

AFRICA

DIVERSITY AND DEVELOPMENT

TONY BINNS, ALAN DIXON AND ETIENNE NEL

Africa

Diversity and Development

Tony Binns, Alan Dixon and Etienne Nel



First published 2012
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2012 Tony Binns, Alan Dixon and Etienne Nel

The right of Tony Binns, Alan Dixon and Etienne Nel to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilized in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Binns, Tony.

Africa / Tony Binns, Alan Dixon, and Etienne Nel.

p. cm.

“Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada”—T.p. verso.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Africa—Geography. 2. Africa—Social conditions. 3. Social change—Africa. 4. Social conflict—Africa. 5. Cultural pluralism—Africa. 6. Africa—Economic conditions. 7. Economic development—Africa. 8. Africa—Environmental conditions. I. Dixon, Alan II. Nel, E. L. III. Title.

DT6.7.B56 2011

960—dc23

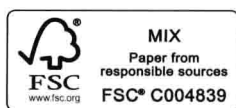
2011023142

ISBN: 978-0-415-41367-1 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-415-41368-8 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-0-203-15349-9 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman and Franklin Gothic
by Keystroke, Station Road, Codsall, Wolverhampton



Printed and bound in Great Britain by
TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall



Preface

Writing a book on Africa is at the same time both exciting and frustrating. Exciting, because there is just so much going on in this continent of fifty-three countries, and frustrating because it is quite impossible to cover everything and, since the pace of change is so rapid, by the time the book is published it is inevitable that further changes will have taken place. Although one may feel one knows this continent well – and, collectively, we have a total of over seven decades of experience teaching and researching on and in different parts of Africa – there is never a shortage of engaging revelations.

As we write this Preface and prepare to despatch the typescript to the publishers, North Africa is in turmoil as popular democratic uprisings attempt to overthrow dictatorial regimes in Tunisia and Egypt, while in Libya what amounts to a civil war is in progress, as Colonel Muammar Gaddafi attempts to cling on to the power he has held for forty-two years. Elsewhere in the continent democratic elections have been held in Nigeria, Africa's most populous state, and a referendum has been conducted among the population in the south of Sudan, the continent's largest state, which has indicated overwhelming grassroots support for breaking away from the north and forming a separate nation. On the economic and social fronts, while Africa still has many of the world's poorest countries, some African states have experienced rapid economic growth in recent years and have actually made some significant progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals and reducing poverty. Meanwhile, South Africa, the continent's 'economic powerhouse', was in April 2011 invited to Beijing to join a meeting of the leaders of Brazil, Russia, India and China in a summit of the so-called BRIC group of rapidly developing nations. We are in no doubt that in the decades ahead Africa will be the continent to watch in terms of economic and social progress, and will hopefully be engaging on more equal terms with the rest of the world.

A book such as this is, we believe, a timely offering, both to dispel stereotypical perceptions and to raise awareness of Africa's considerable diversity and potential. The book has its origins in an earlier book, *Tropical Africa*, written in 1994 by Tony Binns. In this new book, Tony has joined with Alan Dixon and Etienne Nel to consider the entire continent; with a much broader scope and greater depth, this book is very different from the earlier one.

Over the following ten chapters we have attempted to examine many aspects of Africa's diversity, and key issues which play a role in affecting progress and the quality of life experienced by Africa's people. One of the key aims of this book is to draw attention to the complex relationships between poverty and development in Africa, and the various factors that influence this. In formulating an appropriate structure for the book, we decided at the outset not to include separate chapters on such topics as gender and politics. Since we firmly believe that these issues are absolutely crucial in understanding so many aspects of the present situation and future prospects, they are considered in a variety of contexts at different points throughout the book: for example, gender aspects of rural life and health; and politics in relation to historical events, conflict and economics. We also recognize

that while individual chapters focus on specific themes – such as the environment, population and health – there are actually many linkages between them.

