

**Covid-19 Pandemic, Poverty and Inequality in Africa: An Appraisal<sup>1</sup>**

**Abstract**

*Africa has just hit an agonising milestone as the continent recently experienced multiple deaths from COVID-19. Yet, the pandemic threatens to scar the continent in other ways, such as deepening the divide between the rich and poor, hence exacerbating inequality. Before the pandemic, inequality between and within continents had been a key impediment to sustainable development and social justice. Today, with the pandemic, African countries require huge financial help to cope with the attendant socioeconomic costs, in addition to emergency health spending. But with the corruption in Africa at its peak, the funds available scarcely reach those that are in dire need of them. This result in increased inequality because countries are left saddled with public debt for money lost to corruption. Using Nigeria as case study, this paper shall submit practical ways of mobilising Africans to disentangle from this chain of poverty and inequalities and the attendant socioeconomic servitude.*

**Keywords: Pandemic, Africa, Poverty, Government, Covid-19**

**1. Introduction**

Africa is saddled with numerous socioeconomic setbacks, namely: corruption, unemployment, insecurity, deteriorating human capital indices, slow diversification of the economy, amongst others. As the continent with the largest oil exporting countries, she is doubtlessly endowed with natural resources.<sup>2</sup> She is also endowed with brilliance of intellect. However, economic prosperity requires more than these. As Nelson Mandela had rightly said, ‘money will not create success but the freedom to make it will.’<sup>3</sup> Apparently in Africa, Mandela’s concept of socioeconomic freedom has remained elusive. The authorities wield the economic and political resources exclusively yet arbitrarily. Consequently, public trust is abused. With the wealth of resources in African countries, the continent is still categorised as poor, such that Nigeria which is the giant of Africa has only a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of about \$375.8 billion.<sup>4</sup> In order to solve the problems of Africa, it is indeed pertinent that a culture of trust, confidence and social capital is cultivated.<sup>5</sup> Hence, the question lies how could the confidence for nation building be propagated in African countries? And how could socioeconomic success and improved quality of life be guaranteed for Africans, in the light of the present poverty and inequalities in the continent? To answer these questions, it would be ideal to identify and proffer solutions to the problems of poverty and inequality pertinent to Africa. Incidentally, there are also steep challenges for vaccination of Covid-19 in Africa as the Western world are of the opinion that the African nation lacks the facilities that will accommodate the vaccines. Rather than seeking solution our government officials travel out to get the vaccine. It is such an appalling situation further emphasising the dilemma of the poor and the existing inequality

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<sup>2</sup> C Anthony, *World’s Top 10 Oil Exporters* (Investopedia, 2020) page.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in F Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York: The Free Press 1995).

<sup>4</sup> World Economic Outlook Database, *Statistics of the Economy and GDP of Nigeria* (International Monetary Fund 1995).

<sup>5</sup> (Fukuyama, n3).

because they do not have the luxury of seeking medical attention in a foreign country. This paper therefore is divided into six parts. Part 1 deals with the introduction. Part 2 discusses Poverty and socioeconomic Servitude in Africa- Nigeria being used as a case study while Part 3 deals with the analysis of the inequalities in Africa using Nigeria as a case study. Part 4 discusses the impact of Covid-19 pandemic on the African continent. This takes us to Part 5 which is on the recommendations for mobilising Africans to disentangle from poverty and economic servitude. Part 6 further outlines recommendations for addressing the problem of poverty and inequality occasioned by the pandemic in Africa and the last part is the conclusion.

## **2. Poverty and Socioeconomic Servitude in Africa: Nigeria as Case Study**

### **2.1 The Case of Mental Poverty in Africa**

Africa is struck with such level of mental poverty that makes it incapable of recognition of talents and competencies within its domain. A typical African would prefer having a certain white foreigner to take charge of his investment deals and contracts, because to him, there is certain level of professionalism and competence that comes with being white and foreign. Similarly, the continent is endowed with numerous natural resources which are still tapped by Europe as a consequence of neo-colonialism. Most commodities used in the continent are imported, and there is little or no confidence in local or indigenous goods. As such, the continent has been described by authors as suffering the Dutch Disease, that is, having a boom in the her natural resources, but experiencing decreased price competitiveness and poor wealth management.<sup>6</sup> In fact, there have been situations where these foreign nations have collected in large quantities some of our natural products which they end up polishing and selling it to us. In such scenarios funny enough, the demand for such products is like scramble for Africa. As a result of resorting to importation of goods at the neglect of her economic resources, she incurs so much loss in income which could be channeled into sectors in need of alleviation from poverty and under-development.

