

# **Africa's Development in the Era of Barack Obama: The Role of the African Union**

by

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## **Abstract**

This paper examines Africa's development in the President Barack Obama era. The paper makes an argument for a stronger federal African Union (AU). It argues that the sooner member states of the AU give to the organization a significant portion of their sovereignty the better equipped it will become in seeking a better life for the people of the continent and also compete in the international arena. The paper presents eight strategic goals that the AU could implement to improve the lives of Africans. Finally, the paper calls for President Barack Obama to continue where his two immediate predecessors left off in their visible efforts to collaborate with African leaders in moving forward with ongoing and future development projects.

## **Introduction**

The African Union (AU), which officially came into existence in 2002 by replacing the Organization of African Unity (OAU), has a long term goal of becoming a fully fledged entity such as the United States of America (USA), or to a lesser extent, the European Union (EU). However, the current pace at which the organization is moving to that goal is so slow that, it might take over a hundred years for it to get to the stage at which the EU is now as an entity with limited federal powers, because members of the AU are not yet ready to give away some of their sovereignty to a federal union (also see Han, 2008; Murithi, 2005). The European Union actually serves as a good example for a federal African Union because as populous, wealthy and powerful countries like Germany, France, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom are right now in the international community, they still had the foresight to form a relatively powerful EU by giving away some of their sovereignty. For example, those five European nations listed above have a combined population of 306 million as of July 2008: 82,369,552 for Germany; 60,943,912 for the UK; 64,057,792 for France; 58,145,320 for Italy ;40,491,052 for Spain. They also have a combined estimated GDP of \$10.173 trillion in 2007, with each of them accounting for no less than \$1 trillion: \$2.807 trillion for Germany; \$2.13 trillion for the UK; \$2.075 trillion for France; \$1.8 trillion for Italy; \$1.361 trillion for Spain.<sup>i</sup>

Today, the EU is playing a leading role in international relations and trade, representing the interests of all of its 25 member states. Despite serious concerns by their citizens, the member states of the EU recognized that as wealthy and powerful as many of them are as individual countries, they cannot compete effectively in the international arena. As result, they decided to be part of a larger and more powerful entity that represents the interests of all of its members (Gillingham, 2003; Hansch, 2007; Kofman, 2007; Kurylo and Maffei, 2007; Schiemann, 2007). Writing about the EU and state sovereignty, Schiemann (2007) states that: "Sovereignty, as the word is now used, is historically a relative recent concept. It comprehends an alleged right of a state to organize affairs within its border as it pleases and an alleged right to be free from interference by other states" (p.475). According to Kurylo and Maffei (2007) the word: "'Sovereignty' has been defined as the supreme, absolute, and uncontrollable power by which any independent state is governed..." (p.60). Pertaining specifically to territorial sovereignty, it is defined: "as the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area" (quoted in Kofman, 2007: 66).

African Union members need to seriously consider this issue of sovereignty and learn a lesson from all of the member states of the EU and consider giving up some of their sovereignty to be part of a more powerful federal African Union. No single African country can really compete out there in the international arena (Kaba, 2005; Wade, 2007). As far back as the late 1950s, Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah called for a united Africa and argued in favor of Pan Africanism. Nkrumah is quoted as saying that: "independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent" (Commander, 2007:425).

In the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a new and positive relationship has developed between the people of Africa and the people of the United States (Adebajo, 2004; Ayam, 2008; Kaba, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008; Mazrui, 2004;). It is very rational to argue that a genuine support by the people of Africa and the people of the United States for a federal African Union in the next decade could contribute to making such goal a reality. This is especially the case with the son of a Black African serving as president of the United States, which creates the potential for a federal African Union more achievable. In fact, Kaba (2008) points out that: "The Barack Obama phenomenon appears to be part of the result of this new friendship between the people of Africa and the people of the United States" ((p.12).

This paper presents many explanations as to how a fully fledged federal African Union could benefit the vast majority of Africans on the continent in many different ways. This paper also presents a list of eight strategic goals that a federal African Union could immediately begin to implement to solve the numerous problems confronting the entire continent. Finally, this paper presents an argument that United States president Barack Obama must continue the positive U.S. policies toward Africa by his two immediate predecessors, Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush. In the case of President Barack Obama, Africa must be a very important priority to him because he is a descendant of that continent.