Chapter 1 examines how Africa has been perceived at different points in time, suggesting that inappropriate perceptions and stereotypes have often obscured realities and interfered with our understanding of patterns and processes. The significance of history is recognized in both shaping present-day Africa and in looking forward to the future development of the continent.

Africa's population is the focus of Chapter 2, in which we explore a range of demographic indicators and official policies towards population growth. Both positive and negative future population scenarios are considered in the context of improving economic growth and enduring problems, such as poverty and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Chapter 3 is concerned with Africa's environments, and particularly the important interface between people and environment. Following consideration of the need to adapt to climate change, other aspects of management and adaptation to environment are examined. The main thrust of the chapter is that we need to achieve a more detailed appreciation of people–environment relationships, rather than merely see Africans as passive victims of uniformly harsh environments.

Africa's rural sector is where the largest number of the continent's people still live and work, and it is the subject of Chapter 4. Following a consideration of land tenure, different types of rural livelihoods are then examined. Issues such as rural diversification, marketing and food security are discussed and examples of rural development strategies are critically reviewed.

Although still predominantly rural, Africa is rapidly urbanizing. In Chapter 5 we consider Africa's towns and cities, their origins and recent rapid growth, and the implications of this growth for the provision of shelter, food security and employment. The changing nature of urban environments is discussed, with a focus on the problems of delivering basic services, such as water, sanitation and power.

Health is a key influence on the quality of life, and in Chapter 6 we review the status of human health and health systems in Africa and show that women and children are disproportionately disadvantaged. Various aspects of environmental health are examined and the incidence of communicable diseases is evaluated, particularly HIV/AIDS and malaria. The chapter concludes with an investigation of the quality of health systems in light of limited financial expenditure in many African countries.

Meaningful progress in achieving development is dependent upon stable and transparent governance, and conflict has been a feature of many African countries, peaking in the 1990s. Chapter 7 investigates the causes of conflict, including the possible relationships between poverty and conflict. The impacts of conflict on individuals, communities, economy and infrastructure are investigated, and the challenges of the post-conflict period in reconstructing livelihoods and achieving sustainable peace are articulated.

Chapter 8 provides an overview of the state of Africa's economies. Following an examination of their relative size and strength, discussion then focuses on change and development in the different sectors – agriculture, industry and services. The vulnerability of certain African countries which are dependent on 'one-product economies' is then considered, and the potential for future diversification and development is examined in the context of selected countries.

Chapter 9 considers the contested meaning of the concept of development, and then undertakes a chronological review of different phases of theory and practice since the Second World War as they relate to Africa. Attention then turns to examining development theory and practice in the twenty-first century, with emphasis on locally based and regional development as well as the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. The important issues of aid, trade and debt are then examined.

In conclusion, Chapter 10 looks to the future of Africa and its people, taking stock of key issues and possible directions for progress in four main areas – social, environmental, economic and political. Many countries have a long way to go in delivering basic services and uplifting the lives of all their citizens, but there is much optimism and an impressive sense of resilience and resourcefulness that will hopefully lead to significant progress in the decades ahead.

We hope that this book will go some way towards dispelling popular myths and media stereotypes about Africa. After getting to know large parts of the continent ourselves and making enduring friendships through working at grassroots level in urban and rural communities, we have no hesitation in saying that there are many positive things happening, and we are firmly convinced that everyone should be giving greater attention to Africa.

We would particularly like to acknowledge the help we have received from Andrew Mould and Faye Leerink at Routledge while compiling this book. Our thanks are also due to Tracy Connolly, who drew the figures, and to Jerram Bateman, for his help with referencing. Most of all, we would like to express our deep appreciation to the many friends and colleagues in Africa with whom we have collaborated, in some cases for almost forty years. Through working together in universities, development agencies and, especially, the field, we have shared some rich experiences and learned so much, and we firmly believe that we understand things much better as a result. This book is a tribute to our cherished friendships and collaboration.

