

Globalization: Can Africa Benefit From Its Promises?

Ikenna Ukpabi Unya & Martha Okorie

School of General Studies
Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike
Corresponding author: bismarckaik@gmail.com

Abstract

The phenomenon of globalization is having a major impact on systems around the world. The promoters argue persuasively that globalization will lead to global stability, reduction of poverty and inequalities within and among nations and a higher standard of living for all. However, experience on ground has shown otherwise. The third world countries especially those in African region have been made vulnerable. Instead of becoming more integrated into the world economy, Africa has been largely marginalized and excluded from the real benefits of globalization. Thus, this study aims at comprehensively investigating the implications of globalization in the economic development of Africa. Basically, the study is qualitative, utilizing mostly secondary source of data such as books, journals, newspaper articles, conference papers, internet publications, among others; all considered relevant in understanding the issue of globalization and its implications in Africa. The findings of the study reveal that globalization has raised some troubling concerns for a developing continent like Africa. And that since Africa's economies are not competitive and lacking in technological innovations, it may be difficult for the region to maximize or access the full benefits of globalization. The study, thus, concludes by recommending among other things that Africa must position itself appropriately by making serious internal political and economic restructuring; deepening regional integration by creating a single market and investing on digital infrastructure which will make Africa visible in global trade regime as a respected participant.

Keywords: Globalization, Implications, Economy, Development, Africa.

Introduction

Globalization is perhaps the most important phenomenon shaping the current international environment. No doubt, globalization has helped to liberalize national economics by creating a global market place in which all the nations participate directly. Its major aim is to seek the removal of all national barriers to the free movement of international capital as well as the villagization of the world through the harmonization of ideas, cultures, values and even life style. The apparent popularity of globalization as a concept today can be attributed to two reasons. The first according to Ajayi (2001) is its scale and its speed with which it is occurring and the way technology (especially in communications and transportation) is changing the world. Second, it is now widely accepted that globalization is not just the latest economic fad but that the international environment is changing in profound ways and that the world is indeed becoming a global village.

According to Bertucci and Alberti (2001), globalization has been given positive connotation by those who advocate greater economic integration across national borders, while it has been fiercely criticized by those who perceive it as a threat to social cohesion and as the advancement

of unfettered capitalism. For instance, scholars from Western persuasion according to Okolie (2003) see globalization in terms of natural and inevitable part of history which has the potency of increasing global wealth and enhancing the development of world economies, while some scholars mostly from the developing nations see globalization as a smokescreen for a more rapacious and unabashed capitalist exploitation.

To the western scholars and promoters of the concept, globalization is seen as one of the best things that has happened to humanity because of its promises of an increased closer economic, political and social interaction among nations through cross-border trade, finance and investment flows; the ultimate outcome of the promises according to Barnet and Multer (1974) will be global stability, development, prosperity, peace, reduction of poverty and inequalities within and among nations and a higher standard of living. In fact, globalization was seen as the elixir of life, the harbinger of the long awaited el-dorado and the assuager of age-long world inequality. The promoters of globalization see it as an instrument capable of removing the world from the cocoon of exclusivity to the ideal world of inclusivity.

However, experience on ground has shown that this is not so. Globalization according to Ozumba (2018) is nothing but the intensification of the exploitative side of capitalism. It is transnational ganging up of members of the bourgeois class to expropriate surplus value for their continual aggrandizement at the expense of the poor with well guided welfarist sophisticated game plan by the world powers to keep poor nations as perpetual economic and political underdogs who feed on the leftovers from the juicy tables of their colonizers. Obadina (1998) is also apprehensive of the good intentions of globalization in Africa given the historical relationship between Africa and the West. According to him, it is ironic that the West is preaching the virtues of freedom to Africa today, former colonizers and ex-slave owners championing political and economic liberalization. Yesterday's oppressors appear to be today's liberators, fighting for democracy, human rights and free market economies throughout the world.

