization: (1) economic, (2) political, and (3) social. Data were reviewed to determine how Africa ranks overall in terms of globalization. Table 12.1 summarizes how well a sample of African countries rank globally on the Globalization Index in terms of economics. Based on the information in table, 11 African countries made the economic globalization top 100 list. Of the 11 countries, all are performing in the bottom portion of the list with the Republic of Congo ranked number 99.

Table 12.1 Top countries in the Globalization Index Field of Economics 2018

<i>Country</i>	<i>Index value in points</i>	<i>Ranking</i>
Singapore	92.47	1
Mauritius	80.12	17
Seychelles	77.64	22
United States	63.83	63
Djibouti	63.57	64
Liberia	61.61	71
Botswana	59.67	78
Equatorial Guinea	59.03	80
Sao Tome Principe	57.61	82
Libya	57.14	86
Lesotho	56.69	88
Rwanda	53.20	96
Congo, Rep	52.83	99

Note Statista.com measures the globalization index around the world. Globalization examines the process of creating network connections among various actors in the international community (Statista.com 2018a)

Source Self-generated by author using data retrieved from Statista.com on the top 100 countries in the Globalization Index Field of Economics

As shown in Table 12.2, many African countries are performing better politically than economically. Of the 100 countries, the political globalization list contains 20 African countries. Politically, countries such as South Africa, Nigeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Kenya rank in the top 50% in the Political Globalization Index. The remaining 20% rank in the middle to bottom of the list. Political Globalization measures the multi-national organizations and the development of national and international non-governmental organization and their influence over government organizations (Statistica.com 2018b; see also Moghadam 2005, p. 35).

According to Table 12.3, 6% of African countries made the list of the top 100 Globalization Index for social globalization. In terms of the Top 50 countries in the Globalization Index, there were no African countries in the Top 50 list (Statistica.com 2017).

Overall, Tables 12.1, 12.2, and 12.3 display how African countries are responding to globalization. In all three of the key aspects of economics, political and social areas, African countries represent five to 20% of the countries making up the key areas. In the overall top 50 Globalization Index, there are no African countries on the list. African countries are

Table 12.2 Top 100 countries in the Globalization Index Field of Political Globalization 2018

<i>Country</i>	<i>Index value in points</i>	<i>Ranking</i>
Italy	99.26	1
United States	95.43	11
South Africa	88.83	34
Nigeria	88.48	35
Morocco	88.31	36
Tunisia	83.83	47
Kenya	81.04	51
Algeria	81.21	53
Senegal	80.67	54
Ethiopia	78.88	62
Tanzania	77.98	63
Cameroon	74.77	71
Cote d' Ivoire	74.19	75
Burkina Faso	73.81	76
Congo, Dem Rep	72.04	80
Benin	70.64	84
Zambia	70.44	86
Uganda	70.41	87
Ghana	70.06	89
Zimbabwe	69.84	91
Mali	69.84	92
Guinea	68.37	98

Source Self-generated by author using data retrieved from [Statista.com](https://www.statista.com) on the top 100 countries in the Globalization Index Field of Political Globalization

Table 12.3 Top 100 countries in the Globalization Index Field of Social Globalization 2017

<i>Country</i>	<i>Index value in points</i>	<i>Ranking</i>
Norway	90.43	1
United States	80.6	29
Mauritius	73.3	54
Seychelles	72.82	56
Botswana	67.7	84
South Africa	66.58	89
Cape Verde	65.46	96
Namibia	64.84	100

Source Self-generated by author using data retrieved from [Statista.com](https://www.statista.com) on the top 100 countries in the Globalization Index Field of Social Globalization for 2017

performing worse in the area of social globalization than in any other category. In terms of political globalization, the African countries are performing their best.

The foregoing results reveal the overall importance of African countries working together to build from the successes of those African countries that are performing well on the continent in the three areas of globalization. For example, Botswana and South Africa are in the top 100 lists of two separate categories. Botswana is in the top 100 for economics and social globalization. South Africa is in the top 100 for political and social globalization.

Based on the Globalization Index and as shown in Fig. 12.1, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and South African Development and South African Development Community (SADC) have more members that ranked in the top 100 Globalization Index for economic, political and social globalization than the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). The other category represents the regional organizations that are outside the three in this chapter. Some examples include the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD).

Globalization is impacting regional integration in Africa in that some countries are progressing at a different pace than others. In addition, some are outperforming more in one sector of globalization than others. The lesson learned here is that among the key regional organizations,

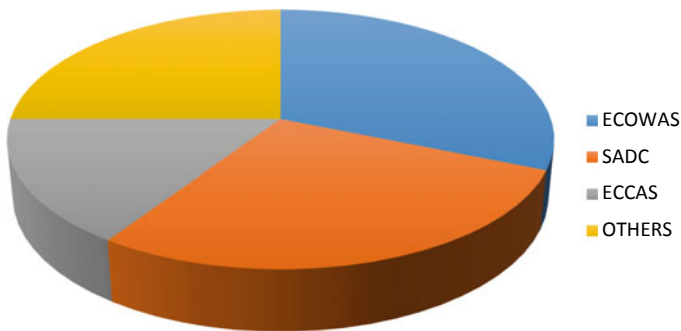


Fig. 12.1 Top 100 countries within economic, political and social globalization
(Source Self-generated by author using data retrieved from [Statista.com](https://www.statista.com))

knowledge sharing is important in helping to build upon the strengths that one regional organization may have over another. In conducting the analysis, in terms of globalization in the field of economics, SADC has more members that made the top 100 list than any other African regional organization. In terms of political globalization, there were more ECOWAS members that were on the Globalization Index than the other regional organizations. Last, in terms of social globalization, there were more members in the SADC regional organization that made the list of top 100 countries in the social index of globalization. This information highlights the importance of African countries learning from one another in order to succeed in all three globalization aspects.

According to the postulate of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (2004) with regard to Africa reviewing its weaknesses and strengths in order to learn from the past, the preceding results reveal that ECOWAS member states are outperforming the other regional organizations in Africa in terms of political globalization. ECOWAS has provided basic infrastructure needs to its citizens in order to deal with globalization. However, examining the weaknesses or factors that prevent countries in the ECOWAS region from benefiting from globalization shows that there are some key areas of concern to scholars. Poverty, lack of good governance, extreme amounts of debt, and lack of technological advancement appear to be major factors that are impacting the countries in the ECOWAS region from embracing globalization. This point is supported by Akwara, Ezirim and others, in stating that the following factors are impacting globalization in the ECOWAS region:

Poverty and foreign debt burden endemic in the region, inferior levels of technological development as reflected in the low level of industrial output and reliance on imports from other sub-regions, volatility of the financial markets which raise the problems of stability of the financial system in general and capital flight in particular. In addition ethnic crises that often result into full scale national and international crises in the region which if checked at the onset would not have been problems. the absence of multinational of West African origin and absence of good governance, and the supportive democratic ideals, poverty, ethnic wars, political crises of West African region. (Akwara et al. 2013, p. 72)

Overall, many have argued that while globalization can work as both an advantage and a disadvantage to some of the African countries, globalization imposes human rights, democracy, and fiscal restrictions that

force them to focus on their individual country because they are busy trying to fix the problems within their own borders. The Theory of Integration argues that common interests and challenges unify the countries within a region. When the member organizations within ECOWAS work together on conflict management and resolution, it allows for greater market share. For example, as opposed to having access to the market within the borders of their own countries, the countries now have market access with other member countries. This opportunity to have access to larger markets attracts investors in that there is a larger market share for investment or an economy of scale. In addition, there is the opportunity for the ease of trade and movement of goods. The member countries can work together to ensure goods are moved from one point to another to help those countries that suffer from infrastructure challenges (Soliku 2013). While the Theory of Integration argues that common interests and challenges within a region help to unify the countries within a regional organization, realists, on the other hand, view the international system as anarchic and there is no supreme power above the state. In the case of regional organizations, realists view the world system as a struggle for power, and Kegley and Blanton point out:

Each state is ultimately responsible for its own survival and feels uncertain about its neighbors' intentions; realism claims that prudent political leaders seek arms and allies to enhance national security. In other words, international anarchy leads even well-intentioned leaders to practice self-help, increase their own military strength and opportunistically align with others to deter potential threats...cooperation will be rare because states worry about the unequal distribution of relative gains that can result from cooperation to the disadvantage of one of the parties and the possibility that the other side will cheat on agreements. (2010, p. 28)

The foregoing excerpt highlights the realists' view on cooperation in the international system. According to the realists, it appears that cooperation amongst the regional organization is rare and that the individual members will be more concerned with the relative gains of their individual states that could result in cooperation. While Ngūgī wa Thiong'o (2004) adds the importance of evaluating Africa's past weaknesses and strengths in order to overcome some of the challenges of the past, it is important to review the lessons learned in order to better prepare and deal with challenges as they arise. Realists argue that even after evaluating the strengths

and the weaknesses of the past, states will ultimately work to promote their own self-interest. Reviewing the past challenges will help each of the regional organizations to determine areas that require change and the lessons to be learned. As the famous quote from George Santayana says, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it” (Santayana 2005, p. 1). The challenges and weaknesses faced by each of the members of the regional organizations discussed in this chapter should always be remembered in order to avoid repeating history (i.e. the bad history). While the realists have a negative view of the international systems as a whole, the theory of integration along with the postulate of Ngūgĩ wa Thiong’o (2004) argues that the common challenges and common interests together will work to bring unity within the regional organizations. It is first important to understand the challenges in order to better prepare and learn from them.

While there are many advantages to the regional integration, many of the challenges faced by ECOWAS are the lack of policies established at the national level to provide effective support. According to Connor Vasey, there is a lack of commitment from the individual members, which has limited their socio-economic development. In addition, many of the members are divided on policy issues and this division has led to differences. For example, the European Union’s Economic Partnership Agreement, which is a trade agreement deal between the European Union and West Africa, has been in negotiations for years. Currently, of the 15 members, all have shown interest in signing the agreement with the exception of The Gambia and Nigeria. Many countries such as Nigeria fear that signing major agreements such as the EU Partnership agreement will hurt the country’s individual interests (Vasey 2017). In addition, many of the countries of ECOWAS are at different stages of development and have different short-term goals. As a result, many countries are not concerned with the long-term benefits that ECOWAS offers; instead, they are more focused on the short-term factors impacting development within their own countries. As Soliku adds, “Globalization therefore puts a lot of limitations on states especially on what to do and not to do creating confusion leading to states concentrating more on domestic issues rather than those of the regional body like ECOWAS” (Soliku 2013, p. 60). In addition to the different priorities and goals of each member country, one of the many weaknesses of the ECOWAS is its age.

According to Ezirim Akwara et al., “ECOWAS as a regional economic group has not been able to influence investment by the nationals of the

ECOWAS region in other nations due to the poverty level in the region and the underdeveloped nature of the region unlike other regional blocs. The young nature of the ECOWAS may have also contributed to this failure. The ECOWAS is the youngest regional economic bloc” (2013, p. 74). In addition, the ECOWAS region has not been able to attract multinational corporations because of the lack of multinational companies of West African origin. Overall, key factors are impacting the ability of the ECOWAS region “to deal with heavy debt, high poverty levels, lack of technological advancement and lack of access for some of the products being produced in the region, political wars and lack of good governance, weather conditions, and loss of capital” (Akwaru et al. 2013, p. 74).

The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), which consists of 11 members of Central African states, was originally formed in 1983 but activities remained dormant until 1999. Much like ECOWAS, there were some internal challenges among its members. There were wars among the members, lack of payment of membership fees, and countries such as Rwanda left ECCAS in 2007 to focus their attention on memberships in other regional organizations, such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Eastern African Community (EAC). Rwanda later rejoined in 2015 (Rettig et al. 2013). According to Rettig, Kamau and Muluvi, “ECCAS lacks a high-growth country to provide leadership and capital in supporting regional infrastructure and pushing trade liberalization efforts” (Rettig et al. 2013, p. 1). Similar to ECOWAS, ECCAS has various countries within the region that are at various levels of development and are focused on the issues within their borders (Rettig et al. 2013). A report by the United Nations Development Programme stated that major problems impacting development for the ECCAS region are insecurity, poor governance, lack of member participation, lack of good governance in the natural resource extractive industries, and the lack of diversified economies (United Nations Development Programme 2017).

Although there are some challenges within the region, it has also had some successes, such as a common currency among many of its members and in the areas of peace and security. Many of the areas of concern originate with external security as it relates to the porous borders within the ECCAS region. Boko Haram and other terrorist groups have the potential to severely threaten a region with porous borders. This threat not only poses a physical security threat, but a threat to national security as well. In addition to security, there are infrastructure concerns

within ECCAS. The region has two landlocked countries that depend on adequate infrastructure to transport goods in and out of them. Central Africa's infrastructure has been deemed as the poorest on the continent. In particular, Ranganathan and Foster (2011) add that transportation is slow with poor road conditions, port delays, and the lack of an integrated railway network makes transporting of goods expensive and time consuming.

The South African Development Community (SADC) was originally formed in 1980 as the South African Coordinating Conference (SADCC). The goal of SADCC was to reduce dependence on apartheid South Africa and to build economic links by developing resources that promote individual country policies as well as regional policies. After the African countries began to receive their independence, the regional policies began to focus on economic and political development. The SADC was developed in 1992 as a continuation of previous policies developed under SADCC (Mapuva and Mapuva 2014, p.24). The overall goal of SADC is to obtain collective sustainability and development through economic regional development. While there are achievements in all three of the regional organizations discussed, as with the others, there are also some challenges. As witnessed in ECCAS, some of the major challenges that have impacted SADC are memberships in multiple regional organizations, overly ambitious goals, varying levels of economic development among the members, and lack of trust within member countries (Mapuva and Mapuva 2014, p.25).

In terms of overly ambitious goals, many of the members have established ambitious targets that have not been met. For example, according to Mapuva and Mapuva, it was the SADC's goal for the 11 out of 15 members who signed the SADC Trade Protocol in 2000 to liberalize 85% of trade by 2008 and 100% by 2012, and to form a customs union by 2010. All of the targets were missed (2014, p.26).

The preceding examples highlight the unrealistic expectations that have been placed on the members of the SADC organization. Establishing unattainable goals often leads to underachievement. In this case, many of the failed targets potentially could have caused mistrust within the organization because of the lack of ability to meet the established targets. As a result, it is important to establish small targets that are easily attainable in order to receive small successes. Second, the SADC is facing the challenge of having multiple memberships within various regional organizations. As witnessed in the ECCAS regional organization, Rwanda left

the ECCAS to focus on membership within COMSEA, but later returned. The overlapping of regional organizations is also impacting SADC.

Mapuva and Mapuva (2014) also argue that the overlapping of organizations results in the duplication of policies, procedures, and inconsistency, which then leads to additional costs to the taxpayer. In addition to the lack of consistency within the various regional organizations, there is also the possibility that policies established in one regional organization may contradict or invalidate the laws or agreements of another regional organization (2014, p.27).

In addition to the overlap of membership in regional organizations, there are also the imbalances in the economic development of member countries. The member or members with the stronger economic influence or stronger economic development such as South Africa may have a more dominant role in the decision-making process than a country that has a weaker economy. This could potentially cause the members who are not as strong to feel as if their voices will not be heard because the larger, stronger and more powerful countries will ultimately influence major decisions (2014, p.29).

