

State and Development Challenges in Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues

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Abstract

The contemporary issues in Africa recent and past suggest the need for Africa to redefine the role of the post-colonial state in the development process. There is no doubt that Africa has experienced and continues to experience severe and devastating socio-economic, and development challenges. Another glaring but very dangerous factor is leadership challenge characterized by inefficiency arising from their inability to see their position as a "sacred trust of stewardship". This paper on "State and Development challenges in Africa: Conceptual and theoretical issues" attributed the scenario partly to Africa's long-standing relationship with the imperialist world in a "core-periphery arrangement" of structural inequalities and, partly to poor leadership. The discourse of the paper focused on: The epistemic divergence on the concept of state and development, the theoretical and conceptual underpinning, condition of development, with reference to governance and Democracy. The distributive justice theory with the explanation of the development problem and the challenges of the post-colonial state in Africa is explored to increase our knowledge of the subject matter. The study acknowledges the fact that the global arrangement as witnessed for decades did not present a picture of a unique world of growth and development transmission for Africa to develop. There is a need therefore for Africa to build a Polycentric and multi-polar world in the interest of all the members' states to rid of uni-polarization of the globalization process and also to provide a holistic conceptual issue relating to development thinking. The paper also acknowledges that weak socio-political institutions lead to political decay. There is a need for the scope of the developmental state to be supported by institutional capacity and a viable political process. We conclude that implementation of an autonomous development strategy requires development leadership with a nationalist vision to address the African problem of development.

Keywords: *State, Development, Democracy, Governance*

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Background to the Study

Africa has been in search of a development paradigm that would address its composite crises of underdevelopment and poverty for six decades now. In pursuit of this goal, a series of theories and concepts of development and on the role of the state in the society have been advocated and experimented to no avail. Prominent among them find expression in western political and development ideas that ignores Africa's cultural and historical background. So, with the pernicious policies of international regimes which reflects economic reforms (foreign aid and debt servicing, political reforms (governance) environmental protection, and humanitarian assistance as a prescription that apply to all countries regardless of the difference in the economic, socio-cultural background did not yield positive result instead, it intensifies the deepening crisis of underdevelopment and internal policy failure in Africa as evidence in governance and resource management (Onimode, 2000). This poses a problem and indeed reveals the attendant confusions that surround the use of the concept of development as expressed by the western world. In the context of Africa's development challenge, the real meaning of development is lost in the maze of ideological, propagandist, and emotional colorings because there are no clear attributes that constitute the concept development. The mis-conception of development strategies account for the epistemic divergence on the concept of “development” and the “the state” and their historical reproduction. The discourse on state and development challenges in Africa: conceptual and theoretical issues are divided into three sections.

Section I: Focuses on the epidemic divergence on the concept of state and development as a process, section II deals with the theoretical and conceptual issues while section III dwells on the condition of development and the state in Africa with respect to governance and democracy (Empirics from Nigeria). This follows with a conclusion and recommendation.

In the postcolonial setting, more confusion has come to characterize the risk of the term development and state. The liberal scholars believe that the “Economic and Political reforms” of the western world are the only path to development. The fundamental assumption linking growth and economic development posits that economic growth is best achieved in a world of:

- i. Free market and competitive advantage
- ii. Removing structural impediments (state) in the economy
- iii. Banking sector reforms
- iv. Privatization
- v. Tax reforms
- vi. Technology transfer and communication and many other measures (Mill, (2018).

The implication of thinking as penned by Alli, (2006) was that the economic development of the developing countries is hardly described as having survived the “colonial contraption” till date because, internal regimes kept replicating themselves with branded names - liberalization, privatization, and globalization as penetrative engagements with African on a different platform with the same intension. Africa, according to Timamy (2007) has been subjected to a sustained process of organized spoliation and that, every spoliation was

rationalized by a meretriciously packed world view. Incidentally, since Africa has only played peripheral roles in the global economic context, prescriptions advocated for her emancipation from stagnation and decay only reflect ethnocentric (abstract theory) that is arrogantly imposed which negate the socio-historical paths trodden by these developing economics.