As a result of this divided opinions on globalization --- those who eulogize and those who antagonize that made Larson (2007) to assert that globalization is not a monolithic force but an evolving set of consequences – some good, some bad and some unintended. It is the new reality. Africa is among the regions of the world that is yet to maximally benefit from all these promises of globalization because of the unbalanced features associated with its operations where Western nations want unfettered access to African markets and mount series of economic barriers against African export. This unbalanced international trade relationship between Africa and the Western nations made the former Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), K.Y. Amoako (2000) to lament thus:

For all the talk on free trade, the World Bank estimates that high tariffs, anti-dumping regulations and technical barriers to trade in industrialized countries cost sub-Saharan African countries \$20 billion annually in lost exports. In other words, we lose more because of trade barriers than we gain because of aid! If rich countries want unfettered access to our markets, we require that they open their markets to us so that we can earn, rather than beg, our way out of poverty.

Democratization, transparency, accountability and good governance at the national level must be replicated at the international level.

Drawing from these identified problems, the study aims at looking at the implications of globalization in the development of Africa; the paper will also systematically analyze what Africa must do to maximally benefit from the promises of globalization. To achieve this objective, the paper is structured into sections. With this introductory overview, the study proceeds by explaining the concept, “globalization,” in order to clarify the conceptual ambiguities associated with it. Section three examines the positive and negative sides of globalization; section four evaluates the effects of globalization in Africa; section five discusses what Africa must do in order to benefit from the great promises of globalization, while section six concludes with policy recommendations.

Conceptual Clarification

The term globalization is widely and variously used. The definition is still controversial because of the many faces, many impacts and interpretations. Globalization has many dimensions and it means different things to different people and in different academic disciplines. To the Economists according to Mishra (2011), globalization is seen as a global capitalism; cultural studies view it as a form of cultural hybridization; and political scientists see it as a process by which nation-state is forced to surrender its sovereignty to regional and international political institutions. As a result of this conceptual ambiguity, scholars advocate and advise that globalization should be studied from a multidisciplinary platform to understand its multifarious implications in retrospect and in prospect.

Again, Ozumba (2018) argues that apart from the intellectual disquisitions on globalization, there is the need to equally approach the study of globalization from national or regional standpoint. This may partly be the reason why Kofi Annan (2002) viewed globalization as politics of nationalization and regionalization rather than globalization. To some critics, according to Norberg and Cheru (2008), globalization is seen as a promiscuous concept, one that cries out for more analytical precision and empirical rigour. Lending credence to what Norberg and Cheru said, Asobie (2001) declares that:

Globalization is a contested concept. Its meaning is in contention. Its character is a point in dispute. Its history is mired in controversy. And, although its ideological implications are relatively free of serious contestation, its implications for...the international system constitutes a moot point.

Presenting a similar analogy like Asobie, Ake (1995) also captured the contradictory nature of globalization by observing that globalization uniformizes and diversifies concentrates and de-concentrates, it universalizes but also engenders particularities, it complexifies and simplifies. Always, it is mediated by historical specificities.

The western scholars and apologists believe that globalization is the only force that can bring increased closer economic and social interactions among nations and that the outcome will be global stability, reduction of poverty and inequalities within and among nations. As a result of this defence from western scholars, Bertucci and Alberti (2001) argued that globalization is not solely responsible for creating disparities between the rich and the poor. They claimed that

institutional framework of a country; its political culture and the quality of its leadership play an important role in fostering economic development and in promoting social welfare. This argument by Bertucci and Alberti might have informed the reason why Ajayi (2001) claimed that globalization cannot be halted or ignore, and that if African leaders adopted good economic policies, that Africa stands a chance of benefiting from the promises of globalization.

Globalization can thus be defined as a process which intensifies the integration of the world economy and the people through advancement in several areas, particularly in the area of information technology. Owugah (2003) maintains that globalization is a technology-driven process which breaks down national borders to ensure an unrestricted movement of capital, technology, goods and services across national boundaries. It is this revolution in the communications technology according to Unya (2014) that made financial flows to become a dominant element in the current globalization trends. For instance, within 24 hour-periods, more than one trillion dollars move around the world in search of better returns.

Rana (2013) explains that globalization as a concept can be interpreted in one of these three ways: (a) as a culture based process, (b) as global capitalist development and (c) as a consequence of the growth of information technology. Globalization as a cultural process has been seen as an extension of mass media and the consequent universalization of western mores and culture. Those theorists according to Rana who view globalization as fundamentally an economic phenomenon argue that it is the outcome of global capitalist formation and consolidation of the capitalist world order. The third interpretation sees globalization as a part of the significant transformation taking place in information and communication technology. Technological innovations according to Keohane and Nye (2000) have annihilated geographical boundaries and promoted the penetration of western commercial values into all spheres of life.