Another major challenge impacting SADC is the disunity on judicial matters. For example, the SADC Tribunal was established to deal with human rights violations that occur within the region. According to Mapuva and Mapuva (2014), the Zimbabwean Farmers case proved to be a test for the strength of the SADC Tribunal. The Zimbabwean Farmers case of 2008 was brought to the Tribunal against the Zimbabwean government, which was attempting to take over the land of 78 White farmers without compensating them. The SADC Tribunal ruled in favor of the farmers, stating that the Zimbabwe land reform “undermined the rule of law.” In addition, as a result of this ruling, Zimbabwe failed to accept it. The SADC ruled that Zimbabwe could not use its domestic laws to overrule the laws of the SADC tribunal. The Zimbabwean government rejected the ruling (Zeldin 2008). Mapuva and Mapuva argue that this case showed a failure of the strength of the SADC Tribunal, because

The regional bloc failed to rein in a renegade member state which had blatantly refused to comply with a judgment to compensate the commercial farmers indicates that the SADC cannot enforce some of the provisions of its institutions, in this case the judgment handed down by the SADC Tribunal. Zimbabwe which had been found guilty of the violation of

human and property rights by the SADC Tribunal, got away with it and even caused a review of the mandate of the Tribunal. (Mapuva and Mapuva 2014, p. 32)

It appears that this case does not show a failure of the SADC but a failure of the members to work together to respect the laws of the SADC Tribunal. While Mapuva and Mapuva argue that this shows a failure of the SADC to enforce the rules, it shows a failure of each of the members and the African Union in that all of the parties did not work together to support and enforce the laws of the SADC. The laws of the SADC must be respected for the benefit of all for matters of punishment. Each of the countries must understand that if the laws are not in its favor then it does not have the right to leave the organization or to not abide by the rules. When comparing the three regional organizations in this chapter, ECOWAS, ECCAS, and SADC, Table 12.4 shows the successes of the number of countries that are in the top 100 combined globalization index.

Although many scholars argue that there are many challenges within the SADC, of the 16 countries that make up the SADC, nine (or 56%) of them make up the top 100 Globalization Index in one of the areas of economic, political or social globalization. In terms of ECOWAS, ten out of the 15 (or 66%) countries make up the globalization index, and in terms of ECCAS, five of the 11 (or 45%) of the countries make up the globalization top 100 list (see Table 12.4).

Table 12.4 Total number of African countries by regional organizations in the top 100 Globalization Index

<i>African regional organization</i>	<i>Number of African countries on top 100 Globalization Index</i>
ECOWAS	10
SADC	9
ECCAS	5
Others	8

Source Self-generated by author using data retrieved from [Statista.com](https://www.statista.com)

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

As Ngūgĩ wa Thiong'o (2004) said, it is important for Africa to examine its past in order to learn for the future. This chapter utilized the theoretical framework of Ngūgĩ wa Thiong'o to analyze the lessons to be learned from select African regional organizations for dealing with globalization. In addition, quantitative data were reviewed in order to sufficiently conduct analysis on how well the African countries are performing in terms of economic, political and social globalization. The combination of these analyses helped to generate the conclusions and policy recommendations here.

Many argue that the challenges many of the regional organizations face are with regard to their own self-interests. In examining the three separate regional organizations, it appears that there are many challenges that will need to be overcome before there are successes in Africa. First, there is this self-interested desire to focus on the agenda of each individual country. Each country has a desire to impact economic and political change for itself rather than promote the necessary change within the region. All members within the organization must show a commitment to making the regional organizations successful. One of the key comments echoed among some scholars is the concern that some of the countries are more advanced economically than others, and there are concerns that the variances in their economic development will alter their progress or that the regional organization goals are different because of the different needs of the member countries.

Second, in conducting this research, it became apparent that many of the member countries belong to multiple regional and economic organizations. For example, Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are members of both ECCAS and SADC. While these two countries show dual memberships in the regional organizations identified in this chapter, many of the African countries belong to more than three regional organizations. In the case of Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, it appears that it may prove difficult to function under multiple organizations with multiple rules. The goal of Old and New Pan-Africanism is to unify African people. If there is a conflict among members because of dual or multiple memberships, how can unity be established on the continent? Multiple memberships allow for conflicting goals and interests. It is important to establish policies that limit the number of regional memberships to allow for better concentration on the key areas of globalization

such as political, economic and social. As Mzukisi Qobo argues, “The old model of regionalism, cast on the ideological paradigm of Pan-Africanism with its primary focus on politics rather than economics, is incompatible with the new challenges of globalisation” (Qobo 2007, p. 2).

Third, as discussed earlier, Pan-Africanism should be a two-phased approach in that once political cooperation is achieved among the member countries there will be fewer failures in succeeding in economic and social globalization. In addition, it is important for the African countries to establish policies that embrace the African view of development rather than the outside or Western view of development. This would require the coordination of all African leaders to work together to share knowledge and lessons learned from within the continent. In addition, they would work together to develop unified policies that will foster better coordination within the continent and the regional organizations. It is evident in the tables discussed earlier that success lies within the continent. This chapter has therefore met its goal by highlighting the importance of African regional organizations looking within the continent to examine the strengths and failures of the past in order to build upon and to avoid making future mistakes.

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Pan-Africanism and Regional Integration in Africa in the Era of Globalization: A Systematic Analysis Utilizing Conscientist Methodology

Abdul Razak Iddris

The Pan-African dream of a United States of Africa is still being expressed by Africans on the continent and those of African descent all over the world. Since the attainment of political independence in the 1950s and 1960s, African leaders have consistently reaffirmed their willingness to forge mutually beneficial economic and political alliances in order to enhance the social and economic development of the people of Africa. This desire to achieve greater economic integration of the continent has led to the establishment of the most extensive network of regional organizations in the continent. However, the ghost of the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) that divides Africa into specific spheres of influence and control has continued to haunt the continent for many years after its independence from colonialism, thereby reinforcing the fragmentation of African economics. It was Kwame Nkrumah who pointed out that “no

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independent African State today by itself has a chance to follow an independent course of economic development, and many of us who have tried to do this have been almost ruined or have had to return to the fold of the former colonial powers. This position will not change unless we have a unified policy working at a continental level” (Abegunrin and Vivekananda 1998, pp. 43–44). Nkrumah’s postulate is more evident today as the forces of globalization are sweeping across the African continent and Diaspora. Echoing the calls of Nkrumah and other Pan-Africanists that Africa must Unite, African regional integration is seen or considered as a key driver and the way forward for the structural transformation of African economic development.

To put it differently, regional integration in general is not only desirable but is also the key to enhancing political cooperation at the Pan-African level and of promoting economic growth, industrial development and intra-regional trade. It is also central to strengthening the capacity to benefit from globalization; to reduce poverty and vulnerability and forge the way to effective African Unity, both politically and economically. Kwame Nkrumah again posited that “those who say that a confronted government of Africa is illusory are deceiving themselves; they ignore the lessons of history. If the United States of America could do it, if the Soviet Union could do it, and India could do it, why not Africa?” (Nkrumah 1964, p. 70). In order to ground the analysis in this chapter, Abdul Karim Bangura’s Consciencist Methodology is employed. Drawing from Nkrumah’s conceptualization of *consciencism*—which he characterized as “a philosophical statement...born out of a crisis of the African conscience confronted with the three strands of present African society...the African experience of the Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of the traditional African society, and, by gestation, (to be employed) for the harmonious growth and development of that society” (Bangura 2018, p. 1; Nkrumah 1964, p. 70), Bangura defines the methodology as a way of “approaching philosophy from the standpoint of its social contention” (Bangura 2018, p. 2; McClendon 2003). A careful reading of Nkrumah’s disquisition of *consciencism* by Bangura made it possible for him to delineate the following three categories within which consciencist analysis can be logically subsumed: (1) major concepts, (2) philosophical postulates, and (3) major research questions. Such an analysis, Bangura adds, therefore calls for both primary and secondary qualitative and quantitative data (Bangura 2018; Nkrumah 1964).

Fundamentally, people rally around to protect their common interest. This chapter is therefore about how Africans on the continent and the Diaspora can come together to address the important issues of stability, growth and development in their communities during this era of globalization. A significant examination of past and contemporary efforts for unity by continental and Diaspora Africans is one of the fundamental engagements of this chapter. African development problems have reached the proportions that call for united efforts from all Africans. Although the African stability, growth and development dilemma has not yet reached beyond the door of no return, all Africans should quickly get around and put concrete plans in place in Africa to stave off degradation. The profound structural problems call for more profound visible united action. We need a more united front, and this makes a reactivated Pan-Africanism a vital necessity and an indispensable tool in a globalized world. Therefore, to come up with a workable reactivated Pan-Africanism that will foster a regional, continental, diasporic African stability and economic development, we have to properly explore past, present and future Pan-African ideals and activities. A rekindle Pan-Africanism will be an unquenchable “living spirit” behind African efforts toward stability, growth and development. It will sail Africans through these turbulent times and beyond.

This chapter is solidly focused and advises that Pan-Africanism of development, Pan-Africanism of liberation, Pan-Africanism as a crisis interventionist, action-oriented mechanism is the best and most effective way to address stability, growth and development dilemma in Africa. There is no better alternative to development and progress than people who are truly united and determined.

Before delving into the discussion on some of the major definitions and perspectives of Pan-Africanism, the following pertinent observations on this all-crucial African concept, belief, alliance and organization must be furnished. Pan-Africanism was, is and will continue to be an important African ideology and movement. It is and will continue to be constructive, harmonious, unifying and positive as it was. Pan-Africanism being a solid living energy behind the African being, its physical and non-material will continue into the future. Therefore, Pan-Africanism is about unity, growth, and development of Africa and African needs. In fact, it is true that hardly has Pan-Africanism been sufficiently defined in a single sentence. However, there are some common terminologies and

messages that correlate or correspond to most discussions of the content and character of this phenomenon.

In brief, Pan-Africanism, depending on the timeframe, deals with issues pertaining to freeing the mind, soul, body and physical surrounding of the African wherever he or she is; maintaining these liberties; and ensuring united African efforts toward real growth and development of all Africans. Ultimately, Pan-Africanism envisions a true social, cultural, political, and economic emancipation of Africans across the globe (Attah-Poku 2000, p. 27).

Globalization is clearly a buzzword, may be the buzzword of the century. At the outset, it is useful to remind ourselves that it is essentially a conceptual construct not a simple fact. In his work, *Lexus and Olive Tree*, Thomas Friedman argues that globalization is a system that brings capital, technology and information together across national borders. In his view, globalization clashes with tradition, culture, geography and community (Friedman 1999).

Nonetheless, there is little agreement on a common definition of globalization. Agreement is more readily reached about the constraining effects of globalizations on the ability of national states to choose their own political and economic destinies. The problem with this consensus is that explaining the effect of a process that remains loosely defined leads to oversimplification. Defining a multidimensional global process, however, is not a simple task. First, it is necessary to determine what dimensions to include or exclude. Second, it is imperative to determine the relationship between dimensions. Third, it is mandatory to determine if the process itself represents change, continuity, or both. Therefore the process of globalization consists of technological, political, economic, and cultural dimensions that interconnect individuals, governments and firms across national borders (Snarr and Snarr 2008).

In fact, think of globalization as a multiple lane highway that connects people, ideas, transactions, decisions and resources around the globe. Traffic on this highway runs 24 hours a day, every day of the week, every week of the month, and every month of the year. Traveling along the technological lane now involves using the Internet as the vehicle to travel around the globe (Dierks 2001).

In its dictionary denotation, the word “integration” refers to the bringing together diverse parts into a whole, or bringing into equal participation or membership of an organization. However in the economics

literature, the term “economic integration” does not have such clear-cut meaning. Some authors include social integration in the concept and others insert different forms of international cooperation. Thus, economic integration as defined by Balassa can take several forms that represent different levels of integration. These are free-trade areas, customs unions, common markets, economic unions, and complete economic integration (Balassa 1961).

This chapter proffers that Pan-Africanism and regional economic integration are quite vital for Africa, especially for enhancing and accelerating the continent’s economic growth and development. In other words, regional economic integration is important because it can be used as Africa’s roadmap to economic development. In light of this postulate, the chapter identifies and examines benefits, challenges and opportunities related to regional economic integration. This chapter also argues that only a union government could enable Africa to compete favorably with other political and economic entities in this age of globalization and continental integration process going on in various other continent of the world.

The main objective of this chapter is therefore to determine whether regional economic integration benefits outweigh its costs. In this regard, the chapter examines the benefits and challenges of Pan-African regional economic integration, and also the potential success for enhancing economic growth and development via regional economic integration as compared to individual state trade liberalization. In other words, will regional economic integration contribute more effectively and efficiently to African economies than national economic policies do? The major research questions probed in this chapter are therefore the following: (1) Does Pan-Africanism as an ideology of revolutionary movement still has the same content in the globalized world? (2) How do regional organizations enhance or support globalization? (3) How can Africa benefit more from international trade? Before answering these questions, it makes sense to first discuss the research methodology used to ground the research.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As illustrated by Bangura, Consciencist Methodology is a philosophical method from a standpoint of its social contention (Bangura 2018; see also McClendon 2003). This methodology is premised on Kwame Nkrumah’s

treaties on consciencism, precisely philosophical consciencism. Consciencism as a philosophy is described by Kwame Nkrumah as a philosophical statement born out of a crisis of the African conscience confronted with the three strands of present African society, the African experience of the Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of the traditional African society (Bangura 2018; Nkrumah 1964). This is what Ali Mazrui referred to Africa's triple heritage that split the soul of the continent. These three civilizations have shaped contemporary Africa: Africa's own inheritance, Islam, and western traditions. The interplay of these three civilizations is the essence of Africa's triple heritage. The three civilizations offer various values that compete for African allegiance. In every African country today, the triple forces of indigenous culture, Islam, and Westernization vie for dominance (Mazrui 2006).

Bangura, one of the most celebrated, prolific and phenomenal scholars on Africa, discusses Nkrumah's work on consciencism from a Pan-Africanist viewpoint and some of its features, albeit not all of these features are examined within the context of Nkrumah's analysis. Before discussing these aspects, I will begin by presenting the essential methodological features of consciencism based on Nkrumah's work on the subject. A careful reading of Bangura's disquisition of Nkrumah's consciencism made it possible for Bangura to delineate the following three categories within which the analysis can be logically subsumed: (1) major concepts (2) philosophical postulates, and (3) major research questions.

In his analysis of consciencism, Bangura points out that Nkrumah employed many concepts. The following are two of the major ones with their descriptions as presented by Bangura:

- (a) *African personality*: "the bundle of human ideas pertaining to altruism, honesty, integrity, responsibility, truthfulness, etc. that undergird traditional African society" (Bangura 2018, p. 435; Nkrumah 1964, p. 79).
- (b) *Traditional African outlook*: "the social attitude toward man as a socialist based on the fact that man is considered in Africa a social being blessed initially with dignity integrity, and value; this traditional face of Africa is contrary to the Christian notion of original sin and abasement of man" (Bangura 2018, p. 435; Nkrumah 1964, p. 12).

For a more comprehensive analysis of the preceding concepts, see Bangura (2018).

GLOBALIZATION AND PAN-AFRICANISM

Throughout history, humankind has always attempted to have better lives. They have advocated for change and they have resisted change. The idea of progress that is generally welcomed and endorsed in the Western countries is not always viewed affirmatively by everyone in Africa's societies or in other parts of the world.

Even when most Africans agree on the need for continental unity, they may disagree about the pace of change, about the degree of change, how to actualize change, and how to deal with the results of change. Who should benefit from change? Who should pay the price for change because new ways of doing things and new ideas and values usually threaten those who benefit from the status quo? Change is therefore not only an economic issue, but also a political one. Both proponents of continental unity and those against it often utilize politics to achieve their economic and social objectives.

Africans are united by culture, history and identity. However, neo-colonialism seeks to divide and pulverize the continent in many different ways. Yet, the struggle for a united Africa which began years before the Pan-African movement was aimed mainly at uniting a people bound by history. African unity has come a long way, but like every movement, it needs an ideology. Pan-Africanism has played that role for Africa.

As most of the great Pan-African theorists and practitioners did, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was full of vigor and had an holistic outlook of Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah was deeply concerned about Africa and Africans controlling their own destiny and taking their rightful place in the international arena. Nkrumah, like most Pan-African leaders, also reflected on the past activities of slavery, colonization, and imperialism, as well as the insensitivities of extreme capitalism to explain his position and promote Africanism. In trying to convince Africans to embark on a common economic and defense policy, he prolifically referred to the past activities and effects of foreign contacts with Africa and Africans. He stated that they took our lands, our lives, our resources and or dignity, but "we made not a pin, not a handkerchief, not a match." As a result, Africans, according to Kwame Nkrumah, must unite, pool and utilize their resources with the maximum effort in order to foster growth and development for all Africans (Attah-Poku 2000).