### **2.2 The Case of Economic Devaluation**

African currencies are in constant depreciation in worth when compared with world currencies like the dollars and pounds. In Nigeria for instance, Five Hundred Naira is worth as little as One Dollar. Huge amounts of natural resources like oil and natural gas are exported on daily basis, yet the country's currency continues to weaken against other international currencies. In addition, there is over-dependency on oil exportation, such that about 80% of the country's income comes from that, and a meager 20% comes from other sources<sup>7</sup>. Consequently, in the World Bank Report 2019 to 2020 on 'Ease of Doing Business in Nigeria', Nigeria was ranked 146 out of 190 countries, with report attesting that Nigerian businesses lacked access to credit. Nevertheless, politicians wield million-dollar assets and money in financial institutions abroad<sup>8</sup>.

### **2.3 The Case of Institutional Poverty and Vices**

The first of the institutional problems in Africa is corruption. Corruption is thriving and the government, public servants and private enterprises perpetuate it. Indeed, the 'war against corruption' in the continent has been analogized as trying to contain the wind.<sup>9</sup> The process of

<sup>6</sup> N Bature, 'The Dutch Disease and the Diversification of an Economy: Some Case Studies' (2013) (15) 5 *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 6.

<sup>7</sup> E Agbaeze, 'Resolving Nigeria's Dependency on Oil – The Derivation Model' [2015] (7) (1) *Journal of African Studies and Development Review* 1.

<sup>8</sup> The Vanguard, 'CBN Blames Economy Slow Down on Banks' Abuja, 13 May 2010.

<sup>9</sup> B Bello-Imam, *The War against Corruption in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, (Ibadan: College Press, 2015).

recruitment and general working relations of a typical African industry is engulfed with bribery, mildly referred to as ‘public relations’. Ill-gotten wealth is celebrated and certain politicians remain relentless in perpetrating fraud.

Secondly, there is the problem of unemployment. Approximately 24% or more of the total African population is unemployed<sup>10</sup>, and this trend diminishes capacity building and government legitimacy. Consequently, African youths are desperate to elope from the continent. Others engage in anti-social activities including kidnapping for ransom and armed robbery.<sup>11</sup> There is also the menace of poor infrastructure management, alongside inadequate policing, weak industrial base and deficient financial institutions.<sup>12</sup> Power supply is erratic in most African countries, while road and rail networks are poorly administered. Research, for example, has shown that Nigeria is yet to harness 20% of her agro produce from farms due to the poor state of roads and non-existent storage facilities.<sup>13</sup> There is also the problem of mismanagement of tax monies.

In addition, the African public educational system suffers poor funding and neglect. There is deficit of skills amongst teachers, poor conditions of educational institutions and outdated learning materials. There is also the problem of disparity between the attained knowledge and real-life demands<sup>14</sup>. There are insecurity problems and the law enforcement mechanisms across the continent appear to fall short of expectations in combating terrorism and social vices. Crime combating machineries are obsolete. The Nigerian Police Force for instance has about 350,000 personnel for a country with a population of over 150 million people to be protected.<sup>15</sup>

There is poverty in the continent, escalated by consumptive cultures and weak institutions. In the Review of World Development 2018-2019, African nations were consistently ranked 157 and below, out of 189 economies in Human Development Index; and were among the ‘least livable’ nations in the world.

## **2.4 Analyses of the Inequalities in Africa using Nigeria as Case Study**

### **2.4.1 Wealth and Political Inequalities**

All over the world, there is an apparent divide leading to class systems and a platitudinous confrontation of interests and capitalism exacerbates this division even further. In this light, Adams Smith<sup>16</sup> had tacitly recognized political inequalities as ‘political masters always and everywhere, and there are servants and labourers and the poor masses’.