## **How a Stronger Federal African Union Could Benefit Member States**

There are numerous benefits to all of the people in Africa once a fully fledged federal African Union is accepted. These benefits could lead to a potential rise in the standard of living for the vast majority of people in Africa within a decade or two. One such major benefit is the final end to the continuous civil and inter-state arm conflicts that have been going on in many different parts of the continent due to the legacy of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, which divided Africans by carving out the entire continent among European nations, thus dividing ethnic groups between newly formed countries or forcing entire ethnic groups to become part of newly artificially created nations (Reader, 1998: 539-544). A fully fledged AU would now make the entire geographic or territorial area of Africa to belong to all Africans under one federal constitution and government. As a result, any African is who is a citizen of a country in the continent could now move freely to any of the 'states' of the new federal union because all states are owned by the people of all of the states.

A second major benefit of a federal AU to all Africans would be the creation of the cabinet positions of Foreign Minister and Defense Minister. A new Foreign Minister will now represent the entire continent abroad, just as the Secretary of State of the United States is the chief representative of the entire country abroad. A federal Defense Minister would also become the chief civilian head of a single national military, under only the Commander in Chief, which will be the President of the federal African Union. A national military and a national police force would quickly be created and would now prevent any domestic conflicts within or between states, thus ending decades long civil wars and cross border wars (Abass, 2007; Dumbuya, 2008; Murray, 2004; Williams 2008). In an article focusing on peace keeping in Africa, Williams (2008) quotes former South African president Thabo Mbeki as saying on the Darfur, Sudan conflict that: "It's critically important that the African continent should deal with these conflicts situations.... It's an African responsibility, and we can do it" (p.311).

Another benefit of a federal AU is not only the creation of a single currency for the entire continent, but also the negotiation and signing of all contracts with foreign entities by the federal government regarding all natural resources, goods and services, etc., of the continent. This will make it easier for member states to now focus on domestic issues instead of negotiating complicated trade contracts on their own, especially as a 'new scramble' for the resources of the continent has reemerged among such powerful entities such as the U.S., EU and China (Frynas and Paulo, 2007; Kaba, 2004; Sautman and Hairong, 2008, 2007;; Vishnevsky, 2006).

An additional benefit of a federal AU will be the immediate demand for the AU to have a permanent seat, with full veto powers on the United Nations Security Council. This will immediately help to protect the people of Africa and people of African descent all across the world. The United States is needed in this effort (Kaba, 2005). Let us now examine some strategic goals for Africa's development.

## **Eight Strategic Goals for Immediate Implementation for Africa's Development**

Due to the legacies of Slavery and Colonialism, Africa as a whole or the individual countries are very far behind in terms of economic and other critical forms of development when compared to all other parts of the world. For example, according to the United Nation's list of countries in the world categorized as "Least Developing Countries", of the 50 countries on the list, 34 (68%) are in Africa.<sup>ii</sup> (also see Kaba, 2007; Wisner, et al., 2005). Not only is a strong federal AU needed immediately, but there must also be strategic goals that must be created and implemented as soon as possible to begin to ease the enormous hardships that the overwhelming masses are currently experiencing in Africa.

I have thereby come up with the following eight strategic goals that a federal African Union could implement immediately to begin to ease the massive suffering currently being experienced by hundreds of millions of Africans in Africa.

### **Use the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan to Connect the Entire Continent by Roadways and Railways**

For a speedy development of the continent of Africa to begin, all of the countries or territories of the continent must be connected strategically and immediately. This then must be done through two strategically located countries on the continent. These two African countries are the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Sudan. The Democratic Republic of Congo shares land border with nine other African countries. A careful examination of the map of Africa and the map of the world would lead one to argue that the Democratic Republic of Congo is not only geographically located in the center or middle of Africa, but it is also located in the center of the world. So one could then argue that just as it is a skip and a jump from the Congo to any country in Africa, so also it is a skip and a jump from the Congo to any region of the world. For example, the Democratic Republic of shares border with Sudan, which shares borders with Egypt and Libya to the North. The Congo also shares border with Malawi, which shares border with Zimbabwe and Botswana to the south. This means that all roadways and railways from the Congo to all the other nine countries sharing border with that nation must be expanded, repaired, paved and maintained, because this will bring Africans together quickly and will be very beneficial for business or inter-state trade. The Democratic Republic of Congo also has the potential to become the financial or business or trade center of the entire continent of Africa. This same strategy must be repeated with the Sudan because that nation like the Congo, also shares border with nine other African countries.