The primary feature of Pan-Africanism was a belief in the necessity for African unity either through a political union or economic and technical cooperation (Legum 1987). As a Pan-Africanist, Nkrumah's aim was to convince all Africans to unite under the ideal and actions of Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah was primarily of the opinion that Pan-Africanism should be fertilized and promoted quickly, constantly, consistently and strongly, if Africa and Africans are to experience realistic and effective freedom and emancipation. Nkrumah repeatedly reminded Africans that "our freedom stands open to danger just as long as the independent states of Africa remain" (Attah-Poku 2000, p. 21). This great African patriot, as far back as 1957 when Ghana gained its independence from British colonial rule, said that Ghana's independence would be "meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation of Africa." Nkrumah went on to state that

A union of African States will project more effectively the African personality. It will command respect from a world that has regard only for size and influence. I believe strongly and sincerely that the American race, united under one federal government will emerge as a great power whose greatness is indestructible. (1961, p. 3)

To bring into fruition this very important initiative, Nkrumah called upon Africans to develop a unified foreign policy and diplomacy. Doing so, he maintained, "would not only give political direction to Africa's joint efforts at projecting her image but would also reduce the crushing burden of maintaining separate diplomatic representation within and outside Africa" (Nkrumah 1963, p. 3).

Nkrumah followed up this proposition with concrete actions, plans and thoughts. This visionary African leader's notion of Pan-Africanism was again quite comprehensive and far-reaching. His optimism for the unity and cohesion of Africa as a lifter for continental development was exceptional. Nonetheless, his dream never became a reality due to stiff opposition from other African leaders, most of whom feared the loss of their sovereignty and the colonial masters, due to their selfish interests. As a result, the debate on the relevance of such a union government is still as contentious today as it was during the early days post-independent Africa. Thus, it is appropriate to state that although a continental union government as advocated by Nkrumah may not have been a panacea

for all the continent's seemingly intractable issues, one can, nonetheless, confidently say that the situation in the continent would have been better than it is today if a union government had been established. Such a continental government would have allowed for greater coordination and mobilization of Africa's rich resources, which is fundamental for growth and development. As mentioned earlier, Nkrumah believed, among other things, that "The resources of Africa can be used to the best advantages and maximum benefit to all only if they are set within an overall framework of a continentally planned development. An overall economic development, covering an African united on a continental basis would increase our total industrial and economic power" (Nkrumah 1963, p. 218).

I therefore posit here that Nkrumah's Pan-African idea of unity government is still the best option if Africa it to be able to overcome its precarious socio-economic and political tragedies of sporadic wars and conflicts, poverty, and exploitation of its natural resources by the neocolonial overlords, even in the face of daunting challenges. In fact, only the establishment of a union government could allow Africa to be able to compete satisfactorily with other political and economic blocs in this age of globalization.

Indeed, the most important factor underlying the international weakness of African states and their vulnerability to internal disintegration and external penetration is their record of economic failure. Also, the structure of African statehood certainly contributes to the dismal record of the African economies, just as the structure of Africa's involvement in global production and trade helps to induce political alienation and institutional decay (Clapham 1996).

Furthermore, the economic and political crises of African statehood could most plausibly be regarded as a different phase of a common complex of problems. From the early 1980s onwards, however, these problems were most clearly reflected in the economic needs of African states and their subjection to the conditions imposed by external donors and the price for meeting those needs, which in turn became the overriding preoccupation of Africa's external relations.

As illustrated by Cecil Rhodes, one of Britain's most famous (or infamous, depending on one's stance) advocates of colonialism, Britain must find new lands from which it could easily obtain raw materials and at the same time exploit the cheap slave labor that is available from the natives of those colonies. The colonies also would provide a dumping ground

for the surplus goods produced in its factories; with that goal and objective, the colonial masters had no obvious intention of letting go of their sources of cheap labor and raw materials (Bauman 1998).

In fact, with the development of the Internet, distance is no longer a factor limiting the flow of influence, investments, and cultural domination. At the same time, we have in recent times observed the growth in many societies in the world political movements seeking to strengthen the collective sense of uniqueness, often targeting globalization processes, which are seen as a threat to local distinctiveness and self-determination. As articulated by Immanuel Wallerstein, African development could only be achieved through unity of action and from recognition of the total worthiness of African achievement (Wallerstein 1967).

On the other hand, the essential question for Pan-Africanism is about how Africa can disentangle itself from the modern highly digitized international system with its sophisticated and complex control network. There is no straightforward answer to this question. Today, the international system is much more interconnected than ever before. There also is a commonality of interest among the major powers in the continued subjugation and exploitation of African societies, whatever the degree of rivalry between them for scarce and dwindling resources. If, therefore, African leaders desire to disengage themselves from the international political economy or globalization, they will face a huge task. The new Pan-Africanism must start by cleaning its house in Africa.

Additionally, the current phenomenon of globalization has compounded the problem of Pan-Africanism today for a number of reasons. First, globalization can be construed as a process which epitomizes a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions, expressed in trans-continental or interregional flows and networks of activities across frontiers, regions and continents. Second, it is marked by the intensification or the growing magnitude of interconnectedness and flows of trade, investment, finance, migration, culture, etc. Third, it can be linked to a speeding up of global interactions and processes, as the development of worldwide systems of transport and communication increases the velocity of the diffusion of ideas, goods, information, capital and people. Fourth, the growing extensity, intensity and velocity of global interactions can be associated with a deepening impact such that the effects of distant events can be highly significant elsewhere and specific local developments can come to have considerable global consequences. In light of these aspects, the boundaries between

domestic matters and global affairs become increasingly fluid. In sum, globalization can be thought of as the widening, intensifying speeding up, and growing impact of worldwide interconnectedness (Dierks 2001).

The world we live in now arguably is more tightly integrated than at any other time in human history. In the age of satellite dish, global capitalism, mass media and markets, the world is rapidly becoming a global village which, as Dierks points out, “is a pervasive tendency influencing the lives of people everywhere since it entails fundamentally all the socio-cultural processes that contribute to making long distance unnecessary and irrelevant. It has important economic, political and cultural dimensions as well as ethical implications” (Dierks 2001, p. 8).

Besides, Globalization processes also affect the conditions of people living in particular countries, creating new opportunities and new forms of vulnerability. Risks are globally shared in the age of the nuclear bomb, terrorist threats and potential ecological disasters. On the other hand, the economic conditions in particular localities depend on events taking place elsewhere in the global system. Likewise, the ever increasing transnational flow of commodities, whether they are material or immaterial, seems to create a set of common cultural denominators which threaten to eradicate local distinctions (Dierks 2001).

GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

The development of regionalism in the context of contemporary globalization can be traced to the end of World War II. The surge of a new regionalism in the 1970s and 1980s was marked by a proliferation of regional economic organizations such as economic community of West African States—ECOWAS (Akinyeye 2010).

The successes recorded by the European Union and the North American Free Trade Agreement in which both have united countries of contrasting cultures, languages, and political and even ideological orientations combined with the surging globalization of the world economy point to the breath of Nkrumah’s dream. Communities around the globe do not grow, develop and modernize in isolation. We live in independent countries but an interdependent world. In fact, we live in a give-and-take world. This interdependence can be either direct or indirect. In the most fundamental sense, regional economic communities are entities designed to promote an accelerated but balanced social, economic, political and cultural development of member states. Regional economic communities

follow different strategic objectives, ranging from the establishment of a simple free trade area, where the effort is to reduce internal custom tariffs with the ultimate aim of their elimination of all barriers, to the free movement of persons, goods, service capital and labor between the member states, as well as the establishment of a common tariff and economic policy relative to non-member states (Buthelezi 2006).

Ever since the realization of political independence in the late 1950s, African leaders have consistently reaffirmed their desire to forge mutually beneficial economic and political linkages in order to enhance the social and economic development of their people. Surprisingly, even though Africa has been granted political independence, its economic, social and political conditions remain unpredictable, as civil wars, fundamental abuse of human rights and dignity have become characteristics of most African states since independence. The unfortunate paternalistic relationship still maintained by some colonial masters remains a thorn in the flesh of African people.

The major focus of most African leaders has been on a cross-regional approach or what Ali Mazrui called “the horizontal interpenetration” (Mazrui 1981). This desire to achieve greater economic integration at the sub-regional level has led to the establishment of the most extensive network of regional organizations anywhere in the globe. Moreover, regional economic communities in Africa face formidable challenges, both internally and externally. These challenges are multidimensional in nature, involving logistical, institutional, linguistic (West Africa especially), political as well as economic constraints and crises. Countries in West Africa were administered in the colonial period by Britain and France and, therefore, have different colonial traditions and official languages. This means that not only is there a large disparity between member states with respect to population, land mass and resource endowment, but also differences between the metropolitan powers themselves in terms of policies that have helped to mold the social, political and economic structures of these countries (Abegunrin and Vivekananda 1998).

Therefore, the success or failure of economic cooperation in West Africa has depended largely upon the manipulations of the former metropolitan powers. As expressed by one of the renowned traditional Pan-Africanists, Nnamdi Azikwe, in his address to the Organization of African Unity in 1964 titled *The Future of Pan-Africanism*, “paternalistic roles of former colonial rulers in Africa...are one of the major problems of African unity...These attachments are so deeply rooted that they affect

the whole personalities of these budding political personalities” (Langley 1979, p. 3). Despite all these challenges and many others specific to West Africa, African commitment to regional integration was pronounced, unambiguously in the Lagos Plan of Action adopted in Lagos, Nigeria in April 1980.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATION

Globalization is a concept that lacks universal agreement; therefore, the vagueness of the concepts increases the complexity on what, how, when to redirect a policy agenda to overcome challenges posed by globalization. Moreover, it influences the applicability of Pan-African ideology within structural problems engineered by globalization. Instructively, globalization can be viewed as a process consisting of technological, economic, political and cultural dimensions that interconnect individuals, firms and governments across national borders. Communications technology has eliminated distances but at the same time has introduced concurrent and contradicting patterns of global interactions. While the Internet has removed physical and economic distance, cultural and political spaces remain local. Also, the concept of Pan-Africanism has been constantly used among African scholars and political activists to lead condemnation against domination and oppression, enslavement and anti-humanism. Several useful terms such as political liberation and sovereignty, Africa’s rebirth, regeneration, reconstruction, revitalization and reengineering have been adopted among thoughtful African leaders to regain Africa’s values and identity in the global arena. Hence, we notice various considerations for the definition of Pan-Africanism as Africans uniting for liberation and integration, or as uniting for freedom and development, or as uniting to liberate and enhance the entire African being, the African dignity, the African personality, the African image, the African identity and uniting to forge for Africans collective development.

Given that African people have long suffered from deprivations, dominations, suppressions, lynching and anti-humanisms, it is unfortunate that the political independence of Africa has not brought a far-reaching improvement to its citizens’ welfare since the late 1950s. In other words, Africa has been granted political independence but its economic, social and political conditions remain unsatisfactory. Besides, the deep-rooted paternalistic roles of the former colonial rulers in post-colonial Africa, which Nnamdi Azikwe called vestigial attachment, the emergence of

globalization characterized by technology innovation and economic globalization, and the uncontrollably threats from undesirable non state actors (terrorists) in Africa, compound the continent's challenges. This chapter provides a framework for the rethinking of African unity in a globalized world. No society is free from challenges and issues. But the ability of a particular society to minimize failure and problems to their lowest minimum and maximize achievements and success to their highest maximum makes responsible citizenship. The average African populace is ready, willing and determined to make Africa a better place. Really poised for action, they are looking for the right kind of leadership to effectively combine existing resources that are waiting to be tapped. This shows that effective leadership and favorable global environment are necessary in the African equation of development.

To put Africa on a more admirable and progressive track, there must be a new type of truly patriotic African leadership that is similar to Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. This type of leadership must harness beneficial local and external resources, and hinder endogenous and exogenous disruptive forces in the age of globalization. The socio-politico-economic landscape of Africa must change for the better in order to usher in progress and a better quality of life. No matter the reasons and excuses, African leadership should let tranquility, growth and progress rule to all smiling Africans to dance in the global economy. Africa must take its rightful position in global affairs. The road is long, tedious, but the journey must be made. The pill is bitter, but the medicine must be swallowed for the disease to be cured. The problem is very difficult but the puzzle must be solved. Unity is surely the answer and Pan-African ideology can emancipate Africa to become a powerful force in a globalized economy.

Based on the results obtained from a recent study by Oginni and Moitui, despite the spiral effects of globalization, which have promoted Europeanization and Americanization, the concepts of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance are still relevant and have their ways of spreading among Africans in the continent. Clearly, there is a growing appearance of a plethora of Pan-African networks on social media that promote Pan-Africanism and Africanization (Oginni and Moitui 2016).

Africa is blessed with enormous amounts of mineral wealth. Most of the world's vital minerals are found in Africa. Apart from these minerals, Africa is also rich in other energy resources as well as human resources. But, these resources manage to enrich only a handful of African rulers and foreign capitalists. To borrow the words of Amuwo, one may correctly

assert that “there is too much of the West in Africa to allow Africa to design its future on its own accord. That this situation may only be reversed if African resources are jointly managed by Africans for the benefits of Africans” (Amuwo 2002, p. 1). One important factor that needs much attention is organization financing and effective use of these various resources. A rejuvenated Pan-Africanism can play an immense role in this direction. Contemporary Pan-Africanism of development will find an answer to these disturbing issues of Africa, a continent with so many resources but saddled with problems of minimal growth and minimal progress. In unity, Africa will maximize returns from these various resources. To arrive at this, we need to do more of the following: communicate properly and appropriately with one another, be ready to educate and open to learn good things, look out for and support one another, take pride in who we are, be ready to share power, be pragmatic, and be open to diverse thoughts and practices.

Globalization does not improve our equality of life. It is the quality of public policies that does. Reaping the full benefits of globalization will require more than simple trade policies. Government must play a much more active and genuine role in promoting good governance, security, peace and development.

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Lessons from Martin Robinson Delany's Tenets of Pan-Africanism and How They Can Be Employed to Combat the Encroachment of Globalization in Africa

Elan Mitchell-Gee

Before becoming President of Côte d'Ivoire, Alassane D. Ouattara while serving as Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) made the following observation at the Southern African Economic Summit sponsored by the World Economic Forum in Harare, Zimbabwe on May 21, 1997:

Globalization has become a major topic of discussion and concern in economic circles since the mid-1990s. It is clear that the trend toward more integrated world markets has opened wide potential for greater growth, and presents an unparalleled opportunity for developing countries to raise their living standards. At the same time however, the Mexican

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crisis has focused attention on the downside risk of this trend, and concerns have arisen about the risks of marginalization of countries. All of this have given rise to a sense of misgiving, particularly among developing countries. (Ouattara 1997, p. 1)

This observation leads to several questions in the case of Africa. Noting this dynamic of globalization, Ouattara therefore raised the following questions: (a) "What are globalization's implications for the conduct of economic policy in Africa?" (b) "What are the potential benefits and risks for Africa?" (c) "What will African countries have to do to benefit from it to avoid its downside risk?" (Ouattara 1997, p. 1).

While many observers have offered some suggestions to similar questions, few have employed lessons from old Pan-Africanists as antidotes to the encroachment of globalization in Africa. Operating from the thesis that there can be great virtue from old wisdom, this chapter therefore examines Martin Robinson Delany's tenets of Pan-Africanism and how they can be utilized to combat the infringement of globalization in Africa.

Delany was an exceptional orator, journalist, medical doctor, and civil rights activist during the nineteenth century. He spoke of the injustices of slavery and proposed a great migration of African descendants to the Caribbean, South America, and Africa. He is also widely revered as the "Father of Black Nationalism." Although Delany is well-regarded for his contributions to Black Nationalism, his work does not often receive credit as his contemporary Frederick Douglass. Nonetheless, as Cyril E. Griffith informs us in his well-cited book on Delany and his Pan-African tenets and appropriately titled *The African Dream: Martin R. Delany and the Emergence of Pan African Thought* (1975), a participating physician, Delany was also a most imaginative and consistent Black Nationalist thinker, ideologist and activist. Realizing the importance of economic self-determination, he advocated economic development as a vital tool in the struggle for a Black Nationality whether in Africa or in the Diaspora and as a prerequisite for Pan-African unity. Also, he was vigorous and persistent in his call for independent Black politics whether the focus was on the Reconstruction in the South, the abolitionist movement in the North, or local politics in West Africa.