Tony Binns, Alan Dixon and Etienne Nel
May 2011



Contents

<i>List of plates</i>	vii
<i>List of figures</i>	ix
<i>List of tables</i>	xi
<i>List of boxes</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
Chapter 1 Africa: continuity and change	1
Chapter 2 Africa's people	33
Chapter 3 African environments	61
Chapter 4 Rural Africa	103
Chapter 5 Urban Africa	145
Chapter 6 Health and development	199
Chapter 7 Conflict and post-conflict	240
Chapter 8 African economies	271
Chapter 9 Developing Africa	312
Chapter 10 What future for Africa?	350
<i>References</i>	377
<i>Index</i>	406



Plates

1.1	Colonial house, Banjul, The Gambia	4
1.2	Statue of Cecil Rhodes in Cape Town, South Africa	17
1.3	Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, celebrates independence day	18
1.4	Colonial post office building in Bamako, Mali	18
2.1	HIV/AIDS poster, Sierra Leone	39
2.2	Grandmother takes care of orphaned grandchildren in South Africa	41
2.3	Ante-natal clinic in rural Sierra Leone	43
2.4	Children in Freetown, Sierra Leone	53
3.1	Flash flooding on rural road in central Mali	76
3.2	Arid landscape, Mali	79
3.3	Erosion gully in northern Nigeria	86
3.4	Boy and donkey with urban refuse for peri-urban fields, Kano, Nigeria	91
4.1	Intensive wheat production outside Lusaka, Zambia	111
4.2	Agriculture in Ethiopia using traditional technology	112
4.3	Traditional irrigation in West Pokot, Kenya	116
4.4	Boy gathering wild fonio in Mali during the 'hungry season'	120
4.5	Participatory field sketch of a wetland farming calendar from western Ethiopia	121
4.6	Fulani pastoralists watering cattle from a well in northern Nigeria	122
4.7	Fishing – a major source of income on the Zambezi floodplain	128
4.8	Luo fishing boat in the Kenyan sector of Lake Victoria	129
4.9	Construction using eucalyptus poles from the surrounding hillside in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia	132
4.10	Rural livelihood diversification in Uganda: women make mats from sedges collected from wetland areas	134
4.11	Women harvesting rice in The Gambia	135
4.12	Traditional granaries, Mali	139
5.1	Urban farmer in Kano, Nigeria	159
5.2	Urban agriculture, central Freetown, Sierra Leone	159
5.3	Ruins at Carthage, northern Tunisia	164
5.4	Ancient mosque in Mopti, Mali	165
5.5	Informal housing in Mathare Valley, Nairobi, Kenya	171
5.6	Central business district, Nairobi, Kenya	173
5.7	Duncan Village squatter camp, East London, South Africa	179
5.8	Scavenging on municipal rubbish tip in Freetown, Sierra Leone	183
5.9	Johannesburg CBD, South Africa	188
5.10	Cape Town waterfront and Table Mountain	190
6.1	A girl in Sierra Leone participates in UNICEF's community-led total sanitation programme	215