## **Immediately Focus on Countries and Regions in Africa with Serious HIV/AIDS Cases**

The health of any society, nation or entity must be a national security concern. No nation or entity can compete or be economically or politically successful without good health. HIV/AIDS is causing a lot of destruction in many countries in Africa, especially in those nations where more people can at least read and write, have more high school or college diplomas or relatively strong economy, for example, Botswana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe, or Eastern Africa and Southern Africa are among the nations and regions experiencing this form of the Brain drain (see “2008 Report on the global AIDS epidemic,” 2008: 32-43; Asamoah-Odei et al., 2004; Gow, 2002; Kaba, 2006; Stoltenberg, 2008). As a result, it must be a strategic goal to invest substantially in these selected nations and regions and others in similar situation to sustain or maintain the talent in those nations and regions on the continent.

## **Invest in African Countries with 44 Percent or Higher of Population Under 15 Years Old in 2008**

In the past two decades, African governments, foreign governments, individual and other donors have utilized or advocated the strategy of first investing in African nations experiencing civil or cross border wars or those experiencing the most severe cases of diseases such as HIV/AIDS. In fact, the people of the U.S. through their federal government have pledged over \$15 billion and actually spent billions of dollars already fighting HIV/AIDS and other diseases in African nations experiencing the most severe forms of such diseases. This has been a good strategy as noted above already. However, it now appears that we must also pay close attention to the rapid demographic changes going on in Africa. An important strategic goal for Africa’s development must be to begin to invest first in countries on the continent with very high proportion of young people, simply because these very young Africans are the future of the continent. Let me explain. As of this moment, the youngest humans in the world are in Africa. No region in the world currently has proportionally more young people under the age of 15 than Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa. For example, as of 2008, while the proportion of people in the world under age 15 was 27.3%; 20.1% in the U.S.; 15.7% in the EU; 20.1% in China; 31.5% in India, it was 40.1% in Africa.

In terms of individual nations in Africa, those with 44% or more of their population under 15 years old in 2008 were: Uganda (50%), Mali (48.2%), Sao Tome & Principe and the Democratic Republic of Congo (each 47.1%), Chad and Niger (each 47%), Burundi and Burkina Faso (each 46.3%), Republic of Congo (46.1%), Malawi (46%) Zambia (45.4%), Mauritania (45.3%), Somalia (44.7%), Sierra Leone (44.6%), Mozambique (44.5%), Guinea (44.3%), Angola, Benin, Gambia, Liberia and Madagascar (each 44%).<sup>iii</sup>

These nations must be first in line to be invested in immediately, in terms of schools, hospitals or clinics, three healthy meals a day, etc. The main reason is that any society that wants to develop and preserve itself must invest first in its young. This is a strategy the AU must implement in Africa.

### **Focus on African Countries with Infant Mortality Rate of 70 Deaths or More Per 1000 Live Births**

Africa continues to lead the world in its extremely high number of infant mortality rate. As of 2008, the average infant mortality rate in the world was 42.09 deaths/1,000 live births; 6.3 deaths in the U.S.; 6.38 deaths in the EU; 21.16 deaths in China; 32.31 deaths in India, but Africa's average was 70.65 deaths in 2008. The nations in Africa with infant mortality rate of 70 deaths or more in 2008 were: Angola (182.31 deaths), Sierra Leone (156.48 deaths), Liberia (143.89 deaths), Niger (115.42 deaths), Somalia (110.97 deaths), Mozambique (107.84 deaths), Mali (103.83 deaths), Guinea Bissau (101.64 deaths), Zambia (100.96), Chad (100.36), Djibouti (99.13 deaths), Nigeria (93.93 deaths), Malawi (90.55 deaths), Ethiopia (90.24 deaths), Guinea (87.17 deaths), Sudan (86.98 deaths), Burkina Faso (86.02 deaths), Cote d'Ivoire (85.71 deaths), Equatorial Guinea (83.75 deaths), Rwanda (83.42 deaths), Central African Republic (82.36 deaths), Democratic Republic of Congo (83.11 deaths), Republic of Congo (81.29 deaths), Lesotho (78.59 deaths), Benin (76.19 deaths), Tanzania (70.46 deaths) and Swaziland (70 deaths).<sup>iv</sup>