Owugah (2003) and Okolie (2003) mentioned the agents or promoters of globalization as the industrial economies, Trans-National Corporation (TNCs), International Financial Institutions (IFIs), governments of the industrialize capitalists economies and World Trade Organization (WTO). Bertucci and Alberti (2001) identified four main driving forces behind increased interdependence as: (a.) trade and investment liberalization, (b.) technological innovation and reduction of communication cost, (c.) entrepreneurship and (d.) global social networks. In summary, globalization has raised some troubling concerns for the developing world, including Africa. One such concern is its impact on the economies of the developing nations and the ramifications that go with it. Cities are traditionally engines of social modernization and economic growth and at the same time the theatres in which globalization stages its actions. For Africa, the quest is on how to maximize the benefits of globalization for its development.

Understanding Globalization from the African Condition

The African condition is both volatile and precarious. Africa having passed through the Whiteman's enervating and degrading crucible of colonialism, slavery, neocolonialism, imperialism, systemic exploitation by multinational corporations (MNCs) together with the self-inflicted burdens of ethnicity; fratricidal wars, coups, counter coups, border disputes, unworkable political system, unstable economy, corruption, nepotism, godfatherism, internal colonialization and marginalization, has become raped, vulnerable, under-doggism and mere pawn in the socio-political and economic chess board of dominant financial powers and actors. The African

condition is pitiable according because we are mindless, directionless, planless, goalless, and visionless (2018).

We seem to be coming from darkness and heading to darkness or coming from nowhere and headed to nowhere. In the politics of globalization, we are manipulated, used, cajoled, oppressed, exploited, dictated to and excluded from the dynamics and matrix of world financial decisions. Explaining how Africa is not part of the financial world, Norberg and Cheru (2008) argued that African countries lack visible representation in the decision making process of the post-war international institutions. This according to them was confirmed by the findings from a survey done by the UNECA that showed that majority of the respondents (57%) view the current economic governance structures as not facilitating their effective participation in the global economy. Norberg and Cheru (2008) gave a shocking example of almost a quarter of the IMF membership coming from Sub-Saharan Africa (45 countries), yet, the total voting powers of the bloc is estimated to be only 4.4%. The worst according to them is that even in those decisions that directly affect Sub-Saharan African countries, these countries do not have enough voting power to sway the decision in any direction and they have to rely on the support of other developing countries to muster sufficient support for their position.

To be sure, trade liberalization in theory was expected to boost economic growth in poor countries by providing access to foreign exchange, expanding markets, increasing foreign direct investment and facilitating the transfer of technology which would in turn boost domestic productivity, create employment and increase domestic incomes. But in practice, trade liberalization has left Africa prostrate with unemployment and inflation rising in a great magnitude because of the insincerity of the Western nations and their refusal to create a level playing field where all nations will participate on equal basis. This inequality that characterize the international politics made Norberg and Cheru (2008) to argue that if a level playing field had existed, African nations would have benefited maximally from the processes of globalization. Thus, they lamented that:

In the final analysis, with a level playing field, trade can be much greater force than aid in reducing poverty in Africa. Yet developed countries have consistently refused to level the playing field. The disastrous collapse of the EU - African Summit in December, 2007 over disagreement over the heavily EU- biased Economic Partnership Agreement, the breakdown of the negotiations of the Doha Development Round in 2008 can only help further solidify the growing perception of globalization as colonialism. Without rebalancing the 'unbalanced rule' African countries cannot expect to benefit from expanding global trade.

As we observed above, trade liberalization in Africa would only be meaningful if advanced countries' markets are opened to the exports of African producers. In particular, effective protection should focus on goods of interest to Africa, such as clothing, fish, processed foods, leather products and agricultural products more generally. But such a focus may not be easily achieved. There is no doubt that globalization has resulted in the production of new technologies which have in turn given rise to an increase as well as an improvement in the quality of goods and services available. This same process, however, has resulted in the sufferings of many

worldwide. Besides, as Amin (1990) pointed out, it has also generated social conflicts that transcend national boundaries such as religion, cultural autonomy, the environment, security and individual as well as collective rights. Expressing doubts about globalization’s capability to affect a sense of global community, Owugah (2003) remarked appositely that rather than being about unity, globalization appears to be about increasing diversity, simultaneously operating at a number of levels.

