Globalization and an African city: Lagos

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Introduction

Globalization refers to the global mobility, fluidity, speed of growth and volume of trade as well as of financial capital. It is the weakening of national and regional policies, the increasing role of technological innovation and value added information (FALL, 1999). Globalization is the concept of eventually running the entire world as one big village. Using the Ekistics paradigm, it is the conception of the entire world as one government, one economy, one society, one set of shells and one set of networks. In practical terms, today, globalization is best felt in the global economy and global technology.

This paper examines the effects of global trade on an African city; using Lagos as a case study.

Global trade

Within the last 50 years global trade has been on a steady rise. While the growth in world population has been five-fold by 1995, world trade has increased by 540-fold, according to North (1995). Table 1 shows that while 56.04 percent of the world's poor population account for 4.95 percent of global GNP, 16 percent of the world's rich population account for 81.34 percent global GNP in 1997. This clearly shows that while world trade increases, the rich get richer and the poor poorer. Even the World Trade Organization (WTO) agrees that while it tries to encourage global trading "many rich countries continue to grow and modernize, generating enough wealth to make their people progressively better off, some low income developing countries are not sharing in increased global prosperity," but instead look for excuses for their failures. The 1997 report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) confirms that the "rising inequalities are becoming more permanent features of the world economy." Development has excluded more than two thirds of the world population, 30 years after the UN resolution on the New International Economic Order (INEO, 1974 and 1975), over 40 years after the UN declared 1960 a decade of development and over 60 years after the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT).

Table 1
Distribution of per capita GNP and the world population

Classification	Number of Countries	average Per Capital GNP (range)	Percentage of Global GDP	Population (Million)	Percentage of World's Population
Low income	49	430 (80-730)	4.95	3179.9	56.04
lower Middle Income	41	670 (770-3020	6.96	1152.6	20.3
Upper Middle Income	17	60 (3160-8210)	6.75	438.3	7.73
High Income	26	) (9700-40630)	81.34	902.2	16.O
world	133	380 (80-40630)	100	5673.O	100

Global trade and sub-Saharan Africa

A significant element of note is that within the last 60 years, sub-Saharan African trade has largely been in the supply of raw materials. Table 2 shows four main types of exports from sub-Saharan Africa, namely:

- Oil export (Nigeria, Gabon and Angola);
- Mineral export (Democratic Republic of Congo);
- Commodity export (Ivory Coast – Côte d'Ivoire, Sudan etc.); and,
- Export of low technology basic goods (Senegal).

While the countries export primary raw materials, they all import consumer goods and capital goods from industrial countries. The main countries with which all the African countries trade are European countries, USA and Japan. Even among the European countries, the African countries trade mainly with their former colonizers. Table 2 shows the countries as mainly members of the G8, namely; USA, France, United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Japan and lately Russia. There is very little trading among members of the sub-Saharan countries. Recorded trades are those of Ivory Coast and Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast, and Mozambique and South Africa.

There has been little achievement in regional trading. Three main concerns will be considered in detail, namely:

Table 2
Main exports, trading partners' terms of trade and current account balance of selected sub-Saharan countries

Country	Main Exports	Main Export Markets	Main Import Markets	Terms of Trade		Per Capital GNP 1995	Current Account Balance 1980 1995	
Angola	Petrol	USA, Germany, Brazil	Portugal, USA, Brazil	42.4	66.2	410	n.a	-18.1
Burkina Faso	Cotton, Gold, Livestock	France, Cote d'Ivoire,	Switzerland, USA	125.2	105.2	230	-2.9	0.8
		Switzerland						
Central African Diamond	Diamond, timber, cotton	France, Belgium	France, Belgium	86.1	100.1	340	-5.4	-2.8
Congo Democratic Republic	copper, diamond, cobalt	Belgium, USA, Germany	Switzerland,USA	202.4	77.2	120		
Cote d'Ivoire	cocoa, coffee, cotton	Netherlands, France, Germany	France,Nigeria, Germany	95.6	81.7	660	-18	-2.7
Gabon	Petrol	France, USA, Germany	France	15.9	55.5	3490	9	8.1
Ghana	cocoa, Gold	Germany, Britain, USA	Germany, Britain, USA	148.5	70.6	390	0.7	-6.5
Kenya	Tea, Coffee, petroleum	Uganda, Britain, Germany		84.7	61.4	280	-12.1	-4.4
	product		Britain, Japan, USA					
Mozambique	shrimps, cashew nut,	Spain, USA, South Africa	South Africa, Former	102.9	99.7	80	-18.1	
	cotton		USSR, USA	20.5	48.8	260	5.6	-5.8
Nigeria	Petrol, cocoa	USA, Germany, Spain	Britain, Germany, USA	86.9	101.5	600	-12.8	0.1
Senegal	Basic manufacturer,	France, India, Italy	France, USA, Italy	105	92.3	n.a	n.a	n.a
	Fish products, groundnut							
Sudan	cotton lint, cotton seed	Saudi Arabia, Italy, Germany	Saudi Arabia,Italy,Germany	310.3	82.9	400	-13.3	n.a
Zambia	copper, cobalt, zinc	Japan, France, Thailand	SACU, Britain, Germany	81	135.2	540	-2.8	-7.3
Zimbabwe	Tobacco, ferochrome gold	Germany, Britain, USA						