In the same vein, Marx and Engels in an ingenious analysis of the human society portrayed the society as splitting up more and more into two great hostile camps, namely; the bourgeoisies and the proletariats. The basis for this division being that the essential condition for the existence and sustenance of the proletariats is prejudiced by the bourgeoisies. The bourgeoisies

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<sup>10</sup> E Dike, ‘Review of the Challenges Facing the Nigerian Economy: Is National Development Possible Without Technological Capability?’ (2010)(12)(5) *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* 24.

<sup>11</sup> Daily Trust, ‘Experts Proffer Solution to Economic Collapse in Nigeria’ Abuja, 18 August 2010.

<sup>12</sup> E Enemuo, ‘Financial and Legal Constraints to Firm Growth’ (2008) (4) (1) *Journal of Sustainable Development* 200.

<sup>13</sup> Y Maimuna, ‘Neglecting Agriculture and its Consequences to the Nigerian Economy: An Analytical Synthesis’ (2015) (3) (3) *European Journal of Research in Social Sciences* 18.

<sup>14</sup> E Ofor, ‘Refocusing Science and Technology Education toward National Development’ (2007) (*Knowledge Review: A Multidisciplinary Journal of NAFAC*) 53.

<sup>15</sup> A Obaro, ‘The Nigeria Police Force and the Crises of Legitimacy: Re-Defining the Structure and Function of the Nigerian Police’ (2014) (10)(8) *European Scientific Journal* 1857.

<sup>16</sup> In 1948.

capitalise on the competition between labourers to reduce their wages. They can afford advanced technologies and the best living standards, while the poor proletariats work for them while using the worse facilities, and dying from the commonest diseases.<sup>17</sup> Regrettably, the law aids them for in the Marxist conceptual schemes it is an instrument of oppression used by the capitalist to maintain the working class in a subordinated position. So for Marx and Marxists, the State, Law and other institutions, are economically motivated and determined.<sup>18</sup> This inequality which operates mostly from politics is predominant in Africa, where the masses are grossly denied the dividends of democracy. Elections are flawed and there is seldom evidence of political accountability.

#### 2.4.2 Institutional Inequalities

There is uneven distribution of wealth in Africa. A huge economic gap abounds between the wealthy and the poor. And economic reforms like the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) and the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) have not really brought succors to the masses.<sup>19</sup> Workers earn minimum wages bereft of credit (which is further rubbished by the implementation of Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS)), whereas politicians amass maximum wages. Tribal and social conflicts remain a malaise in the continent, hampering socioeconomic growth. Owing to nepotism, meritocracy is sacrificed on the altar of mediocrity. Politicians in Africa capitalise on tribal sentiments to win elections, causing a divide in the social fabric of the African countries. Doubtlessly, this conduct undermines public trust and confidence essential for development in the continent.

In African countries, there is poor governance and the systems of government are poorly administered. Nigeria for instance, represents to the world that it practices federalism, but this is only in theory. In reality, she practices Unitarianism. The central government in Nigeria exercises unfettered autonomous powers over the country's financial resources. She appropriates about 52% of the oil proceeds, while the 36 states share about 27% and the local governments get approximately 21%.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, resources are centralised at the center and corruption concentrated therein. Generally, Africa is in fact replete with poor leadership and dysfunctional institutions.<sup>21</sup>

#### 2.4.3 Inequalities from Ethnic-Religious Divisions and Religious Bigotry

Africa is a religious continent.<sup>22</sup> While this is not a socioeconomic problem in itself, it has some implications in cases of ethnocentrism and religious bigotry. Hence, the inequalities arising from religion in Africa are two-fold. One deals with the problem of religious ethnic identity. The other deals with religious fanaticism and bigotry.

<sup>17</sup> VA Leary, *The Paradox of Proletariat Rights as Humans and Labour Rights in International Labour Law* (United Kingdom: JA Compaq & SF Diamond, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> FOC Njoku, *Studies in Jurisprudence: A Fundamental Approach to the Philosophy of Law* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Owerri: Claritin Institute of Philosophy 2007) p.24.