The Positive and Negative Sides of Globalization

While globalization has positive, innovative, dynamic aspects, it also has negative, disruptive, marginalizing aspect. It has been argued that countries or regions that are likely to benefit more from the global economy are those that can carve a niche for themselves in the production process that are competitive through the adoption of appropriate policies and are advanced in the development or adaptation of the latest technologies and ideas. Since Africa’s economies are not competitive and lacking in technological innovations, it may be difficult for the region to maximize or access the benefits of globalization. Our next discourse will dwell on what Africa must do in order to be positively affected by globalization. Before then, we present below the positive and negative sides of globalization.

Positive side	Negative side
Globalization opens people’s lives to other cultures and all their creativity and to flow of ideas and values.	As cultures interact, some cultures are diluted and/ or destroyed at the expense of others and negative values are being spread all over the world with relatives ease.
Information and communication technologies have eased interaction among countries and peoples.	The world is now divided between the connected, who know and who have a monopoly on almost everything, and the isolated, who do not know and who practically have nothing.
Globalization has eased international trade and commerce, facilitated foreign investment and the flow of capital.	Globalization has encouraged illicit trade in drugs, prostitution, pornography, human smuggling, dumping of dangerous waste and depletion of the environment by unscrupulous entrepreneurs.
Globalization has freed labour across boundaries and facilitated “brain trade”.	Globalization has facilitated the “brain drain” in developing countries, thus reducing further their human capacity.
Globalization has set new rules that are integrating global markets.	Globalization has set new global rules that have further marginalized Africa’s poor countries and people, especially in areas of trade.
Globalization is creating a global village out of a wide and diverse world.	Globalization has created a global village of privileged people whose borders are impenetrable to the poor, unconnected and unskilled. The citizens of the global village are very few.

Source: Apolo Nsibambi (2001)

Effects of Globalization on Africa

The incorporation of African economies into the global capitalist system produced profound changes on African societies. Globalization as a new form of capitalist expansion is already

having serious impact in the ways African governments carry out their daily activities and the effects are devastating. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2002) for instance, twenty-two sub-Saharan African countries had lower per capita incomes in 2000 than they did in the period between 1975 and 1985. Industries of a number of African countries have also suffered significant losses due to cheap imports. The textile industries of Nigeria, Mozambique, Malawi, and Tanzania; for example, have been devastated by cheap imports triggered by premature and indiscriminate free trade. Beyond the identified examples, the overall picture of Africa's industry since the implementation of liberalization policies beginning in the middle of the 1980s has been rather grim.

Nsibambi (2001) summarized the following as the effects of globalization on the African continent:

- i. Overstretched capacity to regulate and protect the environment.** The capacity of most African States to handle issues such as production of harmful chemicals, global warming, depletion of natural resources destruction of organic agriculture, dumping nuclear waste is still limited. However, as global actors invest and expand their activities, especially related to industrial, agricultural, mining, forest exploitation and fishing, the regulatory capacity of public administration in African countries, which is already limited in many respects is becoming overstretched. The State is getting caught in the middle of its need to speed development through industrialization, agricultural modernization, exploitation of natural resources, etc. and the pressure of local and global environmentalist groups. Global forces in this respect, rather than putting too much pressure on governments to do what is beyond their capacity, should first and foremost concentrate on strengthening the capacity of these governments in relevant aspects.
- ii. Undermining the power of the State.** 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. We must add that this is not only the case in Africa. The poorer the country, the more chance of power erosion for the State. This would be minimized if the voice of Africa's States was increased and strengthened in the world bodies. Stronger African regional bodies would also help in this respect, provided these bodies were represented in the world bodies at the same time.
- iii. Undermining the democratization process.** There is an ongoing democratization struggle in Africa. Some African countries began the process of democratizing their governments, political systems and societies sometime back. However, the international partners they are working with in this globalized world are hardly democratic. While the democratization process would require that the people of the country in question get involved in the taking of decisions and policies that concern them, some of the big decisions affecting Africa today are more or less imposed by the globalization players such as the World Bank, IMF, the World Trade Organization, etc. This has been the case for example with the liberalization and privatization policies in Africa. This makes the people not trust the democratization rhetoric they hear from 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.