- Why is the cost of primary products nearly stagnant while the cost of manufactured goods continues to rise in price?
- What is the role of the city in the emerging equation?
- What are the main variables responsible for the lack of growth in Africa?

Trade negotiations

Some of the leading trading negotiations are GATT and its replacement with the World Trade Organization (WTO). Table 3 shows some of the highlights as follows:

- The USA is the main force behind GATT and WTO. For example, until it was convenient for the USA, agriculture and textiles were not included in GATT.
- The USA and European countries were the main actors of the first six rounds of GATT. Japan and Canada came on line later. For example, the world's leading military and economic leaders lead and set the pace for multilateral trade negotiations as shown in table 3.
- Developing countries were more assertive in the Tokyo rounds of negotiations in 1973-1979, owing to the rising profile of OPEC. Also commodity problems came to the fore during the Nairobi Conference of UNCTAD IV.

Table 3
The GATT Rounds: Stylized facts

Round	Global conditions and changes	Target/Objective	Key Players/terms Negotiation	Deal
1 (1946-48)	Negative War effects; Marshall plan, Cold-war begins	ITO/vehicle for free trade	US, European Countries, others Product by product request-offer basis	GATT (US/Europe)
2-5 (1949-61)	NATO (1949); ECSC (1951); Marshall Plan ends (1952), EEC and Euratom (1957); OECD (1961) and the US congress restricts the US administration in trade negotiations	Further Tariff reduction	US, European nations	Little improvements/EEC, weaker US administration and non-negotiable positions of Britain
6 (1964-67) Kennedy	US Trade Expansion Act passed 1962, Cuban Missile crisis (1962); EC (1967)	Tariff and anti-dumping measures	US and EC (NATO allies)	-36-39% cut in tariff on 75% of traded goods (industrial);-exclusion of agriculture-extended L T A on textiles; -option of reciprocal concession or traditional reciprocal clause –promise of unilateral tariff cuts on tropical products
7 (1973-79) Tokyo	Yom Kippur war (9173); Oil price shock 919730; stagflation, proliferation of non-tariff barriers; strain in trade relations between US, Japan and the EU;US Trade Act of 1974; "muscular liberalism"; "aggressive unilateralism" or "creative illegality (301)"?	-tariff and non-tariff measures; rules for commercial policy	US, EC, Japan and South Countries/Multilateral and request-offer basis	-Swiss formula6 –tariff reduction of between 33-52% for industrial products; an average of 25% for – products from LDCs –No deal on: quantitative restrictions, safeguards, agriculture; fair concessions to LDCs
8 (1986-94) Uruguay	The debt crisis; economic reform, US: Omnibus Trade Act of 1988 (Super 301); world-wide recession; conflict between three major trading blocks; tendency of the three to violate GATT principles; loss of comparative advantage by the US in steel and communication; structural; collapse of the communism and break up USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia	-tariff and non-tariff measures; rules, services, intellectual property, dispute settlement , textiles, agriculture, creation of WTO	The Quad;7 Cairns Group; G9;9 G10;10 SELA and the ACP.	Agreements on goods, services and intellectual property rights; Tariff (more binding and closer to zero); agriculture;

(*Source:* Compiled from Soderson and Reed, 1994).