6.2	Women disproportionately share the burden of fuelwood collection in Ethiopia	216
6.3	Pollution of a stream with solid waste in Lilongwe, Malawi	218
6.4	HIV/AIDS education poster in Sierra Leone	224
6.5	A man chewing khat in western Ethiopia	233
7.1	Diamond miners shovelling gravel in eastern Sierra Leone	248
7.2	Arch 22, Banjul, The Gambia to commemorate the military coup of 22 July 1994	250
7.3	Display of armaments in Johannesburg, South Africa	253
7.4	Conflict memorial in Koidu, eastern Sierra Leone	261
7.5	Ex-combatant training to be a blacksmith in Panguma, Sierra Leone	265
8.1	Petrochemical complex, Sasolburg, Free State Province, South Africa	292
8.2	Coal mine in Utrecht, KwaZulu-Natal Province, South Africa	294
8.3	Illegal artisanal coal mining, South Africa	294
8.4	Tannery in old city of Fes, Morocco	298
8.5	Village blacksmith, northern Nigeria	299
8.6	Gateway regional shopping complex, Durban, South Africa	301
8.7	Montecasino hotel complex, Johannesburg, South Africa	302
8.8	Amboseli National Park and Mount Kilimanjaro, Kenya/Tanzania	306
8.9	Tourist market at Sidi Bou Said, Tunisia	310
9.1	Barrage Lalla Takerkoust, near Marrakech, Morocco	321
9.2	Water hand-pump in Eastern Cape Province, South Africa	330
9.3	Durban CBD, South Africa	335
9.4	Warwick Junction market, Durban, South Africa	336
9.5	An NGO extension agent in Ethiopia delivers spades and energy-efficient stoves to a rural community	337
10.1	Packing sustainably harvested flowers at Flower Valley, Western Cape Province, South Africa	365
10.2	Tazara railway terminus in Zambia	367
10.3	Chinese investment in Zambia	369
10.4	Anti-corruption poster in Sierra Leone	373



Figures

1.1a	Africa today: countries and capitals	2
1.1b	Africa today: the true size of Africa	3
1.2	The Gambia	5
1.3a	Historical Africa: 1880	14
1.3b	Historical Africa: 1914	15
1.3c	Historical Africa: 1957	16
2.1	The Demographic Transition Model	52
2.2	Population pyramid of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 2005	52
2.3	Population pyramid of Mauritius, 2005	53
3.1	Colonizability of Africa	62
3.2	Biomes of Africa	63
3.3	Lesotho	65
3.4	Location of Illubabor Zone, Ethiopia	69
3.5	Hadejia-Nguru wetlands, Nigeria	71
3.6	Africa, precipitation in January and July	75
3.7	Desertification in Africa (UNCOD)	80
3.8	Kofyar homeland, Nigeria	88
3.9	<i>Teras</i> cultivation in Sudan	92
4.1	Africa's urban and rural populations compared	104
4.2	The sustainable livelihoods framework	107
4.3	Agriculture as a percentage of GDP in selected African countries	109
4.4	Crop yields in Africa, 1961–2009	110
4.5	The farming year in Sierra Leone	114
4.6	Fulani calendar	124
5.1	Capital cities	149
5.2	Nigeria: states	151
5.3	Abuja, Nigeria: the new federal capital	152
5.4	Kano, Nigeria	167
6.1	Distribution of countries by life expectancy	206
6.2	The causes of maternal mortality in Africa	208
6.3	Coverage with improved drinking water sources, 2006	210
6.4	Coverage with improved sanitation facilities, 2006	211
6.5	Urban and rural differences in access to drinking water	212
6.6	Urban and rural differences in sanitation	213
6.7	HIV prevalence in adults (15–49) in Africa, 2007	221
6.8	Estimated number of people living with HIV in sub-Saharan Africa, 1990–2007	222
6.9	HIV prevalence among 15–24-year-olds, by sex, selected countries, 2005–2007	223

6.10	Percentage of persons with advanced HIV receiving ARV drugs in selected countries	225
6.11	Deaths through injury in Africa, 2008	231
7.1	Number of African countries engaged in armed conflict, 1950–2008	245
7.2	Military spending as a percentage of GDP in selected African countries, 1990–2008	253
9.1	Rostow's 'Stages of Economic Growth'	321
9.2	Lake Volta in Ghana	323
9.3	Dependency theory in practice	325
10.1	Flower Valley in its regional context	363