In addition, being a cultural nationalist, he insisted on an African American perspective on American history and for an objective comprehension of African history and the continent's rightful place in the history of world civilizations. Delany authored and edited many publications

dealing with issues confronting Blacks. These publications and others are qualitatively analyzed by employing the explanatory case study methodology, which is the best method to use to qualitatively explain the “why” or “how” of a phenomenon—which in this chapter is how African Americans pressed forward economically and politically during slavery. This method is further used to delineate ideas that can be used to challenge the encroachment of globalization in Africa. Thus, both primary and secondary sources were required for systematic analysis. Primary data were collected from governmental and nongovernmental documents; secondary data were gleaned from books, encyclopedias, journals, newspapers, magazines, and Internet sources by employing the archival or document analysis technique, a systematic approach utilized to review other relevant bodies of work to ensure reliability and validity through consistency of the explanations of a phenomenon—in this chapter, the advancement of African descendants in the United States and similar possibilities for Africa.

GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

The dynamic forces of globalization have affected international trade of exports originating from the United States to Africa South of the Sahara and imports from the latter to the former over the past decade (Gandhi 2018). As stated by the Brookings Institution, “Economic development and trade are important parts of the United States relationship with sub-Saharan Africa through programs such as African Growth and Opportunity Action (AGOA)” (Meltzer 2016, p. 1). However, as African Growth Initiative Director Brahim S. Coulibaly said during his media briefing on March 5, 2018, the United States “risks falling behind” emerging market economies—especially China—when it comes to trade growth in sub-Saharan Africa” (quoted by Gandhi 2018, p. 1). During this downward trend, many of the historical trading partners with Africa South of the Sahara are changing because of emerging market economies and the offering of commercial loans by the Chinese government to African nations. These commercial loans offered to African nations are more competitive advantageous than loans offered by the United States and other countries from the European Union. Based on the statistical information provided by the experts, the terms of trade are dramatically changing and the United States is undoubtedly falling behind. Despite

the United States and the European Union's decline in trade with Africa South of the Sahara, the European Union has the largest volume share of trade with the region (Gandhi 2018).

As reported by the Brookings Institution, "Currently, only approximately 1.5 percent of U.S. exports are to sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, economic growth in Africa from 2004 to 2014 averaged 5.8 percent, though in 2015 growth was only 3.75 percent, in large part reflecting the decline in commodity prices—a key export for many African countries— in response to a slowing growth rates in China" (quoted in Meltzer 2016, p. 1). More specifically, the trading partnership between the United States and Africa South of the Sahara has also declined in recent years primarily because of a decline in crude petroleum. This is one of the major determinants for the decline in export of crude petroleum to the United States (Meltzer 2016). Although there has been a downward decline in the export of crude petroleum from African nations to the United States, there has been an upward trend for the United States entering the agricultural sector on the African continent.

The agricultural sector is one of the largest growing sectors for trade in Africa South of the Sahara. As stated by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), "The sub-Saharan Africa region accounts for more than 950 million people, approximately 13% of the global population. By 2050, this share is projected to increase to almost 22% or 2.1 billion" (OECD-FAO 2016, p. 60). The population is increasingly rising in the region and, therefore, employment opportunities must be expanded to accommodate the growing population. In recognizing this population growth, African nations must maintain economic stability, but also increase economic growth. One of the untapped sectors in the region is the agricultural sector. One modern agricultural trade agreement benefitting the nations on the African continent is the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). This act was intended to increase "market access between the United States and Africa South of the Sahara, particularly for products including, but not limited to, agricultural products" (AGOA.info 2018, p. 1). AGOA was extended by the United States government in 2004 and in 2015 in order to achieve its intended purpose of establishing better economic growth and development African nations (AGOA.info 2018). It is set to elapse in 2025 (AGOA.info 2018). A proposed benefit of this legislation is that it may reduce poverty and increase employment opportunities. One other positive attribute of

AGOA is that products may be exported duty free which means no additional taxes will be added to items exported from Africa South of the Sahara to the United States (AGOA.info 2018). Along with improving the national economies in the region, the policies implemented in the AGOA are necessary to regionally improve the economic stability of many African nations in agricultural production in rural communities and the ability for nations to improve infrastructure to better facilitate the distribution of agricultural commodities.

The policies that African nations decide to adopt during the next decade will have a direct impact on their ability to have foreign direct investment. As stated by Ouattara,

It is important to recognize that globalization is not a zero-sum game—it is not necessary for some countries to lose in order that others may gain. But to take advantage of this trend, countries will have to position themselves properly through the right policies. Clearly, those economies that open themselves to trade and capital flows on a free and fair basis and are able to attract international capital will benefit the most from globalization. (Ouattara 1997, p. 1)

In line with Ouattara's statement, it has been suggested that the world is currently experiencing a new wave of globalization whereby many nations, especially on the African continent, are finding renewed interest in international trading partnerships and intra-African trade. As mentioned earlier, this new wave of globalization includes the passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act of 2000. The legislation is an international trade agreement between the United States and Africa South of the Sahara. This is an example of an international trading partnership involving one highly developed county (HDC) and lesser developed countries (LDCs) with emerging market economies. An additional promising international trade agreement that occurred on the African continent which was concluded among 44 African nations was the establishment of the African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) (Agence France Presse 2018). Between March 17 and 21, 2018, several African nations met in Kigali, Rwanda to discuss the formation of one African market (Agence France Presse 2018, p. 1). As reported by Agence France Presse, "If all 55 African Union members sign-up, it will create a bloc with a cumulative GDP of \$2.5 trillion (2 trillion euros) and cover a market of over 1.2 billion people" (2018, p. 2). This is an

example of the economic power that can be achieved by African nations collectively if they were to pursue more intra-African trade agreements.

Thus, the lessons and experiences discussed by Martin Robinson Delany may provide guidance for Africa South of the Sahara to consider as new trade partnerships are developed with trading partners in Asia, Europe, and the Americas. One tenet that Delany strongly urged for African descendants of the world was to promote self-determination which, according to Delany, is essential for preserving one's culture, belief systems, and means of existence. Without self-determination, individuals are without a sense of belonging to a land or a people. Therefore, no matter how competitive a commercial loan by the Chinese government, the United States government, or the European Union appears can be, it is imperative that African nations preserve certain values and norms intrinsic to the Afrocentric beliefs of a unified people.

DELANY'S LESSONS FROM SLAVERY

The Trans-Atlantic slave trade not only separated African descendants from their motherland, families, culture, and belief systems, it also created a systematic psychological damage to the generations that endured slavery in the United States. Part of this psychological abuse was used as a tool by White European colonizers that built the institution of slavery in the Americas. The slave institution would create harm to generations of descendants of enslaved Africans by taking away African Americans' sense of heritage, culture, belief systems, unity, and harmony. The pillage of African Americans during slavery through executions and rapes was traumatic to this group of people. As a result of hundreds of years of slavery in America, African Americans fought to be recognized as citizens of America, establishing political rights, and having equal access to educational opportunities and employment.

In a similar manner, White European colonizers created discord on the African continent. This was done by creating artificial lines of demarcation which separated countries and ethnic groups that were well-established prior to colonial rule. In fact, some of the ancient African civilizations predated modern European civilizations that proposed colonizing Africa. The lines of demarcation further divided the continent of Africa by producing proxy and civil wars, creating economic inequalities among the rich and poor, developing colorism beliefs, and destabilizing government and civil society on the continent. According to Alistair Boddy-Evans,

“There are two countries in Africa which are considered by some scholars to never have been colonized: Liberia and Ethiopia” (2018, p. 1). This fact is often contested depending on which scholars are consulted and what criteria are used to determine if a country was colonized. On the basis that this is true, the majority of African nations were colonized by European nations and because of this, colonial influence has impacted international trade relations in African nations. Former European colonies on the African continent still remain connected to European counterparts; this is especially true in the Francophone African nations such as Senegal. The economic agreements that many of Francophone countries enter are influenced by its former European power. The historical influence of European colonizers continues to influence African nations even today.

Delany’s work sheds light on the history of slavery of African descendants in the Americas in comparison to other ethnic groups that have historically experienced slavery and discrimination in the history of this period. What is evident from Delany’s work is his recollection of the experience of slavery in America is that in order to advance the race, African Americans must advance themselves collectively and economically in order to build up resources and political power in the United States (Griffith 1975). Delany did not accept the low expectations that White European Americans projected on African Americans with respect to professions and careers (Griffith 1975). To the degree that Delany expressed his hope and dream for the economic advancement of African Americans, Cyril Griffith elaborates on this point and explains as follows:

To offset the trend toward a servile economic role, the emergent nationalist advised his people to establish their own businesses. If successful, it would be possible in the future for Afro-Americans to engage in commercial enterprises with black men in the West Indies and Africa. (Griffith 1975, p. 8)

More importantly, Delany believed that the African American race became overly reliant and heavily dependent on religion by believing that prayer alone would bring deliverance, freedom, and the end to slavery. In his works, Delany wrote very openly about religion in the African American community. He believed that it was necessary for the afflicted to do all that they can humanely do and then call upon God for deliverance and

freedom. Delany expressed his opinion on African Americans and religion in the following excerpt:

The colored races are highly susceptible of religion; it is a constituent principle of their nature and an excellent trait in their character. But unfortunately for them, they carry it too far. Their hope is largely developed, and consequently, they usually stand still hope in God, and really expect Him to do that for them, which it is necessary they should do themselves. This is their great mistake, and arises from a misconception of the character and ways of the Deity. (Kahn 1984, p. 420)

From the foregoing statement, it can be stated that Delany believed African Americans should not rely solely on religion to make their circumstances better. With this in mind, his quote should be recalled as African Americans continue to advance in the United States and from a global perspective that could be applied to African countries with respect to international trade. If you want more fair trade and free trade agreements that benefit many African nations, African nations must create policies that collectively advance their citizens. This will be akin to how many of the abolitionists of the time, including Delany, established organization such as the American Colonization Society, ran for political office, published journal articles about the conditions of African Americans and potential solutions to bring equality, discussed emigration to other countries in Africa, South America and the West Indies, and demanded political and economic changes to mainstream America in order to create change for African Americans. First and foremost, Delany believed in the unification of African descendants and establishing a permanent place for African Americans to exist. I agree with Delany that African peoples must do all that can be done that is legally and morally right to enable an equitable environment.

DELANY'S LESSONS ON CULTURE ENCOUNTERS

With the expansion of globalization on the continent of Africa, connecting African nations more closely together with other countries and regional blocks, such as China, the European Union, and the United States, leaders of the African governments must continue to establish effective new economic policies that unify the continent superseding any

cultural encounters. Many of the cultural experiences of African descendants in the Americas and in Europe have been similar in some respects, but the manner in which African descendants have responded to systemic discrimination has been internalized differently.

Paul C. Mocombe discusses the cultural divisions among African Americans, British African descendants, and Africans originating from the continent. He states that the problem is rooted in the morals, values, and ethics of Black leadership in mainstream America. His argument is rooted in theory and provides examples to support his assertions. He hypothesizes that “people of the African diaspora in the contemporary capitalist world-system under American hegemony, that is, globalization, are ever so slowly becoming African-Americanized because of the ideological influence of the black underclass via hip-hop culture and work and the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism promulgated by black American charismatic liberal bourgeoisie Protestant preachers like TD Jakes, Creflo Dollar, etc.” (Mocombe 2015, p. 467). In consonance with Mocombe’s works, the experiences of African Americans have spread globally to African descendants in Europe, the Caribbean, and on the African continent. This point is supported by the constant access to social media via Facebook, YouTube, music videos, and television stations that project mainstream African American success abroad. It may also be understood that exporting African American culture abroad is an example of the soft power of American values being transmitted globally. This is another example of globalization at its core and how even the smallest instances of cultural encounters are gradually changing values abroad.

In addition to his hypothesis, Mocombe suggest that there are different levels of consciousness of African descants in the United States compared to African descendants in the United Kingdom (Mocombe 2015). This level of analysis is rooted in theory. According to Mocombe, there exists at least four schools of thought for explaining what is “black consciousness” and what level of consciousness African descendants exude in the United States versus the United Kingdom. The first school of thought is the pathological-pathogenic, the second is the adaptive-vitality school in the United States, the third is the anti-essentialist, and the fourth is the anti-anti-essentialist schools in the United Kingdom (Mocombe 2015). The purpose of referencing these theories is to highlight the theories the author consider when explaining Black consciousness of African descendants in America versus Europe.

Although Mocombe's work is grounded in theories, I do not agree with the conclusion that based on recent values that elite African Americans such as Creflo Dollar and TD Jakes are examples of Black success, both materially and ideologically. These individuals are examples of Black religious leaders in the United States owning mega churches with large congregations. What Mocombe does not capture are other representative symbols of African American values for lower, middle and upper-middle income Blacks who believe that religion and spirituality are important, but advancing the African American race in different chosen professions are also symbols of Black success including Eric Holder, Congressman John Lewis, Van Jones, Oprah Winfrey, Bakari Sellers, Mae Jemison, Barack Obama, Michelle Obama, Taraji P. Henson, and Serena Williams. The majority of the African Americans listed have pursued political careers in America and some have held the highest political offices in America, but there are also African Americans that contribute to breaking barriers that are in the acting profession or are professional athletes. These are also examples of successful African Americans with whom all African Americans have become familiar and may aspire to become. It is critical to acknowledge that political representation alone will not resolve the challenges that confront the African Diaspora community in the United States.

As globalization continues to connect more individuals closer together, it is also connecting continents closer together via Facebook, YouTube, and other social media. Part of this process will involve greater cultural connectivity, understanding of cultural norms and values, and will ultimately cause a shift in cultural norms and values because individuals will begin to subscribe to mainstream ideals that may advance African descendants. However, what is important is for the works by great Black thinkers like Delany to ground people of the African Diaspora in having pride in their own history. As Delany teaches us, the tenets of Pan-Africanism are achieved when African descendants acknowledge one another globally, believe in economically uplifting predominantly African Diaspora communities, taking on political leadership in one's country, and advancing the African Diaspora community.

DELANY'S LESSONS ON POWER, POLITICS, AND PLEASURE

In the United States of America, participation and political representation of African American leaders has steadily increased, but effective accomplishment of desired political ends has not been achieved. Elected officials are not often honest about representing the interests of their constituency. Rather, these officials are more interested in being re-elected and serving their self-interests. According to the Pew Research Center, the number of African Americans represented in the United States federal government has substantially increased since 1965 (see Brown and Atske 2016). In fact, in 2016, there were 44 elected African Americans officials who held prominent roles in the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate. Progress has been made in America after emancipation, but the occurrence of discrimination in America and the growing inequalities in housing and infrastructure development, employment, equal pay for work equal work, gender inequality, violence perpetuated in inner cities and suburbs, villainous law enforcement shootings of Black youth, unequal education and access to resources, substance abuse, and homelessness are some of the issues that still disproportionately affect the African American community. These systematic issues have not been resolved by electing significant numbers of African Americans in local, state, and national politics. Thus, bringing about some of the ideas that Delany discussed in his works may help provide some suggestive thinking on how the African Diaspora may begin to think about how to implement some new changes in advancing the African nations in this era of globalization.

Delany believed that “African American entrepreneurship was an important part of self-determination” (quoted by Griffith 1975, p. 8). In order for the African American population to advance themselves, Delany urged African Americans to do the following: (a) make positive economic advancement by seeking jobs in the “industrial sector and create African American owned businesses,” (b) Blacks must enter politics in America, and (c) develop a political awakening or consciousness about self-determination (Griffith 1975, pp. 8–9). These aspects were essential for African American upward mobility. In fact, Griffith explains that Delany believed that the way to move the agenda of African Americans forward was through African American “economic growth” (Griffith 1975, p. 8).