<sup>19</sup> A Karimu, 'Poverty as Development Challenge in Nigeria: An Assessment of Some Poverty Eradication Policies' [2017] (2415) (6256) *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 923-926.

<sup>20</sup> J Attahiru, 'The Challenge of Re-Federalising Nigeria: Revisiting Recent Debates on Political Re-Structuring' [2019] (7) (1) *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs* 1-8.

<sup>21</sup> E Uwak, 'Corruption in Nigeria's Public Sector Organisations and its Implications for National Development' [2016] (7) (3) *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 27.

<sup>22</sup> L Enuhora, 'Managing Ethno-Religious Violence and Area Differentiation' in *Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria*. Yakubu Alhaji and Dogo (eds) [1980] (2) *Nigerian Defense Academy* 633.

With respect to ethnic-religiousness, religion is undoubtedly a source of identity to many Africans. In Nigeria for example, religious identity pronounces ethnic identity and often stimulates ethnicity.<sup>23</sup> The Hausa-Fulani are mostly Moslems, while the Igbos are mostly Christians. The Yoruba are either Christians or Moslem. There is also the traditional religion. These religions have different values and observances which are sometimes laced with some obstinacy about unequal control of state power and unequal allocation of resources. Other issues resulting from clashes in these religions include state collapse, geopolitical zoning, and economic decline among other ethnic-religious clashes.<sup>24</sup>

With regards to religious bigotry, an average African is indeed religious.<sup>25</sup> And owing to this phenomenon, Africa is perceived as the continent with the highest number of religious outlets<sup>26</sup>. It is also the continent with the wealthiest religious leaders in the world, who own fleets of private jets and private universities and the most luxurious infrastructure, at home and abroad. While this may not be a problem to the average religious African, this has been submitted to be one of the root causes of inequality in the society, where such religious leaders automatically belong to the bourgeoisie class, with private institutions whose tuition fees becomes unaffordable by larger people in the church.

#### **2.4.4 Health and Medicare Inequalities**

African countries record the highest mortality rate across the world. This is occasioned by poor health facilities, the neglect of sick patients by medical practitioners who are poorly equipped to operate, the incessant strikes in public medical institutions, the poor pay rates of medical workers, and the brain drain phenomenon. However, the wealthy classes in Africa do not fall into this increased mortality rate. This is because they can afford to travel to any country in the world to obtain the best medical treatment and drugs, either from public funds or from their numerous allowances. And herein lies the inequality.

#### **2.4.5 Access to Justice and Human Rights Inequalities**

African countries have not always been reputable in matters relating to access to justice and quick dispensation of cases. There have also been cases of infractions of fundamental rights which have gone unaddressed. There have been adjournments which have lasted months and probably years before hearing on the next adjourned date. The adjudicatory and law enforcement processes are unsatisfactory. The judicial processes are sluggish, distilling hopelessness on the common people. In Nigeria for instance, over 49,875 able-bodied and economically viable Nigerians are in pre-trial imprisonment, and this number massively consists of 68.1% of the prison population.<sup>27</sup> Yet, the ‘justice delayed is justice denied’ assertion holds sway. And this percentage accounts for only the poor masses in custody. The politically influential and wealthy class would often times know the right person(s) to approach for the necessary discharge from custody, of either themselves or their relatives. In most cases,

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<sup>23</sup> N Osaghae and Y Suberu. ‘A History of Identities, Violence and Stability in Nigeria: CRISE Working Paper’ [2005] (6) *Oxford Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity* 10 <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/Inequality/wp6.pdf> accessed 7 January 2021.

<sup>24</sup> O Akinola, ‘Muslims, Christians and Religious Violence in Nigeria: Patterns and Mapping’ [2006] (33) *IFRA-Nigeria Working Papers Series* 1–44 <http://www.ifra-nigeria.org/IMG/pdf/muslims-christians-religious-violence-nigeria.pdf> accessed 7 January 2021..

<sup>25</sup> (n20).

<sup>26</sup> (n21).