Generally, trade agreements have had winners and losers. The losers get poorer while the winners get richer (SINGER, 1998). This largely explains why the cost of primary products is depreciating daily while the cost of manufactured goods increases daily. For example, eight countries have worse trade terms in 1995 compared with 1970. Countries exporting copper showed the highest trade decline. Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo had their copper trade decline from 38.1 percent to 26.7 percent from 1970 to 1995. Cocoa (Ghana and Ivory Coast) declined from 85 percent in 1970 to 49 percent in 1995. Comparatively, oil prices (Nigeria, Angola and Gabon) moved up from 156 percent in 1970 to 238 percent and 349 percent in 1995. Ordinarily, Nigeria, Angola and Gabon should have had better economies by now.

The situation in sub-Saharan Africa was made worse by the debt trap, that had grown over the years. Perhaps, in an effort to ameliorate the situation, the G8 in June 2005 cancelled a good amount of these debts. This was quite commendable, but unfortunately a lot still needs to be done to improve the situation in sub-Saharan Africa.

Lagos

The city has been described variously as an engine of growth and development. In the globalization process, one concern for Africans is how well the city in Africa is performing this role. Using Lagos as a case study, one is concerned how well prepared the city of Lagos is equipped to perform the role of energizing the development of Nigeria, in particular, and Africa in general. A summary of the city of Lagos' basic characteristics is summarized below:

- **Location:** Lagos is located in Nigeria, West Africa (fig. 1). The city became a British Colony in 1861 and the administrative capital of Nigeria in 1914 after the amalgamation of both the north and southern protectorate of Nigeria to form a new country called Nigeria. In 1967 when Nigeria was structured into 12 states, Lagos became a state with an area of 3,577 sq.km; 22 percent (787 sq.km) of which is water. The entire state is a wetland urban environment located on the narrow coastal plain of the Atlantic Ocean. Today, Lagos State is one of the 36 constituent States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