Delany strongly urged African Americans to seek educational advancement and pursue jobs in the industrial field (Griffith 1975). This industrial field was a promising and booming industry in the United States, as many states were producing raw materials and exporting these products abroad. African Americans like other new immigrant groups could find an abundance of jobs in this field. However, Delany asserted that in order to obtain more jobs, “black men needed to acquire a thorough knowledge of politics to assert their rights in America and to share power with whites” (Griffith 1975, p. 9). In line with Delany’s statement, knowledge was a powerful tool that could be acquired from education. He also spoke fervently about the meager education that Black children received in segregated schools in the North, particularly in the State of Ohio where African American families paid their taxes to support the public school system. However, Black children were not allowed to attend schools and/or receive an education in those public schools for which they paid taxes (Griffith 1975). Circumstances such as these are what Delany spoke against because they were a disservice to the youth in the African American communities. Limiting youth from obtaining an education to expand their knowledge base was unjust and did not move the race forward.

In keeping with Martin Delany Robinson’s work, African Americans had the determination, the brilliance, and the work ethic to politically and economic advance in the United States. In addition to the unrelenting determination, Blacks also sought after political careers to have the opportunity to influence legislation that would affect the conditions of Blacks in America. To achieve political and economic advancement, African Americans and Africans in the continent must adopt the three critical recommendations made by Delany which were to (1) make positive economic advancement by seeking jobs in the industrial sector and create their own businesses, (2) enter and make significant contributions in the political arena, and (3) develop a political awakening or consciousness about self-determination. In recent times, most of these points have been achieved by a small percentage Blacks, but more has to be done. It is often believed that a more diverse political representation would create more opportunities for Blacks and would help eliminate policies that disproportionately impact them.

DELANY'S LESSONS ON BLACK NATIONALISM

As stated earlier, Delany is considered the Father of Black Nationalism and he was a strong advocate of African descendants returning to the motherland (Griffith 1975). According to Griffith, "Delany was passionately proud of his African ancestry. His attachment to the motherland became a major factor in the development of his Pan-African ideology. Delany clung to the concept that black men from the New World should join with Africans to build viable nationalities on the continent" (Griffith 1975, p. 1). Delany was a strong proponent of African Americans returning to Africa, the West Indies, or South America. This ideology was considered to be part of his "emigrationist strategy." As other major Black leaders have evolved in their mission to direct masses of African Americans, Delany evolved in his core beliefs on how African Americans should proceed in order to obtain success in life. Delany also believed that African Americans could also immigrate into American society which implied that African Americans should be considered citizens, obtain political status in the United States, and acquire voting rights to be legally considered part of the United States. This was Delany's "immigrationist strategy." To support this claim, Griffith asserts that for Delany, "citizenship is a political status conferred by God-given natural law" (Kahn 1984, p. 423). Delany's conviction of belonging to the land was intrinsic to his being on this Earth. According to Robert M. Kahn, "Delany accepts emigration-voluntary separation from the American political community. Delany rejects colonization-that is involuntary separation or expulsion from the American political community" (Kahn 1984, p. 419). Delany strongly believed that African Americans had rights to the land and that it was imperative to identify a community where one can thrive. This perspective was espoused by Delany in his works on advancing African Americans prior to the emancipation of Blacks.

It can be argued by some scholars that Martin Delany was not the true Father of Black Nationalism. However, the body of work that Delany penned during his myriad of professional careers, his genius and determination to propose multiple strategies for emancipated blacks to immigrate in the United States and obtain citizenship, his strategy for African Americans to emigrate to African, the West Indies, and South America, and his belief that African Americans can collectively achieve economic growth, and his consistent efforts to uplift the African Americans make him a stalwart of change for African people all over the globe. The major beliefs

held by Martin Delany can undoubtedly provide community-building perspectives to leaders in the African Diaspora and the African continent for advancing their communities economically and politically in this era of globalization. Many of the ideas birthed by Delany did come to fruition. For example, the American Colonization Society did raise enough capital to send hundreds of African Americans back to Africa on the Azor Voyager. The Azor was paid for by a community of African Americans and endured at least 99 voyages in the Atlantic Ocean (Griffith 1975). Many of the passengers reestablished themselves in Liberia among other West African countries. This is a just one example of the projects that Delany launched in order to fulfill some of his core beliefs. African nations should continue to follow some of his core principles to advance the African continent and African descendants internationally.

CONCLUSION

In summary, globalization has significantly impacted trade between the United States and Africa South of the Sahara. Many new economic partnerships are forming nations in the region because of the unlimited potential for exporting commodities from Africa, including products in the agricultural sector. Countries in the regions are continuing to develop economically and are expanding trading partners. Historically, these countries sought to expand partnerships solely with the United States. Nowadays, the global market has expanded and African nations have expanded partnerships with other competitors such as the United States, the European Union, and China as a way to develop and/or foster new allies and build economic partnerships. This is just one example of how trade alliances in this new wave of globalization are changing. It also explains why African nations must come together in unity to establish which economic priorities are imperative to maintain and foster positive economic growth. One leading international trading partnership of Africa is China. This trading partnership is growing because of the changing terms of agreement with African nations; for example, in the case of commercial loans. In addition to new trading partnerships, African nations are creating intra-continental trade agreements in order to foster economic growth.

The implications of globalization for conducting economic policy in Africa are significant with respect to agricultural trade. This is an untapped

market, and the land that is currently utilized to harvest crops and livestock has not reached its full potential in Africa South of the Sahara. Additional policies should be researched for developing this sector in the region and exporting more African products to the market. In addition to the challenges of achieving a consensual economic policy, there exists potential risk and benefits. One of the risks to intra-continental trade agreements is that the economies may collapse if one African nation does not meet its commitment to advance. Based on a collective responsibility, all nations must contribute for the success of the intra-continental free trade agreement. A potential benefit is that all African nations' gross domestic products (GDPs) and gross national products (GNPs) would increase substantially, thereby decreasing poverty, and would create more economic opportunities for citizens. Lastly, corruption is prevalent on the African continent, so citizens of African nations just as citizens in America must be cognizant of voting for elected officials that want to represent the interests of their constituencies and those who are willing to implement policies for economic growth and national unity.

It can be concluded that based on Delany's work, African descendants have contributed to modern society both economically and politically. In the United States, African Americans obtained citizenship, rights to vote, acquired an education, and entered trade and professional careers that enabled the African American community to develop economically. With African Americans' newfound rights to citizenship and the right to vote under the United States Constitution, this action legally authorized African Americans (males) to compete with their White (male) counterparts for access to the American economic and political system. Delany expressed the view that Blacks having acquiring education was essential for African Americans to obtain close to equal treatment in America. I do not think Delany believed that African Americans would achieve the same equal treatment as White Europeans; however, these skills and abilities would bring African Americans closer to attainment of certain societal statuses required to advance African Americans. It is from this African American experience Delany suggested that Africans in the Diaspora and in the continent may offer a perspective on collective economic and political power required to advance African nations. Through the experiences of the forefathers and foremothers, unification of each African nation is required to advance African nations on the continent, both economically and politically.

The explanatory case study methodology helped lead to the findings in the preceding analyses because it provided examples of the experiences of “how” African Americans in comparison to the African descendants in the United Kingdom and on the African continent. This perspective is crucial to understand “how” African were impacted by colonization and how African descendants brutally affected by slavery where able to advance economically and politically. It brings up a point of reference for policy makers on how to advance African nations both economically and politically in this era of globalization.

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Hrārā/S-tut/Qeṭ: Re-conceptualizing Pan-African Studies in the Era of Globalization Using a Mixture of Ancient Egyptian, Diopian, Mazruiana, Mbitian, and Asanteian Approaches

Abdul Karim Bangura

The conventional conceptualization of Pan-Africanism is as follows:

Pan-Africanism is the idea that peoples of African descent have common interests and should be unified. Historically, Pan-Africanism has often taken the shape of a political or cultural movement. There are many varieties of Pan-Africanism. In its narrowest political manifestation, Pan-Africanists envision a unified African nation where all people of the African Diaspora can live. (African Diaspora refers to the long-term historical process by which people of African descent have been scattered from their ancestral

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homelands to other parts of the world.) In more-general terms, Pan-Africanism is the sentiment that people of African descent have a great deal in common, a fact that deserves notice and even celebration. (Kuryla 2018, p. 1)

This conceptualization is being challenged by globalization (i.e. the process of going to a more interconnected world by diminishing the world's social dimension and expansion of overall global consciousness) as its power continues to weaken boundaries of statehood and many young people in Africa and the Diaspora are increasingly becoming aware of their own political and economic environment. It is in this context that Pan-Africanism has found a viable niche for renewal in the twenty-first century among educated Africans. Instead of focusing only on *identity* (i.e. the fact of being who or what a person or thing is), this “new Pan-Africanism is also a call for democracy, good governance and economic development” (Kuryla 2018, p. 1).

Nonetheless, the definition of Pan-African Studies as the scientific study of the principle or advocacy of the political union of all the indigenous inhabitants of Africa and meeting political and economic challenges has been stated often enough for it to appear in a number of books and scholarly articles. Nonetheless, both critics of the field and practitioners in it have become less certain, particularly as the scope of what is called Pan-African Studies continues to expand. The claim to scientific status is disputed within and outside Pan-African Studies. For some Pan-African Studies scholars, it now describes the actual state of the discipline; for others, only its potential; and for still others, a status lately abandoned because of the increased role of subjectivity in allowing intuitions about one's subject matter to count as scientific evidence. Many think of nothing more than a discussion of labels is involved. But since academic degrees are awarded in Pan-African Studies, its standing as a discipline is a matter of interest, both for the self-esteem of those who are already in the field or intend to enter it, and for members of the public who might be confusing a persuasive but temporary subjective stance with the solidity ordinarily attached to findings of pursuits no one disputes as “scientific.”

Indeed, Pan-African Studies scholars' recommendations have important consequences in education and other areas of public concerns. They are called upon to judge teachers of courses and texts on Blacks and related phenomena, make recommendations to governments, advise

other professionals, influence decisions of international organizations, etc.—why should responsible people pay attention to what they have to say?

This chapter therefore seeks to offer a reconceptualization of Pan-African Studies by amalgamating the Ancient Egyptian Hrārā/S-tut/Qeṭ (“to make a conception”/“to make an image”/“to make a picture, to design, to outline”) approach with Cheikh Anta Diop’s Pluridisciplinary approach (i.e. “the systematic utilization of two or more disciplines or branches of learning to investigate a phenomenon, thereby in turn contributing to those disciplines”), Ali Al’Amin Mazrui’s Afrenaissance (i.e. “the living evidence of Africa’s self-renewal, living testimony that the human spirit is reasserting itself among the African people”), John Samuel Mbiti’s Africanist approach (i.e. “the reality of the African’s self-understanding within his/her own worldview”) and Molefi Kete Asante’s Afronetricity (i.e. “the placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior”), and then marshal them into a simpler, pluridisciplinarily analytical unity. After all, it was Diop who challenged us that until we Blacks are able to reclaim our historical and promethean consciousness that is embodied in the achievements of ancient Egypt, our history and that of humanity in general will “remain suspended in air” and that such a history can never be written correctly “until African/Black historians dare to connect it with the history of Egypt.”

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN HRĀRĀ/S-TUT/QEṬ APPROACH

As mentioned earlier, the Ancient Egyptian Hrārā/S-tut/Qeṭ approach means “to make a conception”/“to make an image”/“to make a picture, to design, to outline.” The method is quite lucid in Ancient Egyptian portraiture (*khenti*, also meaning “portrait,” “image,” “statue,” “figure,” and “divine form”; *sānkhi* is the term for “portrait painter,” “sculptor,” and “engraver”), among other techniques. The portraiture technique is quite fitting and of great validity for this investigation because as Dows Dunham, for instance, pointed out 75 years ago, “Egyptian portrait...remained direct and relatively unaffected by external influences and by the sophistication and conscious striving for effect which later overlaid its essential character” (Dunham 1943, p. 68).

But before proceeding any further, it is imperative to make the point here that the Western conceptualization of “portraiture” is quite limited for understanding that of the Ancient Egyptians. This is mainly due to the fact that while Ancient Egyptian art was predicated on religious roots and functions, Western portraiture is based on the exact physical resemblances and inner qualities of the subjects. Dunham captures this verity quite well when he states the following:

The use of the term “portraiture” to describe the Egyptian’s representation of an individual is not entirely satisfactory, for it carries connotations to the modern mind which were not felt by the ancients. To us a portrait is a likeness of the physical appearance of the individual, and at its best a study of his character as well...Ancient Egyptian portraits are quite different in purpose. They were not made primarily to remind others of the individual represented, but rather to furnish his own spirit with an artificial shell in which to be embodied after death; they were addressed by the artist exclusively to the subject of the portrait, not to other men. (Dunham 1943, p. 68)

Also, as Douglas J. Brewer and Emily Teeter pointed out 56 years after Dunham’s work was published, the Ancient Egyptian portraiture technique was a conceptual approach used to illustrate “the subject from its own perspective rather than the viewpoint of the artist, because the goal is to communicate essential information about the subject itself, not how it appears to the viewer...The development of the complex conceptual conventions inherent in Egyptian art are tied to its religious function” (Brewer and Teeter 1999, pp. 174–175). Thus, it is vital that any analysis of Ancient Egyptian art and portraiture hinge upon their own terms and precise cultural context.

To begin with, it was 127 years ago that Amelia Ann Blanford Edwards in her celebrated work titled *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers* (1891) informed readers that Ancient Egyptians were the first to give the world the oldest paintings and sculptures 4000 years before the Christian era. Edwards noted that the art of painting and that of sculpture were preceded by the art of drawing, which is as old as the first humans (Edwards 1891, p. 71). She added:

From the prehistoric cave-dweller, we pass at one step to the ancient Egyptian draughtsman...This is about the time of the building of the Great Pyramid, or nearly six thousand years ago...Already he was a consummate builder, geometrician, and mathematician. Already he was in possession of a religious literature of great antiquity. He was master of a highly complicated system of writing; he had carried the art of sculpture, in the most obdurate materials, to as high a degree of perfection as was possible with the tools at his command; and he drew the human figure better, far better than he did in those later days when Herodotus and Plato and Strabo visited the Valley of the Nile. (Edwards 1891, pp. 71–72)

Next, during the nearly 3000 years of the Dynastic period (3100–332 BC), the ideal of *Ma'at* influenced Ancient Egyptian artistic expression. In his doctoral dissertation later published into a book with the same title, *Maat, The Moral Ideal in Ancient Egypt: A Study in Classical African Ethics* (2003), Maulana Karenga characterizes the paragon as follows:

Maat in its most expansive sense as rightness in and of the world is the philosophical locus in which all the critical questions in ancient Maatian and modern Maatian thought converge and ground themselves. Maat insists on a holistic view of the moral ideal, one that gives rightful and adequate attention to self, society and the world as component parts of an interrelated order of rightness. The ongoing quest, then, is to maintain, renew, repair, and enhance this order as self-conscious creators and bringers of the good in the world in a process and practice called *serudj ta*—restoring, repairing and renewing the world. Such a world-encompassing concept of moral practice invites us to move beyond narrow notions of self, national and even species interest and understand and assert ourselves as members of an interrelated order of existence in the world. At this juncture, Maatian discourse offers a contribution to modern moral deliberation about human fragmentation and the ongoing quest to return to an integrity and wholeness of human life that ends division of the social and natural world, mind and body, the past, present and future. (Karenga 2003, p. 408)

In terms of refinement and ingenuity, the *Ma'at* era, according to Brewer and Teeter (1999), witnessed the movement away from the state of perfection that characterized the era of the creation of the universe. The subjects, Donald B. Spanel (1988) proffers, wanting to make sure that their imperfections are omitted from their portraits, must have had to publicize their commitment to *Ma'at*. Hence, during this time, Brewer

and Teeter (1999) state, people's statues were perceived to be the final homes for their spirits and an assurance for their eternity after death. Spanel therefore suggests the following three concepts an analyst must take into consideration when examining Egyptian portraiture: (1) "the person represented may have chosen the particular form, and for him or her, it was real"; (2) "the Egyptian may have seen his individuality expressed in terms of conformity to *Ma'at*"; and (3) "the sense of identity in ancient Egypt was different from ours" (Spanel 1988, p. 21).