- iv. Overstretched capacity to handle international and computer-based crime.** The African State and its forces of law and order were used to handle “traditional crimes”. However, with globalization there has been an increase in crimes (drugs, pornography, international corruption etc.) that had been at lower magnitude. In addition, progress in Information technology has facilitated the emergence and growth of computer-based crimes, especially fraud. For this the law and order forces have not been well prepared. The increase in these crimes across borders makes the forces of law and order look helpless, unhelpful and incapable. This tends to erode the confidence of the public in the State, thus weakening further its legitimacy. The strong challenge posed by the powerful criminals on the State creates an atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity in the public, thus reducing the required confidence that would attract both local and foreign investment. There is need to strengthen the capacity of the forces of law and order, especially in the areas of detecting and handling sophisticated crime. If this does not happen, the sophisticated criminals will find ready-made comfortable hiding places in Africa. This will be a big insecurity problem for the rest of the world.
- v. Making the task of poverty eradication more difficult.** As global actors pressurize African governments to open up more and more to maximize foreign investment and capital inflows, and as big multinationals and local enterprises utilize this environment to cater for their interests, the government is having less and less room to pay attention to the abject poverty amongst its poor people. Evidence that shows the widening gap between the poor and the rich both in country and between countries is increasingly becoming abundant. The African State will have to be encouraged to pay more attention to the fate of its poor than to the fate of big global actors. The big global actors can talk for themselves with little problem. The issue is: who will talk for the poor?
- vi. Debt accumulation and the debt burden.** The phenomenal debt burden of African countries is well known. Most of the accumulation of this debt over time was as much a result of the incapacity of the borrowers to pay it back as it was of the ease with which the lenders gave money to the countries. This was, and still is, facilitated by the context of globalization. The paradox about this is that the governments borrow in the name of poverty reduction, while their social spending that would go towards alleviating poverty remains very low. In the same way, the rich countries that lend money rarely allocate their financing towards social goals (see “Debt and Sustainable Human Development”, Technical Advisory Paper # 4, MDGD, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP, and May1999). There is a strong need for both national governments and external partners to shift their spending priorities towards the declared goals, such as poverty reduction and sustainable human development.
- vii. Drain on the human capacity of the State.** Globalization has opened borders and relatively freed labor movements. But for African countries this has aggravated the problem of brain drain, which has existed for a long time. Although most African countries with appropriate financial policies receive remittances from their nationals working abroad, it is not clear whether the contribution of some of the most qualified to the process of developing their countries would not be more than the remittances they send back home from “exile”. It is noted, however, that this problem should not be oversimplified. Some of the most qualified Africans ran away from their countries

because of the negative behavior of the regimes themselves. In other words, this human capacity in some instances is frightened away by brutal regimes rather than being attracted by globalization forces as such. This problem can be appropriately tackled if the African leadership put their house to order first and foremost.

viii. Globalization of public expectations and social demands. The interaction between local socio-politico-economic forces and global actors has generated new and or different demands from African societies and this has increased pressure on the public administration system to re-adjust to these demands constantly. Examples of such demands include: the demand for transparency and accountability, democracy, a clean environment, gender equality, human rights and freedoms, poverty eradication, competent leadership, effective service delivery and applying New Public Management approaches in public administration. These demands require that public administration systems and practices accordingly re-adjust consistently. In most cases, these demands are expressed by the private sector and civil society, both national and international, without considering the cost of what it would take to meet them. This is often beyond the capacities of African states. Moreover, some of the demands from international circles are not in line with the contextual realities in Africa.

The conclusion here is that globalization has posed enormous challenges for the African public administration systems. It has put demands on their capacities (institutions, structures, skills, knowledge, networks, technology, facilities, equipment, etc.), which, as everyone knows, has always been very weak, the systems themselves being still nascent. Managing globalization effectively to benefit the African people, especially the poor, calls for new attitudes and leadership. It requires vision, appropriate knowledge, skills and wisdom from Africa's leaders. But it also requires sensitivity, willingness, a change of attitude and the right technical assistance from global actors such as the United Nations, especially in supporting the strengthening of Africa's public administration capacity to deal with issues of globalization.