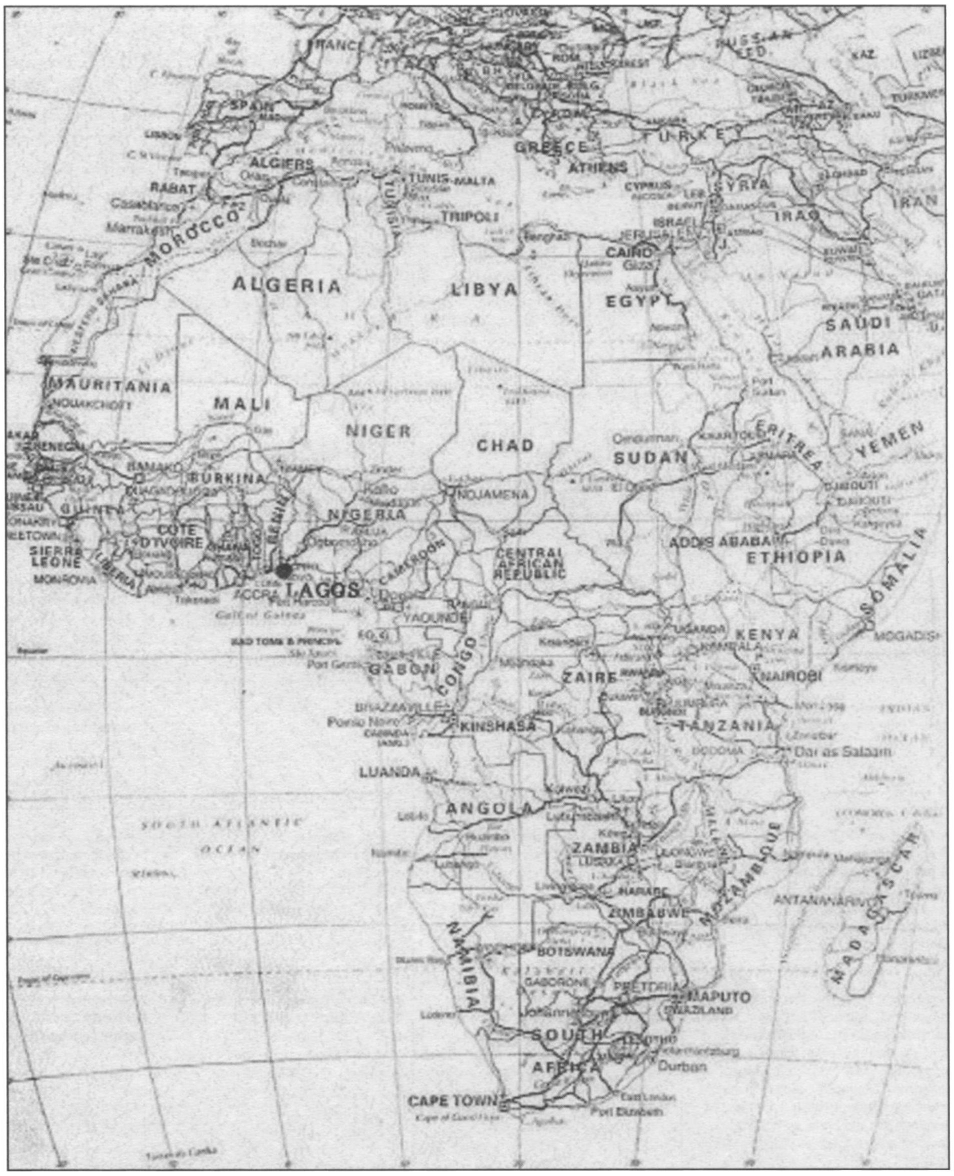

Fig. 1: Africa – Location of Nigeria and Lagos. (*Source:* Harper Collins Cartographic).

The Federal Capital status of Lagos was transferred to Abuja on 11th December 1991, but Lagos still remains the commercial capital of Nigeria.

- **Territory:** Lagos has been transformed from a fishing settlement to a large urban center attracting dense population requiring a complex urban infrastructure. Ikeja is the administrative capital of Lagos State. The state has five divisions namely; Lagos, Ikorodu, Ikeja, Epe, and Badagry. These five divisions are further subdivided into 20 local government areas.
- **Urban Setting:** Lagos is a highly urbanized region, with over 75 percent of its current population of 15 million, living in metropolitan Lagos. In 1963, the population of Lagos was 1,443,568 (1963, Nigerian census), but in 1985, the population rose to 5,8 million and became the 31st largest world urban center. In 1990, the population rose to 7.7 million and became the 22nd largest world urban center. It is estimated that in the year 2010, Lagos will become the world's 3rd largest urban center; with a population of 20.19 million (tables 4 and 5).
- **Urbanization:** Lagos has the highest rate of urbanization in the world, estimated at 6-8 percent. It attained the mega city status in 1994/1995, with a population of 10.28 million. The large urban setting poses tremendous challenges, such as a serious urban crisis and wide resource gap. Lagos has the lowest liveability rating of 19 out of 114 global cities (see table 6), and city development index of 29.3 (table 7). Lagos is the largest urban center in Africa today. The growth rate is 8 percent, as against the national rate of 2.9 percent and global rate of 2 percent. Today, Lagos is growing ten times faster than New York and Los Angeles, both in the United States of America.

Table 4
Lagos population trends (1985-2015)

Year	Population (million)	Global Ranking
1985	5.8	31st
1990	7.7	22nd
1995	10.28	-
2000	13.42	6th
2005	16.86	-
2010	20.19	3rd
2015	24.6	-

(*Source:* Lagos State Economic Summit, 2002).

Table 5
Top 30 global cities

Population (in millions)					
1990		2000		2010	
25.1	Tokyo	26.4	Tokyo	26.4	Tokyo
16.1	New York	18.1	Mexico	23.6	Bombay
15.1	Mexico City	18.1	Bombay	20.2	Lagos *
15.1	Sao Paulo	17.8	Sao Paulo	19.7	Sao Paulo
13.3	Shanghai	16.6	New York	18.7	Mexico City
12.2	Bombay	13.4	Lagos *	18.4	Dhaka
11.5	Los Angeles	13.1	Los Angeles	17.2	New York
11.2	Buenos Aires	12.9	Calcutta	16.6	Karachi
11.O	Osaka	12.9	Shanghai	15.6	Calcutta
10.9	Calcutta	12.6	Buenos Aires	15.3	Jakarta
10.8	Beijing	12.3	Dhaka	15.1	Delhi
10.5	Seoul	11.8	Karachi	13.9	Los Angeles
9.7	Rio de Janeiro	11.7	Delhi	13.9	Metro Manila
9.3	Paris	11.O	Jakarta	13.7	Buenos Aires
9.O	Moscow	11.O	Osaka	13.7	Shanghai
8.8	Tiajin	10.9	Metro Manila	12.7	Cairo
8.6	Cairo	10.8	Beijing	11.8	Istanbul
8.2	Delhi	10.6	Rio de Janeiro	11.8	Beijing
8.O	Metro Manila	10.6	Cairo	11.5	Rio de Janeiro
7.9	Karachi	5.9	Seoul	11.O	Osaka
7.7	Lagos *	9.6	Paris	10.O	Tiajin
7.7	London	9.5	Istanbul	9.9	Seoul
7.7	Jakarta	9.3	Moscow	9.7	Paris
6.8	Chicago	9.2	Tiajin	9.4	Hyderabad
6.6	Dhaka	7.6	London	9.4	Moscow
6.5	Istanbul	7.4	Lima	9.O	Bangkok
6.4	Teheran	7.3	Bangkok	8.8	Lima
6.4	Essen	7.2	Teheran	8.6	Lahore
5.9	Bangkok	7.O	Chicago	8.2	Madras
5.8	Lima	6.9	Hong Kong	8.1	Teheran