So, the major question that emerges here is the following: How did Ancient Egyptian artists and artisans depict the three *isms* of the profession—i.e. (1) *idealism* (the representation of things in ideal or idealized form: i.e. satisfying one's conception of what is perfect or most suitable), (2) *naturalism* (a style and theory of representation based on the accurate depiction of detail), and (3) *realism* (the movement or style of representing familiar things as they actually are)? A corollary question is this: Within which artistic framework did the Ancient Egyptian artists and artisans work? What follow are answers to these questions.

First, in terms of idealism, we learn from Spanel that Egyptian art was greatly influenced by religious and funerary desiderata, thereby privileging *utilitarianism* (i.e. the doctrine that an action is right insofar as it promotes happiness, and that the greatest happiness of the greatest number should be the guiding principle of conduct) over *aesthetics* (i.e. giving or designed to give pleasure through beauty or pleasing appearance) as the artworks are placed in tombs and temples viewed by only a few people. The idealized artworks must be reminiscent of perfection and all that is deemed good by the Ancient Egyptians. In essence, they must attest to the subjects' "adherence to *Ma'at* and virtue as proclaimed in tomb biographies and chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*" (Spanel 1988, p. 29). Consequently, an artist must select, delete, and arrange his techniques of portrayal in order to represent the virtuous person (Spanel 1988). Dunham captures this aspect quite well when he states the following:

...the essential requirement for the Egyptian of untrained perception was to have a figure in his tomb which has the semblance of a man—a figure which, by means of the name inscribed upon it, or by the magic formulae recited by the priests in its presence, became identified with the spirit whom it was supposed to represent—and which had that spirit induced into it by these mysterious means. (Dunham 1943, p. 69)

Second, as it pertains to naturalism, we are again informed by Spanel that the proclivity toward the style began with non-royal artworks during the Old and Middle Kingdoms (2686–1710 BC) and in some royal artworks of the 12th Dynasty (1991–1802 BC). The style was popularized during the reign of the Kushite pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty (744–671 BC). The renaissance that began with these Nubian pharaohs represented the essence of the 26th or Saite Dynasty (672–525 BC). Since these pharaohs were Nubians, their differences in terms of physical and facial features were depicted in their statues and reliefs (Spanel 1988, p. 2). Also, as Dunham points out,

The great work of art was custom-built, to use a modern commercial term. The highest officials, the princes, and above all the kings commanded the services of the relatively few master-sculptors, and their portraits were commissions representing both the refined taste of the patron and the superlative skill and sensibility of the artist. The man of modest means could neither afford to employ a great artist to make his funerary figure, nor had he the fineness of perception which will make him dissatisfied with a reasonably attractive generalization to which his personality would become attached by the magic ritual of the priests and the addition of the inscribed name. (Dunham 1943, p. 69)

Third, *vis-à-vis* realism, we gather from Dunham that unlike the royals who were portrayed ideally in artworks, normal people and even high officials were portrayed realistically and individually—an example is Ankhhaf, an Egyptian prince who served as vizier and overseer of works of his half-brother, Pharaoh Khufu (2589–2566), during the Fourth Dynasty (2613–2494 BC). Also, while women of noble or high status enjoyed idealized artworks depicting them as eternally beautiful, fertile and youthful, non-elite women were represented in diverse activities, ages, costumes and postures in settings such as a market place and as mothers and their offspring and working women (Dunham 1943). Dunham also makes the following observation:

There can be no doubt that the best of the portraits which have survived from ancient Egypt are real physical likeness of particular persons...The element of physical likeness came about when the skill of the sculptor, seeking after perfection in his craft, led him subconsciously to individualize his subject, and when the more intellectual and sensitive members of the aristocracy had developed an appreciation for the subtle qualities in an art

which induced them to demand a true likeness. (Dunham 1943, pp. 68–69)

Finally, as it concerns the artistic framework within which the Ancient Egyptian artists and artisans worked, we still acquire from Spanel that ethical, magical, religious and social ruminations determined the framework within which these experts worked. An artist or artisan must therefore adhere to the highly developed ethical principles when representing the subject as a loyal adherent. Over time, however, the naturalizing inclination that was taking place led to the display of physical appearance and the personality of the subject in the artworks (Spanel 1988). Also, in the words of Dunham, “In discussing the representativeness of kings from the point of view of their portrait value it is necessary to consider the special position of the sovereign in Egyptian thought during the Old Kingdom (2682–2134 BC). He was not a man like other mortals, but a god, who, living for a time upon earth, passed at death into the company of the other gods” (Dunham 1943, p. 71).

CHEIKH ANTA DIOP’S PLURIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

As I state elsewhere, Diop’s Pluridisciplinary approach can be generally defined as “the systematic utilization of two or more disciplines or branches of learning to investigate a phenomenon, thereby in turn contributing to those disciplines. Noting that Diop had called on African-centered researchers to become pluridisciplinarians, Clyde Ahmad Winters (1998) states that a pluridisciplinary specialist is a person who is qualified to employ more than one discipline—for example, history, linguistics, etc.—when researching aspects of African history and Africology in general” (Bangura 2012a, b, c, 2013a, b, c, 2014, 2015a, b, c, d, e; for examples of his Pluridisciplinary work, see Diop 1974, 1978, 1987, 1989, 1991).

I add that “the history of the Pluridisciplinary Methodology can be traced back to the mid-1950s with the works of Diop and Jean Vercoutter. The approach was concretized by Alain Anselin and Winters in the 1980s and early 1990s” (Bangura 2012a, b, c, 2013a, b, c, 2014, 2015a, b, c, d, e). I also mention that following Dani Wadada Nabudere, six key questions are imperative for conducting a pluridisciplinary study (Nabudere 2003, p. 13; Bangura 2012a, b, c, 2013a, b, c, 2014, 2015a, b, c, d, e):

1. “How can the research increase indigenous knowledge in the general body of global human development?”
2. “How can the research create linkages between the sources of indigenous knowledge and the centers of learning on the continent and in the Diaspora?”
3. “How can centers of research in the communities ensure that these communities become ‘research societies?’”
4. “How can the research be linked to the production needs of the communities?”
5. “How can the research help to ensure that science and technology are generated in relevant ways to address problems of the rural communities where the majority of the people live and that this is done in indigenous languages?”
6. “How can the research help to reduce the gap between the elite and the communities from which they come by ensuring that the research results are available to everyone and that such knowledge is drawn from the communities?”

Furthermore, I point out that “various scholars have suggested many major concepts to underlie the Pluridisciplinary Methodology, but it is Nabudere (2003) who has provided the most succinct definitions and discussions for most of these concepts” (Bangura 2012a, b, c, 2013a, b, c, 2014, 2015a, b, c, d, e). These key concepts are (a) *African Spirituality*, (b) *Contemporary African Philosophy*, (c) *African Renaissance*, (d) *Pan-Afrikan University*, (e) *African Epistemology and Cosmology*, (f) *African Humanism/Ubuntu*, (g) *African Languages*, (h) *New Humanities*, (i) *Hermeneutic Philosophy*, (j) *Integrated and Synthesized Knowledge*, (k) *Afrikan-based Pedagogy*, (l) *Life Long Learning*, and (m) *KemetiC Civilization* (brief definitions of these concepts appear in the section titled Synthesis; lengthier definitions and discussions can be found in Bangura 2012a, b, c, 2013a, b, c, 2014, 2015a, b, c, d, e). I add the following observation:

The favored methodological approach for pluridisciplinary studies is Hermeneutics, an open-ended approach that permits cross-cultural communication and exchange of ideas and opinions to promote understanding between all knowledge systems in their diversities. This African philosophical-pedagogic approach hinges upon the acceptance of pluralism

and cultural diversity. It stresses the need for the “fusion of historical horizons” as the best way of transmitting understanding between different lived histories or experiences of different communities as the basis of their existence. It insists on both the cultural context and the historical contingencies of events as necessities for a true comprehension of the different lived experiences. Furthermore, the approach has its roots in the African/Egyptian mythical figure of Hermes, the messenger of knowledge from the gods to mortals and the interpreter of the divine message to humankind, and that is why Hermeneutics is named after Hermes. (Nabudere 2003, pp. 7–8; Bangura 2012a, b, c, 2013a, b, c, 2014, 2015a, b, c, d, e)

I then conclude that Hermeneutics is imperative for fostering “self-directed learning, which engages with the knowledge, interests, and real life situations that learners bring to their learning situations” (Nabudere 2003, p. 8; Bangura 2012a, b, c, 2013a, b, c, 2014, 2015a, b, c, d, e).

ALI AL'AMIN MAZRUI'S AFRENAUISSANCE

Mazrui in his paper titled “Mazruiana: Between the Renaissance African and the African Renaissance” (2005), written as his acknowledgment speech at the book launch of the *The Mazruiana Collection: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of the Published Works of Ali A. Mazrui, 1962–1967* compiled by Abdul Samed Bemath, delivered at the Zimbabwe International Book Fair in Harare on August 4, 1998, first characterizes Afrenaissance and African Renaissance as involving “the re-Africanization of Africa” based on what he calls the seven *imperatives* of (1) history, (2) language, (3) talent, (4) dignity, (5) self-reliance, (6) humane self-rule/(government), and (7) creative accommodation to globalization. He then discusses the legacies of former Nigerian Presidents Yakubu Gowon and Olusegun Obasanjo, how the African Renaissance must be undergirded by Pan-Africanism, and the need for an Aca-Media to link scholars and the media in order to strengthen the ties between the two entities (Mazrui 1998; see also Bemath 2005).

In one of his essays for the series of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton titled “Language of Francophonie and the Race of the Renaissance: A Commonwealth Perspective” (March 1999), which has recently been republished with the same title in a book edited by Ola Uduku and Alfred B. Zack-Williams (2017), Mazrui enlightens us about the essence

of Afrenaissance by doing a number of things. First, he provides a comparative analysis to show why Anglophone and Francophone Whites had “limited and marginal loyalty to Africa” while South African Whites “identified themselves with Africa but not with the Africans.” Second, he delineates the factors that led to a racial war in Algeria and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) but not in South Africa. Third, he proffers an explanatory analysis for why the French had to loosen the linguistic criterion for admitting members to their Francophonie club because the English language had replaced the French language in Europe due to America’s global influence. Fourth, he elucidates the following seven bedrocks (or “imperatives”) upon which his idea of Afrenaissance—“a renaissance of Africa based on African cultures and civilizations, and Afro-optimism” (Mazrui 1999, p. 1; see also Bemath 2005, pp. 76–77)—is anchored:

1. *The History Imperative*: “a new systematic recognition of the probable authenticity of African oral history” (Mazrui 2017, p. 175).
2. *The Language Imperative*: “a new respect for African languages and oral literatures” (Mazrui 2017, p. 175).
3. *The Talent Imperative*: “a readiness to train, encourage and use African talent in all fields of human endeavor: from forestry to medicine, from business to nuclear physics” (Mazrui 2017, p. 175).
4. *The Dignity Imperative*: “a recognition of Africanity as one dignified face of humanity” (Mazrui 2017, p. 175).
5. *The Self-Reliance Imperative*: “a sustained capacity for self-reliance and self-development among African peoples” (Mazrui 2017, p. 175).
6. *The Humane Self-Rule/(Government) Imperative*: “a reactivated will for humane self-rule/(government) and clean governance in spite of massive pressures to the contrary. Even soldiers like Gowon and Obasanjo could contribute to the spirit, let alone more saintly figures like Nelson Mandela and Archbishop [Desmond] Tutu” (Mazrui 2017, p. 175).
7. *The Creative Accommodation to Globalization Imperative*: “a creative African response to a world of globalization and historic trends. Africa may have to teach the world the culture of a short memory of hate and speedy reconciliation” (Mazrui 2017, pp. 175–176).

Finally, Mazrui advocates for an African hundred best books and ends with the following paean for Afrenaissance:

If the Francophonie practiced a linguistic apartheid based on the French language, and the Modern Library Board of the United States practiced a form of English language apartheid on issuing its list of hundred best novels published in the 20th century in the English language, the African renaissance in contrast aspires to transcend the apartheid of language as well as race. (Mazrui 1999, p. 1; see also Bemath 2005, p. 77)

Mazrui in his article titled “Shifting African Identities: The Boundaries of Ethnicity and Religion in Africa’s Experience” (2001) teaches us that (a) there is a “relationship between ethnicity and religion and the manner in which these two primordial forces affect contemporary African politics and the quest for national and regional integration leading to new identity formation and enlargement of political scale”; (b) there are interplays “between primordiality and statecraft, between religion and ethnicity, and between domestic forces and international repercussions”; and (c) “how in the African setting Christianity and Islam can be a parochial force fragmenting the nation while ethnicity becomes a transnational and Pan-African force” (Mazrui 2001, pp. 153–165; see also Bemath 2005, p. 55). In addition, Mazrui edifies us the following four models of religious and political interaction: (1) “theocracy,” (2) “religious nation,” (3) “ecumenical state,” and (4) “secular state which in the African setting is more secular than achieved in the West” (Mazrui 2001, pp. 153–165, 175). Also, Mwalimu Mazrui explains the differences between “primary” and “secondary” political violence, the reason South Africa was spared an all-out racial war, and why “Afrenaissance or the African Renaissance” would re-Africanize the continent (Mazrui 2001; see also Bemath 2005).

More specifically, Mazrui apprises us that he coined the word “Afrenaissance” by simply “prefixing the letters ‘A’ before the word ‘renaissance’” (Mazrui 2001, p. 171). He calls for Africa’s triple heritage of religion—i.e. indigenous, Christian, and Islamic—to be accorded parity via Afrinaissance if the latter two “are to survive vibrantly in the new Africa—this is the *religious imperative*” (Mazrui 2001, p. 172). He adds that “another force of Afrenaissance is language,” as the “African Renaissance requires a new recognition of and respect for indigenous African languages...this is the *language imperative*” (Mazrui 2001, p. 172). He also notes that “Afrenaissance is the role of oral and indigenous history,”

since “we need to confront some of the perennial prejudices which have in the past reduced Africans to the status of a people without history” (Mazrui 2001, p. 173). He further insists that “Afrinaissance demands a review of African history and of the method of studying it” because “change is needed in the direction of restoring Africa in its rightful place in global history...this is the *history imperative*, often deeply related to issues of identity” (Mazrui 2001, p. 173). Finally, Mwalimu Mazrui tells us that “Afrinaissance is, in part, a creative African response to globalization and related historic trends...this is the imperative of *humane globalization*” (Mazrui 2001, p. 174).

In his work titled “Afrinaissance: Struggles of Hope in Post-colonial Africa’ (2003), Mazrui begins by providing the following definition for Afrinaissance stated earlier: “the living evidence of Africa’s self-renewal, living testimony that the human spirit is reasserting itself among the African people” (2003, p. 163). He then goes on to do the following: (a) outline “the various paradoxes of Africa’s democratization process [and shows how] this democratic Afrinaissance needs to be consolidated”; (b) provide “prerequisites to this consolidation” in order to strengthen Africa’s democratic capacity, the political will to democratize, and the Africans themselves to be essentially involved in this process”; (c) call for a “middle ground between democracy as a cause of conflict and democracy as a cure”; (d) advocate for “a mechanism...to contain, prevent, and resolve political conflict”; and (e) assert that “political conflict can be prevented from happening by utilizing Afrinaissance values such as its short memory of hate, elder tradition in Africa, its ecumenical spirit and traditional readiness to involve women in decisions about war and peace” (Mazrui 2003, pp. 163–176; see also Bemath 2005, p. 42).

JOHN SAMUEL MBITI’S AFRICANIST APPROACH

Mbiti’s Africanist approach can be defined as a challenge to Western or Eurocentric domination and an antithesis to its demeaning presentation of Africa’s past, with foci on African law, religions, and philosophy. As Toyin Falola points out, the Africanist approach is similar to that of Afrocentricity in that there is an agreement between the two ideologies in terms of their mission, which is “the promotion of ideas relating to Africa and the black experience and the shift in the analysis of this experience from the periphery of scholarship to its very center” (Falola 2013, p. 84). Falola adds:

Irrespective of definition, the centralization of Africa in both ideologies challenges mainstream scholarship, the dominance of the West, and the monocausal explanation of world events as solely derived from the actions and activities of one dominant race. By refusing to accept some of the established canons, both ideologies create alternative ways of looking at the black experience and historical realities. (Falola 2013, p. 84)

The rest of this section entails a summary of some of Mbiti's numerous ideas reflecting his contribution to the Africanist approach.