Having identified the effects of globalization on the African continent, the next logical question must be: what will Africa do in order to maximize the benefits of globalization? The next section discusses the steps Africa must take in order to join the winners of the promises of globalization having stayed long at the losers' seats.

Responses to the Challenges of Globalization

One of the crucial issues facing Africa is not whether it should integrate into the global economy; rather it is the form and manner in which it does integrate to derive maximum advantage. Africa can benefit immensely from globalization if it positions itself appropriately. In this regard, a number of suggestions have been made. The first is the adoption of the Asian paradigm; the second is the internal political and economic restructuring while the third is based on the principle of integrative humanism.

The Asian Experience

In an assessment of the relevance of the Asian paradigm for Africa's future in the global system, we centre the discussion on two critical areas. The first is how the Asian tigers achieved their success or miracle. The other is the possibility of Africa adopting the same policies in the current phase of capitalist expansion and exploitation, as did the Asian tigers and hope to achieve a similar success. To be sure, the early industrial nations as well as the Asian Newly Industrialized

Countries (NICs) benefited from the technology or industrial innovations of other nations. The US and Germany industrialized to a large extent by using British manufacturing innovations and paying very little for that. The Japanese followed a similar pattern by copying US technological innovations without necessarily compensating them for it. Korea similarly achieved its technological development by copying from the US and Japanese products and process technology (Owugah, 2003). These countries especially Taiwan and South Korea according to Owugah (2003) adopted a policy of strategic integration rather than the close integration which is currently imposed on Africa and other developing nations by the institutions of globalization. Again, their integration was phased in both degrees and areas over a period of time. In all of this, not only did the US fail to invoke its patent rights but curiously, it went further to open up its vast markets to the products from these nations to compete with theirs.

The success of the Asian tigers was not anchored on liberalization and non-government or state intervention in the economy. Rather, it was achieved on the basis of a clear violation of the principles of the free market system. They practiced a high level of state intervention in the economy, a duet between the state and the private sector and they imposed restrictions on foreign capital or foreign investment through such policies as trade balancing or local content regulations. Taiwan for instance, relied on the strong state to control the activities of foreign investment for the benefit of its own industries (Gereffi and Wyman, 1990). Besides, the Asian tiger nations had committed leadership with clear focus and policy on technological development. There was a national programme put in place to improve their technological development. The programme was not confined to just licensing but extended to a carefully coordinated effort in the universities and other technical institutions to develop technology locally. In addition, national firms were encouraged to employ licensed foreign technologies, subject to strict government control (Owugah, 2003).

As mentioned earlier, curiously, the US neither invoked its patent rights nor insisted on the practice of the free market system as it has done with the underdeveloped countries of Africa in the current global system. In fact, the US never registered any form of protest. An explanation for this unusual behaviour of the US has to be sought within the international and historical context. The success of the Asian NICs was rooted in the highly charged international political climate of the cold war rivalry between the East and the West and the strategic geographical location of the Asian states in the US fight against communism. The presence of such powerful communist countries in the area as China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos made the Asian NICs particularly attractive to the Americans in their fight to stymie the tide of communist infiltration into these countries. It was in the context of its determination to contain communism and the danger posed by the communist neighbours of the East and South Asian nations that informed the accommodating stance of the United States of America towards the technological and industrial development policies of the Asian states.

From our narrative, we can identify three main features responsible for the success of the Asian tigers.

1. The commitment of the leadership with clear and well-articulated policy on technological development.
2. The adoption of policies that challenged the principles or ideals of the free market system.

3. The highly charged international political climate of cold war rivalry that created an environment for them to practice their technological and industrial development policies with the encouragement of the United States (Owugah, 2003).

Having discussed the Asian tigers success and identified the main factors responsible for it, we can now turn our attention to the critical question of whether it is possible, as has been often advanced, for Africa to adopt the same model and succeed in benefiting from the current globalization process. With respect to the first factor, Africa for now lacks committed leadership with clear, definite, and well-articulated development policy which is pursued with strong vigour. The second factor is that of challenging the principles of free market system. To adopt the Asian paradigm is, in essence, to challenge the principles of free market system which is the bedrock of globalization. This option has been effectively blocked according to Owugah (2003) by the prescriptions of the IMF/WB and proscribed by the Trade Related Intellectual Property Right (TRIPS) under the Uruguay Rounds of Agreement of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

The Asian tigers succeeded because, as we have already stated, they enjoyed the support of the United States as a result of the highly charged international system of Cold War rivalry between the East and the West and the advantaged geographical locations of the Asian tigers in the containment of communism. Having reviewed the Asian narrative and found it unattractive for Africa in the current dispensation, our attention shall now be turned to the second option: internal political and economic restructuring of the African states.