<sup>27</sup> World Prison Brief Data, ‘Pre-Trial/Remand Prison Population: Trend’ (2019) *Prison Population Trend Publications* 1-3.

the Commissioner of Police would either be their old-time classmate, long-time friend or indeed their political acquaintance.

### **3. Impact of Covid-19 Pandemic on African Continent**

The COVID-19 pandemic has indeed impacted the African continent adversely in all spheres of human endeavour. It has made inequalities more visible, exacerbating acute disparities in wealth ownership, with unprecedented effect on the functioning of legal/justice and health systems globally. For legal systems, the preventive measures in response to COVID-19 such as the social distancing policies are considered to have implications for access to justice, occasioning undesirable delay to law enforcement and justice delivery. Dispute resolution mechanisms are becoming increasingly inefficient, with heightened cases of human rights violations and counter-discrimination. Many families have been put out of jobs, hence criminality has become the order of the day. Access to legal services has become unaffordable for victims of crimes.

For health systems, the corona virus pandemic has indeed deepened and exposed the health injustice phenomena across the African continent. The prevailing poor living standards in the continent, namely — presence of urban slums, dense population in commercial cities, inadequate access to portable water supply and neglected healthcare systems makes the implementation of public health measures and respect for medical rights ephemeral. There is denial of access to health facilities to sick persons, conscription into poorly attended and densely populated quarantine centers, without clinically diagnosed suspicions, occasioning breaches of medical rights, among other implications.

### **4. Mobilising Africans to Disentangle from Poverty and Economic Servitude**

According to Albert Einstein, the significant problems we face today cannot be solved at the same level of thinking we were when we created them.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, if African governments could conscientiously adopt the right measures at a higher level of thinking, Africa would stand a chance in disentangling from poverty, inequality and economic servitude. But first, African governments must reaffirm the trust of their citizens through human capital development and entrepreneurship. Public office holders and politicians must clean up their act, assume responsibility and invest in the society.<sup>29</sup> The various tiers of government should imbibe good institutional stewardship and accountability of financial resources. Effective checks and balances should be instituted. Policies should not be hastily made, and equal economic opportunity should be availed to all. Politicians should respect the rule of law, and the principle of selective justice eschewed. The arms of government should strive at socio-economic restructuring and value inculcation.<sup>30</sup> Principles like loyalty, submission to properly constituted authority and hard-work should be upheld. There should be a swift diversification of the economy, and over-reliance on imported products should be checked. The governments could invest in modern irrigation, animal husbandry, alternative sources of energy, and infrastructure development – for example good roads. A hospitable environment devoid of corruption should be created to entice investors into the continent.

In addition, there is need for a ‘paradigm shift’ in the manner the countries in the continent are governed, and citizens must be capable of exercising their election rights and instituting mechanisms like impeachment of corrupt or incompetent office holders and power of recall

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.goodreads.com>

<sup>29</sup> O Ugwu, Democracy, Good Governance and Development in Nigeria: The Challenges of Leadership, (2015), 20(6) *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1.

<sup>30</sup> O Temitayo, ‘Moral Education: A Panacea for National Integration and Insecurity Challenges in Nigeria’ [2014] (4) (1) *IOSR Journal of Research & Method in Education (IOSR- JRME)* 70-75.

allowed to be fully exercised by the citizens against their so called representatives. It will enhance proper accountability. Primordial tribal sentiments predicated on religious affiliations must be jettisoned for good virtues built on trust and capacity.<sup>31</sup>

In 2021, African countries must learn to invest in Research and Development (R&D) to enable them explore ideas like alternative sources of energy such as geothermal energy, among others.<sup>32</sup> This would address the energy cum socioeconomic problems in the continent. There is also the exigency of institutional reforms. In Nigeria for example, anti-graft institutions such as the Economic Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) should be freed of government interference and reformed to assuage public trust<sup>33</sup>. The Judiciary must strive at regaining public confidence in speedy justice. Law enforcement agents should be empowered to act. Immunity from prosecution enjoyed by elected officials should be expunged, with sanctions instilled for corruption.