Here too, the strategic goal for the AU must be to invest immediately in these African nations above with the highest infant mortality rates. This particular goal is important because, again the young are the future of the continent and the world. They must be protected at all cost. No amount of funding is too high to save the lives of these future doctors, nurses, teachers, professors, lawyers, civil servants, businessmen and women, etc. (also see Shabani, 2008; Stoltenberg, 2008). It has been noted that Africa is experiencing a severe form of the brain drain ("International Migration and Development," 2006), yet this is a much more serious form of Africa's brain drain when one really does a deep thinking about it.

### **Invest in African Nations with Female Gross Enrollment Ratios of Two Percent or Less**

By the end of the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it is now widely accepted that no society, nation or human entity can be successful without adequate education for a large segment of its people. The nations and entities that dominate the world today do so because of the relatively high number or proportion of their people with formal education such as high school, college or university diplomas or just the opportunity to enroll in colleges or universities.

For example, according to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) statistics, while the gross enrollment ratios for tertiary education (that is students who were suppose to enroll in college and were actually enrolled) in 2006 were 70% in North America and Western Europe combined (60% for males and 80% for females); 60% in Central and Eastern Europe (53% for males and 66% for females); 25% in East Asia and the Pacific (25% for males and 24% for females); 31% in Latin America and the Caribbean (29% for males and 34% for females); 22% in the Arab States (22% for males and 22% for females); 25% in Central Asia (24% for males and 26% for females); 11% in South and West Asia (12% for males and 9% for females), it was 5% in sub-Saharan Africa (6% for males and 4% for females).

It is useful to note that a number of African nations were included in the Arab States category. They were: Algeria, Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia. The average gross enrollment ratios in tertiary education for five of these eight African nations (excluding Egypt, Libya and Sudan) in 2006 was 14.2% (13.2% for males and 15.2% for females). For individual African countries, including those above categorized under Arab States, although data for 2006 were not available for many of them, the following nations had rates of 2% or less for females: Djibouti, Guinea and Mauritania (each 2%), Burundi, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia and Niger (each 1%).<sup>v</sup>

The strategic goal for the African Union in this instance is to immediately invest and increase the tertiary enrollment rates especially for females in these African nations above and others where the rate is 2% or less. This author has carefully studied development data for over 200 nations in the world in the past decade, and observed that those nations that provide tertiary education for a substantial proportion of their female population tend to be economically successful and those nations that do not do so struggle economically, politically and socially.

## **Invest in Landlocked African Countries**

As already noted in earlier sections of this paper, the lack of adequate transportation system has contributed substantially to the many development problems in Africa. There are instances where African farmers may have farm products ready for sale but cannot take them to markets because of lack of adequate transportation. This is due largely to very bad roads or no roads at all. This as a result, really affects landlocked countries in Africa. According to the U.N. as of December 2008 of the 31 landlocked nations in the world, 15 (48.4%) were in Africa. They were: Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.<sup>vi</sup>

A federal African Union must give these nations priority and invest in them to better equip them to be able to move from village to village, town to town, city to city, region to region and to other 'states' without difficulty. As of July 2008, the combined population of those 15 landlocked African nations mentioned above, for example, was 230.25 million.<sup>vii</sup> This is a very high number of people (75.5% of the 305 million people in the United States in December 2008).

### **Establish a Federal National University of Africa**

For a federal African Union to be efficient and successful it must 'grow its own timber'—that is educate its own future civil servants, teachers/professors, doctors, engineers, business men and women, etc. This strategic goal can be met by establishing its own national university system—The National University of Africa (NUA), with campuses or branches strategically located all across the continent, with affiliations in Europe, the U.S., Latin America and the Caribbean, China, India and the Middle East. The federal AU government must invest in recruiting talented African scholars in the Diaspora and talented people of African descent and others in the New World and other parts of the world to teach and conduct important research in its university campuses in Africa. The graduates of the NUA will then be among those who will become the civil servants of the federal and 'state' governments in Africa.