Domestic Economic and Political Restructuring

With the Asian option paradigm out of the way because of the changes in international politics, what other options does Africa have in order to benefit maximally from the globalization process? We had earlier noted that African countries are not among the countries that set the rules in the international economic and political agenda; in fact, the present form of globalization is largely shaped by the rules advanced by one part of the world – namely the most influential – and these rules do not necessarily favour developing countries of Africa. For instance, globalization preaches openness and market liberalization, but the European Union lifted barriers on import of raw materials from Africa, but not on refined products, which would compete with local European products. What then, must Africa do to overcome these challenges?

Globalization has the potential of increasing prosperity and human development for all, but this is predicated on how it is pursued. In turn, this depends on democratic processes being in place at the sub-national, national and international levels, and on domestic policies which help those sectors of society which are hit by the negative effects of globalization, for example unemployment that results from the restructuring of the economy. Ajayi (2001) believes that though the present playing field in international trade may not be level and in favour of Africa but that if Africa positions itself appropriately by making serious internal political and economic restructuring, that Africa stands to benefit maximally from the promises of globalization. The three areas Africa must restructure economically and urgently are: (i) international trade, (ii) capital flows, and (iii) debt. We start our analysis with the first.

International Trade: The first avenue of economic integration for most countries is international trade. Trade remains the main vehicle for Africa's participation in, and full integration into the global economy. Africa's trade is however, concentrated in a narrow range of primary

commodities, and, within this narrow range, Africa's market share has been shrinking. During 1960-69, Africa's average share of total world export according to Ajayi (2001) was 5.3 percent, and of imports 5.0 percent. During 1990-98, however, these figures dropped to 2.3 percent and 2.2 percent, respectively. These declines are attributed to among other factors, the restrictiveness of Africa's trade regime, slow growth of per capita income, high transportation costs, and the continent's distance from major markets. Although Africa made substantial progress toward trade liberalization in the 1990s, its policies remain, on average, more protectionist than those of its trading partners and competitors.

Tackling Africa's trade problem requires a two-pronged approach. At the national level, countries need to liberalize trade by removing trade barriers, adopting appropriate exchange rate policies, and diversifying exports. At the international level, there are two strands of thought on where Africa should concentrate its efforts. Some believe according to Ajayi (2001) that Africa should concentrate on primary products, where it has a comparative advantage. Others focus on the long run, arguing that a determined shift toward the promotion of manufacturing and export of manufactured products will be required for Africa to achieve rapid productivity growth. A comparative advantage in manufacturing would be a launching pad into the global economy.

Capital Flows: Africa needs to attract substantial capital flows, especially in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI) as most countries in Africa do not have portfolio investment flow (bonds and equities). Although the global level of private capital flows has increased, Africa has not been one of the main beneficiaries. Thus, Africa has also missed out on the benefits that usually accompany such flows, such as jobs creation and the transfer of technology, management, and organizational skills. In 1990-94, the net return on investment in Africa was 20-30 percent, compared with 16-18 percent for the developing countries as a group. Africa has nevertheless failed to attract the capital flows it needs because of negative perceptions of the continent's economic and political activities, its poor infrastructure, and an inadequate legal framework, particularly for the enforcement of contracts. To benefit from globalization processes, Africa must adopt policies intended to make them more attractive to foreign investors – for example, liberalizing investment laws, offering fiscal incentives, easing restrictions on entry and profit remittances, and strengthening their banking and financial systems to eliminate the kinds of weaknesses that were responsible for the Asian crisis (Ajayi, 2001).

Debt: There is ample evidence that Africa's external debt burden is a severe obstacle to investment and renewed growth. Attempts to reduce or eliminate the debt burden are crucial to Africa's development and a launch into maximum benefits from the promises of globalization.