First, since Westerners lack the ability to see the array of entities as a domain of spirits because of their tendency to separate the secular from the sacred, they are quick to misinterpret the existence of spirits in nature as an indication of venerating them. Armed with their gospel messages and their scientific set of attitudes which privilege a predominantly two-pronged worldview, a distinct natural order, causation, and serendipity, Western Christian missionaries have been ineffective in Africa. This failure to respond to the African's reality of self-understanding within his own worldview prompted Mbiti to reject Christian missionaries' attempts to superimpose their worldview upon Africans and state the following: "Africa does not want imported Christianity because too much of it will only castrate us spiritually, or turn us into spiritual cripples" (quoted in Graves 1988, p. 1).

Second, Africa's heritage is the anchor for Mbiti's discourse on *community* (a feeling of fellowship among people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common, as a result of sharing common attitudes, interests, and goals) and *identity* (the fact of being who or what a person or thing is). While Mbiti lauds African-centered ideologies such as African Personality, African Unity, Négritude, and Pan-Africanism for having contributed significantly to African thought and liberation, he also appraises and repudiates them for not having fulfilled the necessities of indigenous Africans as religion is capable of doing. As he puts it, "All these political ideologies and economic attempts point to a progress being made in Africa. But it is a progress locked in search mode; it lacks concreteness, historical roots, and a clear and practical goal, at least for the individual to be able to find in it a sense of direction worthy of personal identification and dedication" (Mbiti 1969/1970, p. 271; see also Tarus and Lowery 2017, p. 311). Thus, as David Kirwa Tarus and Stephanie Lowery accurately point out, "Instead of rooting

his concept of identity and community on these ideologies, Mbiti roots them in indigeno-religious heritage” by arguing that Africa’s “traditional heritage is religious and bears a holistic outlook to all of reality” (Tarus and Lowery 2017, p. 311).

Third, Mbiti postulates that while individual identity is treasured by Africans, corporate or community identity ranks higher than the former for them. Since the community is the keeper of these beliefs, its traditional religious beliefs are privileged in religious matters. As a member of the community, a person must accept and live by these beliefs which are passed down from one generation to the next and are permanently ingrained in the person’s heart. In the words of Mbiti, “Each individual is himself a living creed of his own religion. Where the individual is, there is his religion, for he is a religious being. It is this that makes Africans so religious: religion is their whole system of being” (Mbiti 1969/1970, p. 3; see also Tarus and Lowery 2017, p. 312).

Fourth, Mbiti proffers the view that, unlike Western life which is individual-centered, African life is community-centered. This axiom is couched in one of his now very famous maxims: i.e. “I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am” (Mbiti 1969/1970, p. 106; see also Tarus and Lowery 2017, p. 312). In essence, as Tarus and Lowery eloquently put it,

For Mbiti, community manifests itself with reference to blood and marital kinship, land, tribal affiliation, clan roots, ritual celebrations, rites of passage and death, and shared oppression and suffering. Community has both vertical and horizontal dimensions. The vertical aspect is the people’s relationship with their Supreme Being and the spirit world. The horizontal dimensions include relationship between individuals and social groups i.e. clans, individual families, the departed, and the unborn. Death does not destroy community but animates it. One is related to the visible community as well as maintaining relationships with the invisible world. Furthermore, community also includes harmony with the non-human world because ideally, in the African worldview, nature is “sacred” and human beings have a priestly relationship with it. (Tarus and Lowery 2017, p. 312)

Fifth, Mbiti characterizes as a misnomer for Westerners to label the honoring of ancestors, the use of fetishes, and the perception of spirits in natural aspects by Africans as “ancestor worship,” “animism,” and “fetishism.” He states that African religion hinges upon the following five elements: (1) beliefs, (2) ceremonies, (3) holy people, (4) sacred

items and places, and (5) values. Therefore, according to him, African culture entails many aspects, including the way people act, behave and live, and their intellectual and physical achievements. African culture also manifests itself in art, buildings, clothing, customs, dance, drama, ethics, institutions, laws, morals, philosophy, religion, social organizations, and political systems. Consequently, there is diversity in African culture and some ubiquitous features as well, such as bananas, crafts, growing yams, herding, millets, music, myths and legends, polygamy, proverbs, riddles, and round houses (Mbiti 1975).

Sixth, according to Mbiti, strands of traditional African spirituality are pervasive across Africa South of the Sahara, even among Christians and Muslims. These elements can be found in art and symbols, customs and myths, names, proverbs, and sacred places. Some names denote that death is a continuation of life and that the dead will return to be born in their families. While some shrines are owned by families, such as those designated for deceased family members or their graves, other shrines are community properties such as caves, groves, hills, mountains, mountains, rocks, trees, etc. These shrines are so greatly honored that a person, animal or bird can be killed if found hiding there in certain societies (Mbiti 1975).

Seventh, Mbiti enlightens us that the views of Africans concerning the universe can be traced back to their earlier ancestors, as the first humans, observing the natural world for a long time and developing and sharing multiplex and sundry ideas. These notions include creationism, earth and sky, man's significance, order, and perpetual natural cycles. These conceptions also led Africans to become theists in terms of their belief in God as they considered their human limitations. Thus, for Africans, God is a creator, a father, a friend, a provider, a ruler, and a sustainer. God is therefore good, just, merciful, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, etc. This is the reason traditional African prayers encompass a statement of the condition in which the person offering a prayer is, praise, requests, and thanksgiving. An individual requests good health, healing, peace, preservation of life, prosperity, protection from danger, safe journeys or other endeavors, security, and other aspects that are of benefit to the person. A community prayer includes requests for acceptance of offerings and sacrifices; end of epidemics and dangers to the community; fertility for animals, crops and people; peace; rain; success in raids and war; etc. Africans also believe in the existence of spirits. Of these there are two kinds: (1) nature spirits which are related to the earth (e.g.,

natural features pertaining to water) and the sky (e.g., celestial bodies) and (2) human spirits of those who died four and more generations ago. Those who died more recently are trusted more than those who died much earlier, as the former are still considered as members of their living families (Mbiti 1975).

Eighth, Mbiti explains that the origin and early state of man in Africa are embedded in three oral traditions with diverse myths. One myth is that man was created in the sky and was sent down to earth because he was constantly disturbing God. The other folktale is that man was created on earth and God moved to the sky due to man's constant disturbance. Still, another legend is that both earth and sky were together before they were separated by God. Birth is the bringing to fruition God's creation. It is therefore marked with joy, precautions, and ceremonies. To ensure the safety of the unborn child, the expecting mother takes great care of her health by observing dietary restrictions, abstaining from strenuous activities, and wearing charms. When the baby is born, celebrations are accompanied by certain ceremonies and rituals to protect him/her from harm. During the naming ceremony, the name selected is seriously considered. Names include the day of the week the child is born, a demeaning one to protect the child from harm, that of a dead relative to keep alive memories of him/her, etc. Twins are considered an ill-fortune because their chances of survival are lesser than those of non-twins (Mbiti 1975).

Also, as the child becomes an adult, s/he is to fulfill the obligations of initiation and marriage. During an initiation ceremony, blood is shed to indicate adulthood and the binding of the young adult to the community and the land. Many months-long training follows the ceremony to inculcate the young adult with traditional affairs. In terms of African religion, marriage is the juncture for the culmination of the three layers of human life: (1) the *living*—the connection between life and death, (2) the *departed*—the source upon whom the living is anchored, and (3) the *yet to be born*—the source of the procreative power of the living who through marriage facilitates the development and appearance of those to be born. Parents care for and protect their children from harm. They assign the children errands, and more challenging ones are added as the children grow older. In turn, the children are to care for their parents when they become too old and weak, bury them properly, take good care of their graves, remember them, give bits of food and pour libations to them. All these activities are to ensure that the living will have a good relationship

with the dead who are now spirits that could either harm or protect them (Mbiti 1973, 1975).

Ninth, Mbiti instructs us about the nexus among death and the here-after, rituals and festivals, religious objects and places, religious leaders, and magic and medicine. There are many different traditional African myths about when death began and its causes, albeit the majority of them center on the use of magic by humans or spirits. Great attention is paid to funeral ceremonies because death is perceived to be an important continuation of one's life, as the next world, despite its invisibility, is believed to be close to this one. As mentioned earlier, ceremonies and rituals are performed for the departed to act as interveners for the living in the next world. In essence, the ceremonies and rituals are part and parcel of people's life cycles from the cradle to the grave. Items used for the ceremonies and rituals include personal ones such as a person's cattle and those of the community such as masks and staffs. Black, red, and white are the most frequently used colors in the ceremonies and rituals. Any of these three colors can be considered to represent purity and sacredness or danger and evil depending on the part of Africa. Religious leaders who include seers, diviners, medicine men and women, and mediums play very important roles in ceremonies and rituals. Those who abuse their magical powers are loathed, and antidotes are available to treat those who are harmed by the use of magic. The fear of being harmed by magic forces potential targets to treat others well (Mbiti 1975).

Finally, Mbiti apprises us about aspects that undergird morals in African religion, the meeting of African religion and other religions, and the value of religion. The social and community nature of a people dictates their religious morals in traditional African societies. Bringing up children well, courage, honesty, hospitality, reliability, respecting parents, etc. comprise African morality. Moral failing is often associated with natural calamities. Christianity's arrival in Africa started the undermining of some African moral values as many Africans were being converted and exposed to Western values. The large number of Christian denominations, groups, sects, and church divisions led and continue to lead to major problems. While many of the problems came from overseas, others were started in Africa by breakaway African churches which no longer wanted foreign missionary domination and colonial infringement, and also their desire for power, wanting Christianity to reflect African culture and address African problems, etc. Islam spread but encountered problems because of its very legalistic nature. Baha'i, Hinduism, Judaism, and Sikhism are also present

in African, albeit these faiths are having great difficulty attracting African converts. But even Christian converts and Muslim reverts still maintain many African ways. Many Africans are prepared to offer religion their material resources, time, and even their lives. Most African societies honor religious freedom, holidays, morality and spiritual understanding. Religion has been a very valuable medium for conveying a sense of humility among Africans (Mbiti 1975).

MOLEFI KETE ASANTE’S AFROCENTRICITY

It behooves me to begin the discussion here by restating a major point I make in my article titled “Teaching Afrocentricity through E-clustering” (2017)—i.e. “the idea of *Afrocentricity* that has been made by Itibari M. Zulu in his book titled *Exploring the African Centered Paradigm: Discourse and Innovation in African World Community Studies*. As he edifyingly tells us, the term ‘Afrocentrism’ was coined by *The New York Times* in 1991 championed by those opposed to the concept of ‘Afrocentricity.’ Hence, the term ‘Afrocentrism’ is not a synonym for ‘Afrocentricity,’ a mistake many writers have made” (Zulu 1999, pp. 151–153; Bangura 2017, p. 122).

As I recount in more detail in my books titled *African-Centered Research Methodologies: From Ancient Times to the Present* (Bangura 2011), *Toyin Falola and African Epistemologies* (Bangura 2015a) and *Falolaism: Epistemologies and Methodologies of Africana Knowledge* (2018), and my essays titled “The Colors of the Flag of Sierra Leone: An Afrocentric Analysis” (Bangura 2015e), and “Bo School Symbols: A Deep African-centered Analysis” (Bangura 2015c), from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s, many, and consistent, definitions of Afrocentricity were proffered by Africanists. The first definition was by Asante who defined “Afrocentricity [African-centered] as the placing of African ideals at the center of any analysis that involves African culture and behavior” (1987, p. 6). The second definition was by C. Tshloane Keto who defined the “African-centered perspective [as an approach that] rests on the premise that it is valid to position Africa as a geographical and cultural starting base in the study of peoples of African descent” (1989, p. 1). The third definition was by Wade Nobles who defined “Afrocentric, Africentric, or African-Centered [as being] interchangeable terms representing the concept which categorizes a quality of thought and practice which is rooted in the cultural image and interest of African people and

which represents and reflects the life experiences, history and traditions of African people as the center of analyses. It is therein that the intellectual and philosophical foundation [with] which African people should create their own scientific criterion for authenticating human reality” exists (1990, p. 47). The fourth definition was by Maulana Karenga who defined “Afrocentricity ... as a quality of thought and practice rooted in the cultural image and human interest of African people [and their descendants]. To be rooted in the cultural image of African people is to be anchored in the views and values of African people as well as in the practice which emanates from and gives rise to these views and values” (1993, p. 36). Finally, Lathardus Goggins II defined “African-centered [as being able] to construct and use frames of reference, cultural filters and behaviors that are consistent with the philosophies and heritage of African cultures in order to advance the interest of people of African descent” (1996, p. 18). It behooves me to mention here that while many works have been published on Afrocentricity since the aforementioned ones, the preceding definitions, particularly the one by Asante, are oft-used.

From the preceding definitions, as I argue in my aforementioned works, it is evident that Afrocentricity presupposes knowledge of a commonality of cultural traits among the diverse peoples of Africa which characterize and constitute a worldly view that is somehow distinct from that of the foreign worldviews that have influenced African peoples. Afrocentricity, as I also add, simply means that the universe is a collection of relationships, and an individual or a group being in that universe is defined by and dependent upon these relationships. Africans, prior to European and Asian dominance, and still to some degree now, considered the Cause or God as being a part of His creation while Europeans on the other hand considered God separate from His creation (Bangura 2015a, c, e).

As I also point out in my works cited earlier, Asante suggests that in the analysis of what he calls the “three fundamental Afrocentric themes of transcendent discourse—i.e. (1) human relations, (2) humans’ relationship to the supernatural, and (3) humans’ relationships to their own being” (1987, p. 168; for greater details, see Asante 1988)—that if done with an awareness of the interrelatedness of these themes, a greater understanding of the African being will be acquired” (Bangura 2015a, c, e).

In addition, in my aforementioned works, I point out that the foundation upon which Afrocentricity rests is based on certain essential research questions. All forms of inquiry done in the name of Afrocentricity must

use these questions and their answers as their basis. Here are those questions according to Diop (1987, p. 270):

- (a) What is the unique history of African peoples?
- (b) What is the unique cognitive style of African peoples?
- (c) What are the unique characteristics of African languages?

These questions facilitate an understanding of Afrocentricity as well as establish a point of departure for Afrocentric analysis (Bangura 2015a, c, e).

Furthermore, in Afrocentricity, as I discuss in my works mentioned earlier, there are major theories and concepts that form the basis of the discipline. Here are some of them (Bangura 2015a, c, e):

- (a) *Matriarchal Origins Theory* is the theory that most of African civilizations prior to the incursion of Christianity and Islam were matriarchal in structure with women being shown high levels of respect (Diop 1989).
- (b) *Two-Cradle Theory* is the theory that Blacks in Africa and Whites in Eurasia resided in two separate localities or cradles which characterized their physical features, cultures, histories, and cognitive styles (Diop 1991). It should be noted here that this theory has been dismissed by many scientists, both Black/African and White, in light of the new evidences that point to Africa as the sole cradle of civilization.
- (c) *Analogical Symbols Theory* is the theory that African symbolism was based on finding the similarities between things and representing those things incomprehensible, abstraction, by that which is comprehensible (De Lubicz 1978).
- (d) *Kawaida* was conceived and crafted as a philosophy in the midst of the liberation struggle of the 1960s as an emancipatory philosophy dedicated to Cultural Revolution, radical social change, and bringing good in the world. *Kawaida* was shaped by its focus on culture and community as the basis and building blocks for any real movement for the liberation of African people everywhere. This means that culture is conceived as the crucible in which the liberation struggle of African people takes form and the context in which it will ultimately succeed. *Kawaida* is an ongoing

- synthesis of African thought and practice in constant exchange with the world, asking questions and seeking answers to central and enduring concerns of the African and human community (Karenga 2007).
- (e) *The African Code* is a concept within Pan-Africanism that stresses unity through diversity based upon the seven key principles of *Kwanzaa* delineated by Maulana Karenga: (1) *Maat*—truth, justice and equality; (2) *Kujichagulia*—self-determination; (3) *Umoja*—unity; (4) *Mila*—culture; (5) *Kulea*—education; (6) *Jamii*—family; and (7) *Ujamaa*—economics. The African Code acts as an intersection of a global Pan-African ethos for unity through diversity. It has been translated into over 30 languages and functions as a non-political, non-religious cultural commonality for African people seeking self-determination everywhere. The African Code employs the Ge'ez alphabet and treats Kiswahili as the official Pan-African language, and subsequently Ge'ez as an African script to replace all forms of Latin to write all African languages (Karenga 1993).
- (f) *Négritude* is a concept originated by Aimé Césaire as a cultural expression of Blackness. In a poem written during World War II, Césaire coined the phrase “African personality” as an expression of an original and unique personality peculiar to Africans that manifests the foundation of Afrocentricity in the African Diaspora where French is spoken. Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal became a major proponent of *Négritude*, arguing that the African emotional quality to life is different from the materialism of Europeans. *Négritude* has usually been described as “passive” by many social critics, but one of the followers of the movement, Diop, used the idea of “Africanity” to add a historical component to *Négritude* to explain the African origin of Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilization (Winters 1998).
- (g) *Analyses Acculturaliste*, or topological analysis, is Diop's approach used to study the origin and spread of African cultural features from the Nile Valley to West Africa through his analysis of toponyms (Diop 1974).
- (h) *Linguistic Constancy* refers to the rate at which languages change. It appears that linguistic change is culture specific; thus, the social organization and political culture of a particular speech community can affect the speed at which languages change. African languages

have been found to change much slower than European languages (Winters 1998).