Table 6
Liveability rating of 114 cities of the world in 1996

Melbourne, Montreal, Seattle	86
Atlanta, Essen, Dortmund, Duisburg	85
Detroit, Windsor	84
Dallas, Forth Worth, Houston	83
Manchester, Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Tokyo, Yokohama	81
Singapore	79
Philadelphia, Trenton, Wilmington	78
Birmingham, Nagoya	77
Washington D.C.	76
Chicago, Miami, Fort Lauderdale	75
Kiev	74
Madrid	73
Berlin, Paris	72
Boston	71
New York	70
London, Los Angeles, Milan, Taipei	69
Rome	67
Hong Kong	66
Budapest	65
Moscow	64
Barcelona, San Diego, Tijuana, Warsaw	63
Athens, Leningrad	62
Ankara, Katowice - Bytom, Gliwice, Lisbon	61
Tashkent	60
Belo Horizonte	59
Seoul	58
Pusan, Shantu	56
Beijing, Buenos Aires, La Plata	55
Baghdad, Bogota, Caracas, Porto Allegre	54
Guadalajara	53
Bandung, Cape Town, Harbin, Naples	52
Monterey, Rio de Janeiro, Tragan, Wuhan	51
Santiago, Sao Paulo	50
Nanjing	49
Algiers, Casablanca, Chongang	48
Johannesburg	46
Ahmedabad, Manila	45
Alexandria, Bangkok, Guangzhou, Istanbul, Madras, Shenyang	42
Ho-Chi-Minh City, Jakarta	40
Hyderabad, Tehran	38
Bangalore	37
Cairo, Delhi, Karachi, Surabaya, New Delhi	36
Bombay	35
Calcutta, Lahore, Pune	34
Kanpur, Lima, Recife	33
Dhaka	32
Kinshasa	29
Lagos	19

(*Source: Time Magazine,* 10th December, 1996).

Table 7
City Development Index (CDI) for selected cities

Region	CDI	Sub-Indices City Product	Infrastructure	Waste	Health	Education
Stockholm	97.4	93.5	99.5	100.O	94.O	99.8
Melbourne	95.5	90.O	99.8	100.O	93.7	94.1
Singapore	94.5	91.6	99.5	100.O	92.7	88.6
Hong Kong	92.O	89.4	99.3	99.O	90.9	81.3
Moscow	89.9	81.O	89.7	86.8	83.8	99.3
Seoul	86.O	65.3	98.4	100.O	88.7	77.7
Rio de Janerio	79.4	82.3	86.2	62.6	81.9	84.3
Sofia	79.1	70.9	93.7	58.8	86.2	86.3
Hanol	74.2	59.6	72.O	90.O	80.6	89.O
Havana	71.O	65.O	74.8	50.O	80.7	84.7
Jakarta	69.2	66.2	57.3	46.7	80.2	95.7
Ulaabaata	68.4	52.7	59.O	90.O	72.5	66.7
Lahore	61.1	71.1	78.5	50	64.9	40.8
Colombo	58.4	46.9	68.6	45.O	86.2	45.3
Bangalore	58.O	51.1	82.7	31.3	76.5	48.5
Dhara	43.4	55.6	45.3	27.5	64.6	48.7
Vientiane	47.1	44	58.O	0.O	62.3	71.3
Accra	46.6	49.4	50.O	0.O	41.4	62.O
Phnom Penh	42.5	40.2	33.O	27.O	47.2	69.9
Port Moresby	39.3	69.O	18.1	10.O	51.1	40.2
Lagos	29.3	42.1	29.5	2	44.O	29.1
Niamey	21.7	40.O	22.OO	0.O	98.3	14.9