Bertucci and Alberti (2001) while suggesting what Africa must do in terms of political restructuring in order to benefit from globalization advised that Africa must:

- i. Reinforce democratic state institutions and promote, when needed, decentralization;
- ii. Strengthen social policies, in particular social safety net;
- iii. Reinforce social capital;
- iv. Promote an efficient public administration;
- v. Promote an effective strategy of resource mobilization and improve tax administration system and;
- vi. Build capacity in the public sector to support the creation and application of knowledge, innovation and technology for development.

The Principle of Integrative Humanism

The proponents of integrative humanism are of the opinion that no matter the kind of internal restructuring done by the African leaders, that Africa cannot benefit anything tangible from the globalization process. They claim that the philosophy of globalism as advanced by the world economic powers is “do as I say and not as I do”. They counsel liberalism but practice protectionism, they counsel peace but practice war, they counsel morality but practice depravity, they counsel justice but practice injustice, they counsel sympathy and empathy but practice self-centredness, they counsel open door policy but practice close door. They counsel rule of law but practice lawlessness (Ozumba, 2018).

What then is integrative humanism? Why is it being canvassed for Africa? What message does the philosophy of integrative humanism have for Africa and the international community? According to Ozumba (2018) integrative humanism is a philosophy that pursues excellence in collective human wellbeing through integrated rational efforts. Globalization is justifiably an integrative humanist concept if only we are ready to harness all the positive potentials with which we as humans and our world is endowed. Integrative humanism harps on the fact that the world is created by a just God who loves humanity and has endowed our world with all human material resources that will enable us to live in peace, plenty, plenitude and prosperity.

Man’s greed, carnality, selfishness, exclusivism, superiority disposition have made humans not ready to share, to network, collaborate and seek to conform to equity and fairness. Ozumba (2018) insists that the concept of integrative humanism will make world powers see all humans as world citizens, nations as world nations, technology as divine gift for all, knowledge as endowment that must be shared, resources as world resources that must be distributed with no strings attached. All nations must come together in the true spirit of globalization devoid of superiority/inferiority cleavage, superpower/weak nation division. They are to sit up and run the world economy as they know how best without hypocrisy.

Conclusion

This study has comprehensively examined the concept of globalization and its implications to the economic development of Africa. The study analyzed the different perspectives and dimensions of globalization for better understanding of the concept that many scholars and critics see as highly controversial and contradictory. The promises of globalization were great such as global stability, reduction in poverty and inequalities within and among nations. Thus, its promoters advised all nations to open up their borders in order to create a global market in which all nations will participate directly. However, experience has shown that globalization has made some winners and others losers. And that African region is yet to join the countries that have benefitted from the shared prosperity of the globalization advocates.

Apart from the domestic and political restructuring which we earlier suggested that will help Africa achieve prosperity, the study further recommends that for Africa to maximally benefit from the promises of globalization, the region’s policymakers should accelerate their efforts in the following areas. First, governments should promote further regional integration to make Africa economically stronger and more effective at advancing its agenda internationally. Progress so far is very encouraging. The African Continental Free Trade Agreement recently obtained the minimum 22 ratifications needed to enter into force, thus creating a single African

market for goods and services. The AfCFTA, along with the Single African Air Transport Market and the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, will help to unlock the region's tremendous economic potential (Okonjo-Iweala and Coulibaly, 2019). Second, Africa must improve according to Okonjo-Iweala and Coulibaly (2019) its digital infrastructure and technology-related skills to avoid being further marginalized. At present, the cost of internet access in Africa is the highest in the world, and internet penetration is only 37 percent, significantly below the world average of 57 percent. Education and training programmes should therefore focus more on developing digital know-how, as well as on soft skills such as critical thinking and cognitive and socio-behavioral capabilities.

Third, Africa must create a system for owning and regulating its digital data. In the modern era, capital has displaced land as the most important asset and determinant of wealth. But in the digital economy, data will be the key. Africa's population boom means the continent will also generate large amounts of data, particularly as digitization makes inroads, e-commerce platform spread, the middle class expands, and consumer spending increases. Africa's potential may be huge, but it faces formidable challenges. Unless globalization works better for Africa, than in the past, its promise of shared prosperity will remain unfulfilled (Okonjo-Iweala and Coulibaly, 2019).

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