### **The Federal African Union Must Require the Study of French and English**

This author has observed that if the zero sum game concept is that, when one group takes advantage of another and benefits enormously from that advantage, means that the victim group never recovers or becomes permanently defeated, then that concept through slavery and colonialism would not apply or work with Africans. This is because while Africans have suffered greatly from the negative consequences of slavery and colonialism, their talents (brain power and physical strengths), mental toughness, endurance and perseverance have led to people of African descent inheriting most of the territories of the planet and taking over leadership positions of many countries of the world (Kaba 2004: 27-29), with a Black African man, Barack Obama, becoming the first Black president of the most powerful nation in the world – United States of America. This brings us to the topic of language. Due to slavery and colonialism, today more Africans speak non-African languages than the people whose language it is they speak. For example, as of July 2008 the Democratic Republic of Congo is the country in the world which has the largest population where French is an official language, with 66.5 million people, compared to 64.06 million people in France and its provinces.<sup>viii</sup> There are tens of millions or more of people of African descent in Africa or abroad that speak English, French or Portuguese than English, French or Portuguese people in Europe or abroad.



As of July 2008, there were 239 million people in the former or current French colonies in Africa. If one adds the populations of the former Belgian colonies in Africa where French is an official language: Democratic Republic of Congo (66.5 million), Rwanda (10.2 million) and Burundi (8.7 million) to the 239 million, the sum will be 324.4 million. As of July 2008, there were 511 million people in the former or current British colonies in Africa.<sup>ix</sup>

The strategic goal of a federal African Union is to teach both French and English in its national university so that Africans in those two parts of the continent would be able to communicate with each other, especially as civil servants spread across the entire continent.

## **The Role of United States President Barack Obama**

On November 4, 2008, a historic event took place in the wealthiest and most powerful country in the world. This event was the election of Barack Obama as the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States. Barack Obama is a son of a late Black Kenyan immigrant (Barack Obama, Sr.) who like many other young Black Africans, had traveled to the U.S. in the late 1950s to early 1960s to attain his university education and met and married Barack Jr.'s white American mother (born Stanley Ann Dunham) at the University of Hawaii and the couple gave birth to Barack Jr.

This great event happened at a period when the people of Africa and the people of the United States are experiencing a very positive friendship or partnership in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Ayam, 2008; Kaba, 2008, 2004).

This great historic moment, while it has placed enormous responsibilities on President Barack Obama, has also put Africa's gradual development in a very positive direction. This is because President Obama's two predecessors, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, in addition to the Black American population, left him a legacy of very visible interest in Africa's development, with economic, political and social U.S. policies that showed genuine interest in cooperating with Africans in their development efforts. For example, in the year 2000 when President Bill Clinton was in power, the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) was passed in the U.S. Congress and signed on May 14, 2000 by the president. This law offers tens of African nations: "...trade preferences as a compliment to foreign aid and encourage them to adopt free market economic reforms...expands product coverage under the generalized system of preferences (GSP) and provides duty and quota exemptions on their exports of textile and apparel products to the US market (Seyoum, 2007: 515). President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda is quoted as saying that: "...AGOA is the best thing the West has done for Africa since independence" (Kaba, 2004: 21). Among the nations taking advantage of AGOA are: Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritius, Nigeria and South Africa, accounting for over 90% of AGOA exports to the United States from 2001 to 2004 (Seyoum, 2007: 523-524; also see "Lesotho: The Promise of Africa," 2007).

The people of the United States' bipartisan (Democrats and Republicans) new friendship with the people of Africa is also witnessed in the George W. Bush administration, with many billions of dollars already spent to fight, malaria, for education, debt relief or cancellation, and many other initiatives (see Crook; 2005 "[Development](#): MCC to Distribute \$1.5 billion to Lesotho, Mozambique and Morocco," 2007; "MCC Awards \$461m Grant to Mali; Bush Expands Volunteers for Prosperity Program," 2007).