● **Economy:** Lagos is Africa's largest and fastest growing market. It has over 65 percent of the total national industries, with over 10,000 of the country's total commercial concerns. There are over 250 viable financial institutions and 22 industrial estates. Power demand is 2,000 megawatts while water demand is 1,800 million liters per day. It has 180 km of coconut fringed Atlantic coastline. It is home to local and foreign conglomerates and transnational corporations. It is a focal point of international and domestic aviation and maritime activities, home to two dockyards and four of the nation's eight sea ports. It is a great media hub with major national telecommunications and energy systems (LAGOS ECONOMIC SUMMIT REPORT, 2002).

● **Government:** Lagos State is one of the 36 States of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The State is governed by an elected governor for four years at a time. It has twenty local governments with elected officials. The state capital is Ikeja.

● **Society:** The city developed from a small fishing settlement in the 19th century into the large urban center of today. The original name was Eko; a Bini word meaning camp. The original inhabitants were the Aworis of Yoruba extraction and today the Yorubas form the largest part of the inhabitants, with almost all the tribes of Nigeria well represented. The greatest challenge facing the Nigerian society is the people's attitude to work, which is characterized by indolence, extravagant consumption, corruption and the celebration of sycophancy. Generally people want money, but are not really interested in working for it.

● **Land use:** The development of Lagos started from Lagos Island. Today, Lagos Island is the commercial and business center of the city with a large sprawling residential slum. Other commercial centers are located on Victoria Island, Apapa, Yaba, Ikeja and Agege. The Lagos International Airport is located in Ikeja, north of the city, while the sea port is located south in Apapa, on the Atlantic Ocean (fig. 2). Residential areas are spread over the city.

● **Infrastructure:** In 2002 demand was as follows:

- The **power** demand of the city was estimated to be 2,000 megawatts. The present supply is far below this figure and this accounts for the major bottlenecks to power supply in Nigeria in general.
- **Water** demand is 1,800 million liters per day. This requirement is yet to be fully met.
- **Transportation** is the second highest challenge of the city after power. For a city with about 15 million inhabitants, it has no real **mass transit**. There are numerous ubiquitous "Danfos" and "Molues" whose operators behave with little consideration for other road users; thereby causing unnecessary traffic jams. The people spend long hours in traffic jams between home and work place. The average worker is already tired by the time he gets to work in the morning at 8.00 a.m. after spending 2-3 hours in very uncomfortable traffic jams. This has a negative effect on production and the health of the people. With the introduction of the new GSM, communication technology is now readily available to all.

● **Housing:** Housing is one of man's basic needs. The housing situation in Lagos could be much better. The State government seems to be unable to cope with the rising demand for housing, despite their efforts in this area, because of its astronomical growth rate.

Challenges of the city

There are many challenges for a fast growing urban center like Lagos. The top three challenges in the city of Lagos and largely in Africa are the following:

- Finance;
- Urban Infrastructure of power and mass transit; and,
- Attitude to work.

Finance

The most celebrated challenge to the development of man in Lagos in particular and Africa in general is finance. Finance is considered to be so important that many African governments have gone to great lengths to accept extremely difficult conditions such as devaluation, subservient trade terms and difficult external debt obligations. For example, the total external debt of sub-Saharan African countries rose to US$218 billion by the end of 2003, according to the World Bank Annual Report. This is an increase of 6.9 percent over the region's external debt of US$204 billion in 2004. How do you develop such a region with such debts? Nigerian foreign debt at the end of 2004 was US$36 billion. It carried along with it a crushing devaluation and very hostile trade terms.

In 2005, many countries in Africa received some debt cancellations, which is quite commendable on the part of the creditors. Nigeria is one of the lucky recipients of this magnanimous gesture as 60 percent of her external debt to the Paris club was cancelled. With the debt cancellation one would expect the affected African countries to jump for joy. However, this is not possible because a lot still needs to be done. For example, funds available to the real sector in Nigeria are at an interest rate of at least 25 percent. The use of such expensive funds, coupled with very expensive imported machinery, poor infrastructure and poor attitude to work makes production very difficult and the venture unprofitable. These reasons explain why many production efforts fail leading to increased debt, high unemployment, insecurity and poor environment.