Adediji (2016) present a dismal picture of Africa experience in her contact with the global economic reforms as, a big business (a market) with developed countries as the supplier and producer of development (export goods, equipment, project ideas, development policies/programmes, human export, material technology, etc) while Africa remains on the demand side (export of raw materials). Today development business reflects institutions, structures, and operational mechanisms which open more market and develop more customers' loyalty for business expansion in Africa.

Another issue of emphasis for clarity purpose is that all countries experience fluctuations in their economic growth but not all countries are economically developed. Economic development is a process whereby an economy becomes larger, more complex, and more diverse with more stable growth usually to sustains economic development. Growth only serve as a variable in the overall domination of economic development.

The State

To Hegel, (1945) the state is the embodiment of the total consciousness of man and the highest stage in the moral evolution of man. Ethically, the state is said to produce a higher level of personal self-awareness. Its sovereignty, therefore, lies in the moral prominence of states as vehicles for higher human spiritual realization. Every state according to Hegel (1945) is sovereign because it is an agent of history. The pluralist view of the state, on the other hand, holds that the state is an embodiment of many associations, each having its objective and that people obey the state not because it is rational but because of its coercive instrument or for benefit purposes.

Attack on state activism in the economy by the proponent of market forces called for the contraction for a state in national development. They contend that a liberal state is a precursor of liberal democracy while the market unleashed all the productive forces of the society. In this respect, deregulation according to (Leads 2005) increases productivity better than state intervention. This minimalist philosophy of the state provides the platform for World Bank and the international monetary fund operation in the developing countries.

Marx's view of the state holds a different meaning, he sees the state as an instrument of oppression in the hands of the bourgeoisie and as a political abstraction and the most characteristics institution of man's alienation. He believes that the state will end only when the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is overthrown. This paper however contends that since the "state" finds expression in the capitalist mode and relation of production, which by nature makes capitalism more dynamic and progressive with its adaptation and adjustment rooted in the new trend of globalization, it may become difficult for it to collapse under its weight because it export technology and capital and this reduce the stress and strains that would lead to its demise.

The capitalist world economy is characterized by structure, historical evolution, and contradiction including social action with the fundamental political reality of class struggle across nations. The transfer of capital and technology has encouraged the spread of capitalist social relations and productive forces such as Multinational Corporation according to Warren, (1997). From radical literature, it is clear that:

Core Corporations de-capitalize peripheral countries by repatriating much more than they invest, and act politically to reinforce peripheral regimes that support the pattern of uneven economic development which is rooted in inequalities in Africa countries.

The Developmental State: Its Intellectual and Ideological Basis

In Africa, the developmental state is historically conditioned, the failure of the market for efficient economic transactions and consequently for the promotion of economic growth led to the dominance of the Keynesian model in 1934 as a policy option for government intervention to provide full employment. The intellectual rationale for the state in the economy shows the imperfection of market determinacy and the dominant role of the state in national development. Secondly, it indicates the emergence of a new class whose power is rooted in the political or administrative office.

The reality of African countries according to Yahaya (2016) makes state intervention in the development process inevitable. Reasons were:

1. Africa countries are in the process of nation-building. So, basic infrastructural and constitutional facilities must be put in place as well as provision of security and the protection of human rights among others.
2. The issue of development cannot be resolved by simply resorting to the market, the market is incapable of ensuring free competition of goods and services. The state intervention is therefore required to correct imperfections, distortions, regulate transactions, self and enforce operational rules.
3. The need to preserve territorial integrity and maintain peace, prosperity, and security demands equity, and social justice, national integration, and social cohesion for peace and political stability to be attained.
4. The enhancement of national economic interest is perfectly handled by the government otherwise the economy will easily be available for plunder especially by foreign multinational companies. The state protects economic independence and promotes self-reliance. This paper argues in favor of state involvement in the economy and in national development because of the absence of countervailing institutions and facilities which will replace those provided by the Government if the state disengages. From all indications, it is impossible for the capacity of the private sector to render such services.