Tables

1.1	Africa: key statistics	24
1.2	Africa: key statistics	25
2.1	Key demographic details about Africa: total population and population change	35
2.2	Key demographic details about Africa: life and economic prospects	38
2.3	Key demographic details about Africa: development and settlement	44
3.1	Forest statistics for African countries with total forest areas over 10 million hectares, 2005	94
4.1	Farming systems of Africa	118
4.2	Positive and negative effects of rural livelihood diversification	136
5.1	Africa's ten largest cities in 2008	148
5.2	Ghana: employment and unemployment by gender, 1998–1999	156
6.1	The leading causes of death in Africa (projections for 2008)	200
6.2	Life expectancy and infant mortality rates in Africa	204
6.3	Comparison of 1990 and 2005 maternal mortality rates	207
6.4	The classification of 'improved' and 'unimproved' water sources and sanitation	212
6.5	Percentage of people with access to services and facilities in some African cities, 1993	217
6.6	Density of the health workforce per 1000 population in selected countries, 2004	237
7.1	Minor and major armed conflicts in Africa, 1950–2008	242
7.2	Summary of conflict impacts on different sectors	254
7.3	Refugees and internally displaced people in selected African countries, 2009	256
8.1	Africa: key economic indicators	272
8.2	South Africa and other significant African economies	275
8.3	Comparative statistics for selected African countries	276
8.4	The fourteen SADC countries	278
8.5	African countries with the largest Gross Domestic Product	281
8.6	African countries with the largest GDP per capita	281
8.7	GDP per capita for Africa's most populated countries	282
8.8	African countries with highest annual growth in per capita GDP, 1990–1999 and 2000–2005	282
8.9	African countries with lowest annual growth in per capita GDP, 1990–1999 and 2000–2005	282
8.10	Contributions of agriculture, industry and services to GDP and employment	286
8.11	Employment in agriculture, industry and services, 1997 and 2007	287

8.12	African countries dependent on a single primary commodity for export earnings (annual average of exports, in \$, 1992–1997)	288
8.13	Growth rate of the agricultural sector, 2002–2006	289
8.14	Proven oil reserves and oil production from African countries, 2009	293
8.15	South Africa: gold production and employment, 1975–2006	296
8.16	International tourism receipts and tourist arrivals in selected countries (with large or fast-growing tourist industries)	304
8.17	Kenya: international tourist arrivals and tourism earnings	305
9.1	Key development indicators	314
9.2	Development theory and practice over time	317
9.3	The Millennium Development Goals	343



Boxes

1.1	The Gambia: colonial legacy	4
1.2	Africa's boundaries	8
1.3	Leadership in post-independent Nigeria	11
1.4	Portuguese decolonization	19
1.5	Ceuta and Melilla: Spanish enclaves in Africa	21
1.6	South Africa: reducing inequality in the 'rainbow nation'	30
2.1	HIV/AIDS in southern Africa	40
2.2	Overpopulated Kenya	46
2.3	Underpopulated Mali: feeding the people	48
3.1	Exporting water from Lesotho to South Africa	64
3.2	South Africa's Working for Water Programme	67
3.3	Wetlands in Ethiopia and Nigeria	68
3.4	The Nile Basin Initiative	72
3.5	Coping with a marginal environment in Burkina Faso	82
3.6	People and environment on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria	87
3.7	The Congo Basin Forest Fund	95
4.1	The sustainable rural livelihoods approach	106
4.2	Cash crops or food crops?	111
4.3	Indigenous agricultural systems in Sierra Leone	113
4.4	Pastoralists and pressures in northern Nigeria	123
4.5	Fair trade for Africa's poor farmers	130
4.6	Non-timber forest products for livelihood development in Ethiopia	132
4.7	The role of GM technologies in Africa's rural development	140
5.1	Cairo: growth and development in Africa's first mega-city	146
5.2	Urban growth in Nigeria	150
5.3	Structural adjustment and urban employment in Ghana	154
5.4	Urban agriculture: ensuring food and household security	158
5.5	Housing and infrastructure in Lagos and Nairobi	168
5.6	A new vision for urban development in South Africa	187
6.1	Health and the Millennium Development Goals in Africa	200
6.2	Community-led total sanitation (CLTS) in Sierra Leone	213
6.3	HIV and AIDS in Uganda: a success story?	226
6.4	Khat-chewing in the Horn of Africa: a mental and social health issue	232
6.5	The future of Africa's health systems? The Ouagadougou Declaration on Primary Health Care	235
7.1	Conflict in the Great Lakes region	243
7.2	The conflict in Darfur: ethnic tensions or climate change?	247
7.3	Regional peacekeeping: the role of ECOMOG in Liberia	258
7.4	The NEPAD strategy for post-conflict reconstruction	261