These theories and concepts help to guide research in Afrocentricity. They define that which is African; and by doing this, they establish a means of differentiating between that which is African and anything else (Bangura 2015a, c, e).

A SYNTHESIS

In this section, the preceding approaches are combined to suggest a system for re-conceptualizing Pan-African Studies in this era of globalization. The non-directional cycle of Fig. 15.1 represents a continuing

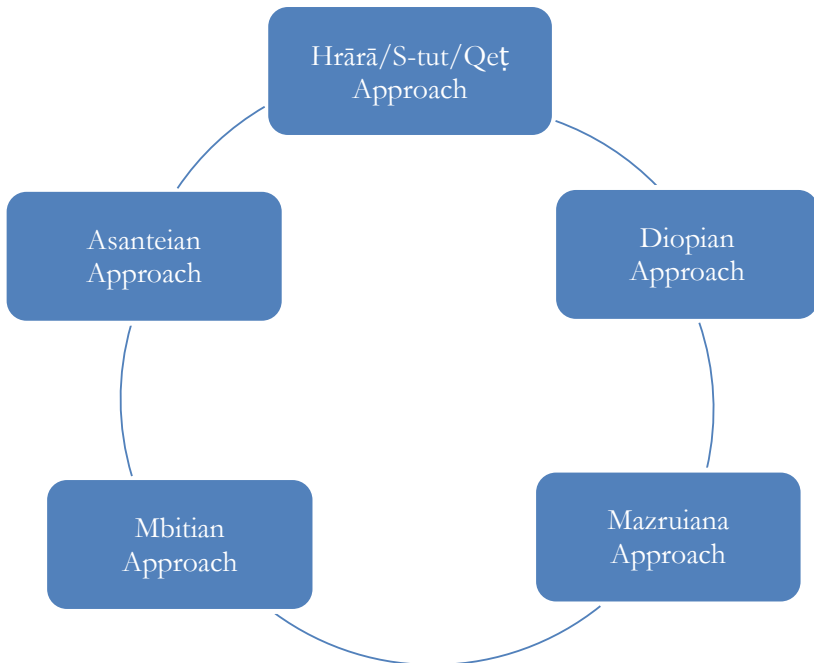


Fig. 15.1 Re-conceptualizing Pan-African studies framework (Source Self-generated by author)

sequence of the approaches in a circular flow. Each approach has the same level of importance; thus, direction does not need to be indicated.

In Table 15.1, the major *concepts* (abstract ideas or general notions), *questions* (sentences worded or expressed so as to elicit information), and *axioms* (statements or propositions that are regarded as being established, accepted, or self-evidently true) that undergird the various approaches are presented. The rest of this section entails definitions of the key words in these concepts, questions, and axioms in their order of appearance to help the reader understand their meanings in this chapter (the definitions of some of the key words were gleaned from the Google online dictionary). I also must mention here that those concepts which have already been defined in the preceding sections, although listed in Table 15.1, are omitted in the paragraphs that follow to minimize redundancy.

Religious Roots and Functions: the basic causes, sources, or origins of things and activities or purposes natural to or intended for people or things based on religion: i.e. the belief in and worship of a Supreme Being.

Ethics: moral principles that govern a person's behavior or the conducting of an activity.

Magic: the power of apparently influencing the course of events by using mysterious or supernatural forces.

Loyal Adherent: someone who gives or shows firm and constant support or allegiance to a particular person or set of ideas.

African Spirituality: aspects of people that have enabled them to survive as a human community throughout the centuries (Nabudere 2003, pp. 3–4).

Contemporary African Philosophy: a critique of the Eurocentric “idea” and “general philosophy” in its metaphysical perception that European humanism is superior to that of the African people (Nabudere 2003, p. 4).

The African Renaissance: the initiative to recapture the basic elements of African humanism (*ubuntu*, *eternal life*, and *immanent moral justice*) as the path to a new humanistic universalism (Nabudere 2003, p. 4).

The Pan-Afrikan University: institution and idea that do not begin in a vacuum, for they have a deep heritage of culture and “civilizational” values that must inform their recreation (e.g., the Sankore University in Timbuktu) (Nabudere 2003, pp. 5–6, 14).

Table 15.1 Major concepts, questions, and axioms that undergird the various approaches

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Major concepts</i>	<i>Major research questions</i>	<i>Major axioms</i>
Hrārā/S-tut/Qet	Religious Roots and Functions, <i>Mā'āt</i> , Identity, Idealism, Naturalism, Realism, Utilitarianism, Aesthetics, Ethics, Magic, Loyal Adherent	What is the difference between Egyptian and Western portraiture? What was the position of the sovereign in Egyptian thought?	The person represented may have chosen the particular form, and for him or her, it was real. The Egyptian may have seen his individuality expressed in terms of conformity to <i>Mā'āt</i> ; The sense of identity in ancient Egypt was different from ours
Diopian	African Spirituality, Contemporary African Philosophy, African Renaissance, Pan-African University, African Epistemology and Cosmology, African Humanism/ <i>Ubumu</i> , African Languages, New Humanities, Hermeneutic Philosophy, Integrated and Synthesized Knowledge, African-based Pedagogy, Life Long Learning, Kemetiic Civilization	How can the research increase indigenous knowledge in the general body of global human development? How can the research create linkages between the sources of indigenous knowledge and the centers of learning on the continent and in the Diaspora? How can centers of research in the communities ensure that these communities become 'research societies'? How can the research be linked to the production needs of the communities? How can the research help to ensure that science and technology are generated in relevant ways to address problems of the rural communities where the majority of the people live and that this is done in indigenous languages? How can the research help to reduce the gap between the elite and the communities from which they come by ensuring that the research results are available to everyone and that such knowledge is drawn from the communities?	Hermeneutics permits cross-cultural communication and exchange of ideas and opinions to promote understanding between all knowledge systems in their diversities; Self-directed learning engages with the knowledge, interests, and real life situations that learners bring to their learning situations

(continued)

Table 15.1 (continued)

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Major concepts</i>	<i>Major research questions</i>	<i>Major axioms</i>
Mazruiana	<p>African Renaissance, History Imperative, Language Imperative, Talent Imperative, Dignity Imperative, Self-reliance Imperative, Humane Self-rule/Government Imperative, Creative Accommodation to Globalization Imperative, Aca-Media, Pan-Africanism, Theocracy, Religious Nation, Ecumenical State, Secular State, Africa's Triple Heritage of Religion</p>	<p>What are the various paradoxes of Africa's democratization process and how can democratic Afrinascimento be consolidated? What are the prerequisites to this consolidation in order to strengthen Africa's democratic capacity, the political will to democratize, and the Africans themselves to be essentially involved in this process? What is the middle ground between democracy as a cause of conflict and democracy as a cure? What mechanism is needed to contain, prevent, and resolve political conflict? How can political conflict be prevented from happening by utilizing Afrinascimento values such as its short memory of hate, elder tradition in Africa, its ecumenical spirit and traditional readiness to involve women in decisions about war and peace?</p>	<p>A renaissance of Africa will be based on African cultures and civilizations, and Afro-optimism; There is a relationship between ethnicity and religion and the forces affect contemporary African politics and the quest for national and regional integration leading to new identity formation and enlargement of political scale; There are interplays between primordiality and statecraft, between religion and ethnicity, and between domestic forces and international repercussions; In the African setting, Christianity and Islam can be a parochial force fragmenting the nation while ethnicity becomes a transnational and Pan-African force</p>

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Major concepts</i>	<i>Major research questions</i>	<i>Major axioms</i>
Mbitian	African Law, Religious Roots and Functions, African Philosophy, African Spirituality, Self-Understanding, Community, Identity, African Personality, African Unity, <i>Négritude</i> , Pan-Africanism, Individual-centeredness, The Living, Community-centeredness, The Living, The Departed, The Yet to Be Born	Why must Western or Eurocentric domination and its thesis be challenged and how? Why must the African's reality of self-understanding be studied within his own worldview? Why has religion been a very valuable medium for conveying a sense of humility among Africans?	Since Westerners lack the ability to see the array of entities as a domain of spirits because of their tendency to separate the secular from the sacred, they are quick to misinterpret the existence of spirits in nature as an indication of venerating them; Armed with their gospel messages and their scientific set of attitudes which privilege a predominantly two-pronged worldview, a distinct natural order, causation, and serendipity, Western Christian missionaries have been ineffective in Africa; The failure to respond to the African's reality of self-understanding within his own worldview leads to the rejection of Christian missionaries' attempts to superimpose their worldview upon Africans; While African-centered ideologies such as African Personality, African Unity, <i>Négritude</i> , and Pan-Africanism have contributed significantly to African thought and liberation, they have not fulfilled the necessities of indigenous Africans as religion is capable of doing

(continued)

Table 15.1 (continued)

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Major concepts</i>	<i>Major research questions</i>	<i>Major axioms</i>
Asanteian	Human Relations, Matriarchal Origins, Two-Cradle, Analogical Symbols, <i>Kamáida</i> , The African Code, <i>Négritude</i> , Analyses Acculturaliste, Linguistic Constancy	What is the unique history of African peoples? What is the unique cognitive style of African peoples? What are the unique characteristics of African languages?	African ideals are at the center of African culture and behavior; A commonality of cultural traits exists among the diverse peoples of Africa which characterize and constitute a worldly view that is somehow distinct from that of the foreign worldviews that have influenced African peoples; Africans, prior to European and Asian dominance, and still to some degree now, considered the Cause or God as being a part of His creation while Europeans on the other hand considered God separate from His creation

Source Self-generated by Author

African Epistemology and Cosmology: the development of an all-inclusive approach which recognizes all sources of human knowledge as valid within their own contexts (Nabudere 2003, pp. 6–7).

African Humanism/Ubuntu: a concept from the Southern African Nguni language family (IsiNdebele, IsiSwati/IsiSwazi, IsiXhosa and IsiZulu) meaning humanity or fellow feeling; kindness (Bangura 2005, 2008).

African Languages: the center of developing the Pan-African University at all knowledge sites (Nabudere 2003, p. 10).

New Humanities: the core department in the division of the Pan-African University concerned with research and advanced studies (Nabudere 2003, p. 14).

Hermeneutic Philosophy: the study of the basic unity of human endeavor through “discourse” that expresses “the intelligibility of Being-in-the world” (Nabudere 2003, p. 16).

Integrated and Synthesized Knowledge: the notion that privileging African-centered curriculum must transcend a narrow conception of what is purely African to include such knowledge within the wider synthesized framework of global knowledge (Nabudere 2003, p. 17).

African-based Pedagogy: learning that draws inspiration and materials for learning from real life situations of the African people, especially in the rural areas, by adopting those pedagogical methods and techniques that inform their philosophy of life, their worldview, and their lived experiences and practices (Nabudere 2003, p. 19).

Life Long Learning: the acquisition of knowledge or skills through experience, study, or by being taught, which has recently become a mantra of many developed countries and international organizations as a novel approach to learning in the twenty-first century, is deeply embedded within African culture and epistemology. Learning and “culturalization” in African societies were considered continuing processes that “took place from birth until death with the family unit, extended family, the village and the entire community participating (Nabudere 2003, p. 19).

Kemetic Civilization: a Black African civilization whose origination in the Fertile African Crescent was unified from its foundations in the Sahara up to its contemporary manifestations in the languages and culture of Black Africans (Winters 1998).

Theocracy: a system of government in which priests rule in the name of God or a god.

Religious Nation: a large aggregate of people united by relating to or believing in a religion (the belief in and worship of a Supreme Being), inhabiting a particular country or territory.

Ecumenical State: a large aggregate of people representing a number of different Christian churches, inhabiting a particular country or territory.

Secular State: a large aggregate of people united by attitudes, activities, or other things that have no religious or spiritual basis, inhabiting a particular country or territory.

Primary Political Violence: behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something due to “disagreement about the goals of the political community” (Mazrui 2001, p. 175).

Secondary Political Violence: behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something due to “disputes about the boundaries of the political community and in particular those that have pursued a clearly secessionist agenda” (Mazrui 2001, p. 175).

African Law: the system of rules that an African community recognizes as regulating the actions of its members and may be enforced by the imposition of penalties.

Self-Understanding: an awareness of and ability to understand one’s own actions and reactions.

Individual-centeredness: a particular person focusing only on himself/herself.

Community-centeredness: a feeling of fellowship with others, as a result of sharing common attitudes, interests, and goals.

Humility: a modest view of one’s own importance.

Human Relations: the way in which two or more people feel about and behave toward each other.

Indeed, the preceding discussion reveals that a variety of major concepts, questions, and axioms are proffered by the five approaches. There are differences among them and overlaps as well. A common theme that unites all of them is the imperative of African culture, especially its religiosity and spirituality, for the proper understanding of African history and experience.

CONCLUSION

John W. Kinney, then a professor and co-director of the Education for Leadership in the Black Church Program in the School of Theology of Virginia Union University in Richmond, Virginia, in his paper titled “The Theology of John Mbiti: His Sources, Norms, and Method” (1979), quotes John Vernon Taylor for having echoed in the opening of his book, *The Primal Vision: Christian Presence Amid African Religion* (1963), the Ghanaian proverb that “When the leopard comes to you, the club at your neighbor’s won’t drive him off” (Taylor 1963, p. 7; quoted in Kinney 1979, p. 65). Kinney then goes to say that “Taylor suggests, and rightly so, that this should be enough to check any more non-Africans from offering to interpret Africa and African experience to the world” (Kinney 1979, p. 65). While Taylor and Kinney’s counsel is quite understandable given the numerous misperceptions and misrepresentations of Africans and their experience by many non-African authors (add to them a small number of Africans), my suggestion would be a bit modulated to say that we must not accept willy-nilly the Eurocentric analyses of Africans and their experience. This position leaves the door open for non-Africans to offer analyses on Africans and their experience if they former can do so on the latter’s own terms and cultural context.

The Ancient Egyptian Hrārā/S-tut/Qeṭ, Diopian, Mazruiana, Mbitian and Asanteian approaches will continue to evolve as more information on African peoples’ past comes to light and as greater and differing demands are placed on African peoples. These approaches can be defined by their histories, the organizations and people who contributed to their development, and the bodies of ideas that make them up. Applied within their scientific frameworks, approaches command greater value and respect.

The benefits of the Ancient Egyptian Hrārā/S-tut/Qeṭ, Diopian, Mazruiana, Mbitian and Asanteian approaches in regards to the well-being and overall development of African people are invaluable. These approaches can ultimately give them a greater degree of understanding of themselves. Probably the most beneficial aspect of the approaches is their potential in uniting people of African descent for their collective wellbeing.

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