In fact, the election of Barack Obama as the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States itself is viewed as a contributing factor to the new positive friendship between the people of Africa and the people of the United States. This then means that President Barack Obama has a responsibility not only to continue the legacy of his two predecessors in term of working with Africans as they work to develop their societies, but he has the responsibility to do so as a son of Africa. In an article entitled: "Barack Obama's Dual Triple Heritage", Kaba (2008) points out that: "Barack Obama has the potential to contribute in uniting: (1) the United States; (2) Africa and the United States; (3) a Federal African Union; and (4) East-West regions of the three Old World continents (Africa, Asia and Europe)" (p. 12). President Barack Obama also has the influence to support a federal African Union to gain a permanent seat with veto powers on the U.N. Security Council, since the U.S. is the most powerful member of that influential body.

The tradition of U.S. presidents helping their ancestral continents goes back to over a hundred years. For example, in the past 100 years alone U.S. presidents with ancestry from Europe helped to rebuild Europe after World War I and World War II (Merrill, 2006; Williams, 2005). As Merrill (2006) notes, after World War II when Europe was destroyed, the U.S. spent "...\$12 billion [on the] Marshall Plan for European reconstruction..." (p.28). That amount far exceeds \$100 billion in today's economy. Patterson's study (2006): "...detected correlations between the strategic collaboration of U.S.-based Diasporas and their respective ancestral homelands on the one hand and the socioeconomic and technological development of those homelands on the other..." (p.1891).

So President Barack Obama not only has the responsibility to contribute to uniting a federal African Union as this author has argued, but he also now has the responsibility to continue the new U.S. policy of support for positive economic development in Africa. Africans in Africa are the youngest human beings in the world at this moment in history, with a median age of 19.7 years out of 972 million people in Africa as of July 2008; 36.7 years in the U.S.; 33.6 years in China; and 25.1 years in India. In the world, the median age was 27.4 years for males and 28.7 years for females.<sup>x</sup> President Obama has the potential and the influence to win over these almost half a billion of very young Africans in Africa in a positive way just as he has done with the youth of the United States, who are among his most loyal and active supporters. Supporting the strategic goals for Africa's development such as the ones presented above that directly help the young people of Africa could result in one of his and the United States' most important foreign policy achievements in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## Conclusion

This paper has presented many explanations as to how a strong federal African Union could benefit the vast majority of Africans in Africa. However, the paper points out that, member states of the African Union are currently reluctant to give up a significant portion of their sovereignty. As a result, it would take over a hundred years for the organization to be as united to the point where the European Union is now.

The paper recommends eight strategic goals that a federal African Union could implement. Among the eight strategic goals recommended are investments in African nations with very high proportion of people under 15 years old, invest in countries where the female gross college enrollment ratios is two percent or less, connect Africa by road and rail through the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Sudan, and invest in countries with very high infant mortality rates.

Finally, the paper points out that United States President Barack Obama, whose father was a native of Kenya, East Africa, could make a substantial contribution in working with African leaders to support a call for a stronger federal African Union and to support for that organization to have a seat with veto powers on the UN Security Council. The paper also notes that President Barack Obama must continue the positive policies of his immediate two predecessors in working with African leaders on many ongoing and future development projects for the continent's development.

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## Endnotes

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<sup>i</sup> Compiled and computed by author based on data in the 2008 CIA World Factbook. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>.

<sup>ii</sup> “Least Developed Countries,” UN Statistics Division. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm>.

<sup>iii</sup> Compiled and computed by author based on data in the 2008 CIA World Factbook. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>.

<sup>iv</sup> Compiled and computed by author based on data in the 2008 CIA World Factbook. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>.

<sup>v</sup> “Table 5. Enrollment Ratios by ISCED Level,” UNESCO Institute for Statistics. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/tableview.aspx>.

<sup>vi</sup> “Landlocked developing countries,” UN Statistics Division. December 2008). Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm>.

<sup>vii</sup> Compiled and computed by author based on data in the 2008 CIA World Factbook. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>.

<sup>viii</sup> Compiled and computed by author based on data in the 2008 CIA World Factbook. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>.

<sup>ix</sup> Compiled and computed by author based on data in the 2008 CIA World Factbook. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>.

Former and current French colonies in Africa: Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Rep. Chad, Comoros, Congo, Rep., Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Gabon, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mayotte, Morocco, Niger, Reunion, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia.

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Former and current British colonies in Africa: Botswana, Egypt, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Saint Helena, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

<sup>x</sup> Compiled and computed by author based on data in the 2008 CIA World Factbook. Retrieved on December 26, 2008 from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>.