7.5	Indigenous justice and reconciliation: <i>gacaca</i> courts in Rwanda	266
8.1	South Africa in Africa	274
8.2	Growth without development in Equatorial Guinea	283
8.3	Supporting the agricultural sector: a vital strategy for economic growth and poverty alleviation	290
8.4	Changing fortunes for South Africa's gold-mining industry	295
8.5	Cape Verde: development in an island economy	302
8.6	Tourism in Kenya	304
9.1	The East African Groundnut Scheme	318
9.2	The Volta River Project	322
9.3	<i>Ujamaa</i> , villagization and rural development in Tanzania	325
9.4	Local economic development in Durban, South Africa	333
9.5	Community beekeeping in Bondolfi, Zimbabwe	338
10.1	Africa and the global recession	351
10.2	'Africa must unite!': the African Union	354
10.3	The African Renaissance and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)	356
10.4	Corporate social responsibility and flower exports from South Africa	362
10.5	A new era for Africa? Engaging with BRICs: the case of China	366

1

Africa: continuity and change

1.1 Images of Africa

In the early twenty-first century, Africa is widely perceived as the world's poorest continent with a seemingly endless agenda of development priorities. Yet, in many African countries, solid progress is being made (ODI, 2010), and Africa deserves to have a stronger voice, such that both its problems and its potential are placed 'centre stage' in world economic and social development forums. A once popular image of Africa was that of 'the dark continent', as it was first portrayed by nineteenth-century explorers such as Stanley and Livingstone. In the past, Africa has been regarded as being 'off the map', a mysterious *terra incognita*, populated by wild animals and characterized by harsh environments such as vast deserts and impenetrable forests. In the last two or three decades, however, Africa has become more synonymous with famine, drought, poverty and diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS. It is a continent where poor governance and political instability are often seen as the norm rather than the exception, and where seemingly little progress has been made in achieving economic, social or cultural development.

Africa is also still seen as a predominantly rural continent, where, it is often suggested, an inability to feed its growing population is due to inefficient and outdated farming systems, operated by an inadequately trained and poorly motivated workforce who are reluctant to adopt modern methods. Another feature of the post-independence period is that many African countries have at times become dependent on large-scale imports of food, together with a multitude of aid and development programmes sponsored by international agencies, governments and NGOs (non-governmental organizations). But the situation is certainly changing. Although only 39 per cent of Africa's population was urban in 2007, the United Nations Population Fund estimated an urban growth rate (2005–2010) of 3.2 per cent, the highest rate among the world's major regions, and considerably above the world average urban growth rate of 2.0 per cent (UNFPA, 2007). Already, Cairo has an estimated 12 million people, with Lagos (9.8 million), Kinshasa (8.2 million) and Johannesburg (3.5 million) all growing rapidly. Some 50 per cent of Nigeria's 140 million people are already urban-based (see Chapter 5).

Such generalized images and stereotypes unfortunately ignore the great physical and human diversity of the African continent and also fail to appreciate the complex historical processes which underlie this diversity (see Figure 1.1a). Africa is a vast continent, second in size only to Asia, stretching 8320 km from Tangier (Morocco) in the north to Cape Agulhas on South Africa's southern coast, and 7360 km from Cap Vert near Dakar (Senegal) in the west to Cape Guardafui, the easternmost point of the Horn of Africa in Somalia (see Figure 1.1b). The continent and surrounding islands now comprise fifty-three countries. Once the cradle of the world's earliest civilizations, Africa now has over a billion people, comprising a wide range of ethnic, language and religious groups. The continent's pre-colonial history was rich, varied and often highly sophisticated. It is only since the