There should be increment in the minimum wage to suit workers' costs of living in all the African countries. Labour experts and representatives should be consulted in the process. More so, there should be proper management of cost of governance to avoid eating into the allocation for wages. In fact, the true disentanglement from poverty and inequality starts with prompt and adequate payment of middle class workers, and from time to time, payment of their overtime allowances among other incentives.

## **5. Addressing the Problem of Poverty and Inequality Occasioned by the Pandemic in Africa**

In addressing the problems occasioned by the COVID-19 pandemic in Africa, there is need for African governments in consonance with International Organisations to review how judicial and state institutions are functioning across the humanitarian-development nexus.<sup>34</sup> Already weakened institutions are likely unable to respond effectively, further compounding mistrust in the State. The unchecked spread of misinformation can equally exacerbate conflict. Different parties may exploit the pandemic, stoking xenophobia and employing hate speech to foster divisions and increase tensions between countries.<sup>35</sup> In contexts where unrest and social movements have been calling for governments to address inequality, injustice, poverty and corruption, the crisis may serve to reinforce disparities and magnify tensions, while vices like police violence and rape are perpetrated largely.<sup>36</sup> As such, these Organisations alongside countries' governments could play joint role in proposing strategies for eliminating poverty and inequality, while strengthening access to restorative justice and effective health systems<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> B Oyedeki, 'Managing Tribalism within Nigeria's Democratic Challenges' [2017] (11)(11) *Journal of Modern Applied Sciences* 49.

<sup>32</sup> R Bertani, 'Long-Term Projections of Geothermal-Electric Development in the World' [2009] (5)(6) *Proceedings of GeoTHERM Congress* 1.

<sup>33</sup> L Raimi, 'Role of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices & Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) at Ensuring Accountability and Corporate Governance in Nigeria' [2013] (3) (3) *Journal of Business Administration and Education* 106.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> OHCHR, 'COVID-19 Guidance, Access to Health Care, Justice, Emergency Measures, Stigmatisation, Xenophobia, and Racism' [https://www.unodc.org/documents/Advocacy-Section/Ensuring\\_Access\\_to\\_Justice\\_in\\_the\\_Context\\_of\\_COVID-191.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/Advocacy-Section/Ensuring_Access_to_Justice_in_the_Context_of_COVID-191.pdf) accessed 7 January 2021.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> UNICEF, 'Five Ways Governments are Responding to Violence against Women and Children during COVID-19 and Access to Justice' [2020] [https://www.unodc.org/documents/Advocacy-Section/Ensuring\\_Access\\_to\\_Justice\\_in\\_the\\_Context\\_of\\_COVID-191.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/Advocacy-Section/Ensuring_Access_to_Justice_in_the_Context_of_COVID-191.pdf) accessed 8 January 2022.

African governments should combine forces with the relevant stakeholders in fighting poverty and inequality. Judicial officers, the Police, legal aid providers, pro bono lawyers, community paralegals, civil society organisations (CSOs) and correctional services – need to work together to take on a holistic and people-centered approach to resolving unequal justice, corruption and health breach problems<sup>38</sup>. To facilitate this, governments could reach agreement with International bodies like the United Nations (UN) or International Monetary Fund (IMF), to empower member states to enhance their capacities for fighting poverty and inequality.

## **6. Conclusion**

Indeed, to eliminate poverty and inequality in Africa, and for competitive and sustainable development of the continent, middle and low class Africans must first be lifted from the yokes of poverty in the midst of plenty<sup>39</sup>. And though the path for reviving trust and confidence in a continent that is nearly raided of efficacy may not be easy, the power to do so still lies in the hands of all Africans and specifically her leaders, who must strive to build confidence for the socioeconomic wellbeing and improved quality of life of Africans. And this also entails equal access to justice and health facilities— especially in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic.

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<sup>38</sup> N Byrom, 'Digital Justice: HMCTS Data Strategy and Delivering Access to Justice; Report and recommendations'

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/835778/DigitalJusticeFINAL.PDF](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/835778/DigitalJusticeFINAL.PDF) accessed 8 January 2021..

<sup>39</sup> T Blair, *Call to Greatness, Essay adapted from his Memoir, A Journey: My Political Life* (13 September 2010) 42.