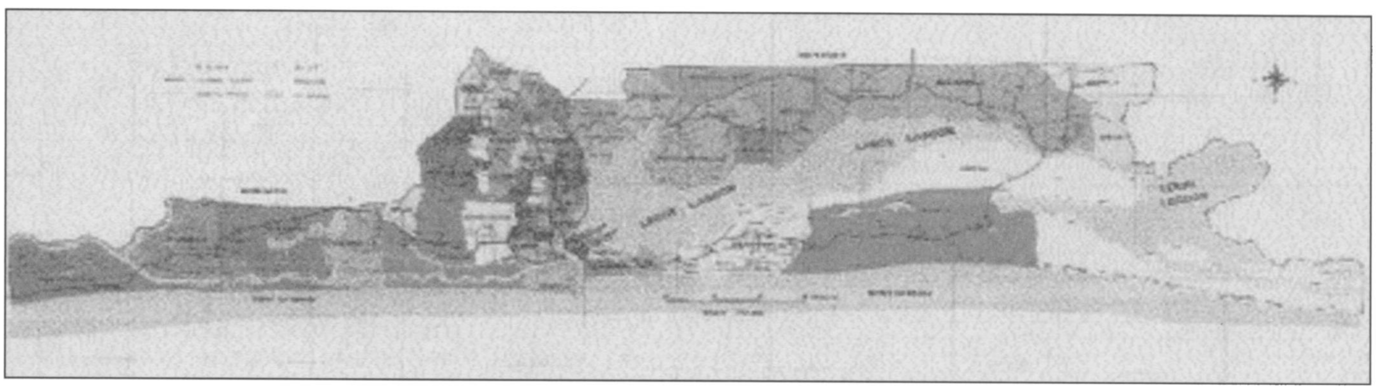

Fig. 2: Lagos State showing the newly created 57 local government areas (2004). (*Source:* Lagos State Government).

Power and mass transit

A major handicap to production in Lagos is the epileptic power supply. Inadequate power supply affects all levels of production. The smallest welder or tailor is unable to work without power. Thus factories are unable to guarantee uninterrupted production without power. Government has repeatedly told the people that efforts are being made to improve the situation. The present civilian government has been in office for the past six years, but production is yet to be guaranteed a steady supply of power.

It is interesting to note that a large urban setting like Lagos lacks an effective and functional mass transit system. It is vital that government should make every effort to introduce rail mass transit into the Lagos metropolis.

Attitude to work

Perhaps the least recognized but the most vital contributor to poverty in Lagos in particular and Africa in general is the culture of indolence, consumption and corruption. There are many wealthy Nigerians but the sources of their wealth are unknown. The real sector already suffering from high interest rates and poor infrastructure is confronted with workers who want money but are not interested in productive work. In the 2005 Nigerian National Political Reform Conference, it was quite curious to note that the three zones shown in table 8 as producing nothing into the national purse, out of the six national zones of Nigeria, were united in their demand for only minimal compensation for the areas producing the bulk of our national wealth. One would have thought that there would be extensive discussions on how to increase the national income. Instead, there was prolonged discussion on sharing the income. This illustrates that at the highest national level, all attention is on consumption not production. One main objective of this paper is to sensitize the world to the needs of Africa:

- as a first step, all African countries must be encouraged to become self-sufficient in basic food production to feed their nationals, otherwise Africa will continue to be a handicap to globalization;
- secondly, Africa must embrace hard work, accountability, transparency, and meritocracy.

Table 8
Contributions and allocations to Zones (States and LGAs) from the federation Account (Jan.-April 2005)

Zone	Amount Received by Each Zone (in Billions)	% Contribution	% Allocation
North Central	N 45.811	0.00	7.48
North East	N46.213	0.00	8.00
North West	N44.488	0.00	8.31
South East	N33.476	2.75	5.48
South West	N42.502	3.97	7.43
South-South	N145.171	91.54	17.3

(*Source:* Federal Ministry of Finance, Abuja).

Conclusion

To anyone in the African city whose urban infrastructure is weak, economic environment hostile, government promising, celebrated attitude of indolence, consumption and corruption, globalization appears to be an exercise in doom. Yet, globalization is inevitable. Africa needs to wake up to the challenges of globalization. If one variable should be singled out that can significantly change a bad situation into a good one, it is the need for Africa to produce food to feed its own population and change its attitude to work, i.e. embrace hard work, accountability and meritocracy.

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