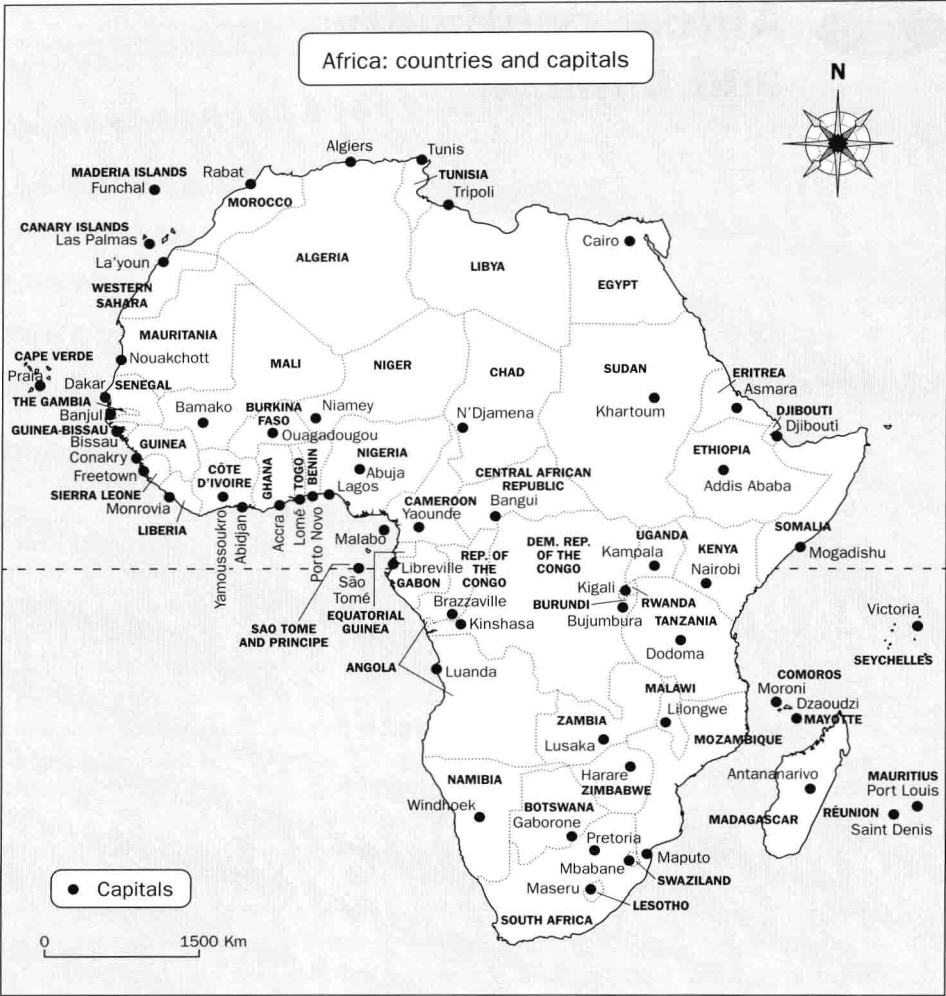


Figure 1.1a Africa today: countries and capitals.

Source: Adapted from Binns, 1994

nineteenth century that colonialism has significantly transformed economies and societies and has pulled Africa, sometimes unwillingly, into the world economic system through trade in crops, minerals and other resources.

1.2 Understanding and misunderstanding Africa

Longstanding myths and stereotypes about Africa, built up since the first Europeans set foot on the continent, and continually portrayed in the media, are difficult to eradicate. These perceptions, which are often founded upon an inadequate understanding of African environments, societies, cultures and economies, have sometimes, directly or indirectly, compounded Africa's problems. There are many examples of this, such as in the shape of countries, alignment of boundaries and ethnic composition of African states. The 'great powers', meeting in Berlin in 1884–1885 to divide up the African 'cake', showed little concern for the future viability, governance and development of African countries and