However, the post-colonial state in Africa is under challenges and cannot render the service aforementioned because, it exists as private property and as an instrument in the hands of the ruling elites (comprador bourgeoisie). This explains why mismanagement of the economy

and the corruption of political and bureaucratic class for accumulation of public goods. Characterized African Countries with reference to Nigeria social formation where State officers promote their individual class interests through various forms of appropriation.

The weakness and ineffective nature of the state became glaring in Nigeria in 1981 when the collapse of oil prices set in, the state could not arrest the economic decline and the democratic process that was obstructed through blatant electoral fraud. Instead, the economic measures of SAP were reinforced by coercive means as the economic recovering package. SAP was seen as a new policy direction for a return to the market with industrial policy based on import substitution and trade liberalization (Bates, 2009). African experience with SAP and other global economy measures as observed over the years typically blocks the forces of progressive change that borders on greater national employment, better social services, improved working condition, and gradual rising wages.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework of Development and state in Africa “The Distributive Justices theory”

The greatest resentment towards global reform programmes and their imposition as instrument that disrupts the economic advantage that the global system (relationship) would have offer to all the participating countries provides as a matter of discussion, the conceptual clarification and the theoretical underpinnings of development crisis in Africa.

Most models advanced to address the composite challenges of poverty in Africa, emanating from the present world order, which systematically discriminates against the core value of Africa states are inappropriate because the paradigms are irrelevant in explaining, predicting, and interpreting the phenomena of development and the role of the state in the development process. The market-led Laissez Faire doctrine of Smiths & Richardo which form the bedrock of modernization (classical) theory only establishes “pedigree” in theory Timamy, (2007). It fails to capture the Primordial rawness of a phenomena, this underlies the fact that its theoretical postulation is irrelevant and unpredictable particularly when the structural reforms of free trade, direct investment, foreign aid, current globalization, open door policies is brought to bear. It is difficult to accept a single theory as an exclusive discipline to fathom multi-faceted and multi-casual problems affecting Africa as a continent in a global partnership. This indeed raises the standard and comparative problem of concept formulation and analysis of development as, a process that involves active participation of the people in the issues which affect their lives (Penaranda, 2009). “Development” denotes greater involvement of Africa in designing and implementing development initiatives of the global system for effective benefit. It is the understanding of the realities of Africa situation which provide the basis for radical simplification of problem situation that is endemic in the contemporary economic world order so much, so that economic analysis became highly restricted. Since the conventional framework prescription of economic policies is guided by mechanistic consciousness that is bereft of holistic analysis this paper adopts “Distributive Justice Theory” which most accurately fits in our discourse of development as a theoretical framework of analysis.

On a global perspective, the distributive just theory posits that, economic justice that will lead to the socio-political and economic development of all countries in the global system should be justifiably distributed for the benefit of the whole world. The proponent of this theory, Keolane, and Paul (1998) maintained that all social values (liberty and opportunities, income and wealth, self-respect, etc) are to be distributed equally unless, unequal distribution of any, or all, of these values are not to anyone advantage. The stepping stone of the application of the distributive theory in the view of this paper is the call by developing countries for a new interaction economic order (NIEO) and New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) which anchored on growth in all ramifications and a participatory approach to tackling Africa's Development problem (Guardian, March 17,2003:17).

The argument from this school of thought is that the monumental incidence of poverty sustained by the economic crisis in Africa would have been minimal if the world economic policies were not anchored on self-interest of the core-countries alone. The theory calls for a wide scale distribution of the world's richest for the eradication of poverty in Africa and also, for the strengthening of institutional capacity to enable the state to function adequately in the development process.

On the role of the state, Distributive justice theory incorporates the intellectual rationale of Keynesian macro-economic model which advocates for state intervention in the economy and a dominant role in national development Yahaya (2016). Buttressing further, the importance of this theory, Bates, (2017) added that, strong institutions lead to political development.

Distributive justice theory emphasis the need for the political leadership to implement alternative development that will.

- i. Democratize development process for self-development.
- ii. Provide self-sustaining development rather than depending on foreign aid.
- iii. Modify paternalistic approaches that marginalized and alienate Africa in the Global System.

The relevance of this theory lies in the fact that it addresses the theorization of both classical and Marxist prepositions on development. The classical school of thought sees the root of Africa Composite Crisis of underdevelopment: as basically internal and that nothing short of a pervasive social transformation will suffice Helbromer, (1966) in Ozumba (2010). In other words, the solution to Africa problems lies in a “function of how motivational resources are structured and managed”, while Marxist's radical school of thought on the other hand attributed African poverty crisis to:

1. The inequality expressed in the creation of the core-periphery relationship in the global system.
2. Lack of mechanism for the return of capital since capital goes to the core countries in the Global context.

In the context of this, Ake, (1996) among others has argued that the Africa crisis of underdevelopment is to be located largely in the prevailing structure of the global economic order, created and dominated by the core countries and sustained by transactional forces and regimes. The solution Ake maintained lies in the transformation of global economy in order to improve access to Africa to, market opportunities and to increase her long-term productivity. The primacy of Distributive Justice Theory over the classical and Marxist postulations lies in the fact that, it provides an insight on value, as a solution to Africa problem as “unrealistic” because, it suffers from multiple shortcomings when applied to Africa formation. Africa depends on the imperialist countries for technology communication, manufacturing goods, productive capital, food and cultural values. So, the crisis of the core countries is systematically transmitted to Africa as a “derivative crisis of global capitalist reproduction”.

In a similar vein, presenting the core countries as the architect of poverty stagnation in Africa, without equal treatment of the rapaciousness of African ruling elites who have been, singularly Self-serving and mired in a vicious circle of corruption is self-destruction because though, this misrule is historically traceable to imperialist rule, comprador ruling elites in Africa lacks the ingredients of “true leadership” even after political independence, political institutions bordered on political control using the “state apparatus” as coercive instrument to legitimize their regimes (Enang, 2006). This theoretical option is informed by its comprehensiveness in providing the required theoretical foundations for a better understanding and explanation of contending issues of development and the performance of the state in Africa. The theory dwells on the need for equal access to Global wealth, fair treatment and equal opportunities among societies and individuals, in Global formation. The contemporary states seldom embrace policies, which have significant redistributive effect on its citizens where freedom and equality is entrenched for the good of all. The distributive justice theory is adopted in this paper because it has moral justification over other theories on development and state in Africa.

Conceptual Formulation: State and Development

In order to avoid any form of early conclusion, there is a need to classify the key terms employed in this paper. An explanation of these concepts is largely influenced by the impression of the researcher and the scholarly opinions on the subject matter under investigation. Since there can be hardly any definition of a concept that is generally accepted as the best “we shall attempt a review of some scholarly works on state and development as they contribute to the structure, theme, and the perspective of this study for empirical support. We shall also attempt theoretical commentary on the major concepts.

The State

The conceptualization of the “state” is complex and controversial. This paper sees the state as a complex institution comprises of Government (bureaucracy, legislature, Military, Judiciary), a population occupying a definite territory, recognized by the other states, and has a monopoly over the use of legitimate force. As a set of the institution, the state carries out particular goals that geared towards social cohesion (Ekwueme & Nwabugo, (2002).

The state is seen as a “process”, it is dynamic and its character differs from one society to another. It is driven by psychological, social, economic, ethical, and cultural factors. The human that makes a state according to Nnoli, (2003) reflects interdisciplinary character. The epistemic divergence in the concept of the state hinges on the nature and characteristics of organizations within a social formation, it is therefore historically conditioned. In a slave society where social groups appropriate the labor of another and where contradiction of interests exist, the organization for common response provides the basis for “state formation” purely to protect, maintain and sustain the slave mood of production (Egwu, 2006). The prerequisites of the state existence in the slave socio-economic formation specifies among others;

- i. A dominant class
- ii. A clear objective
- iii. A government with a subordinate bureaucracy and
- iv. An army as a coercive institution of the state.

The state under this formation acquires ideological character to secure the conforming conducts of the slaves to their masters, while the law guards against arbitrariness in social relations (Rodney, 1990). The character and role of the state in the historical societal development from the feudal to a socialist social formation are characterized by classes in antagonism that is, state is associated with classes. Ideological apparatus regulating social relations in the production process serves as an important component of the state. Scholarly opinion on the concept of the “state” revealed the:
STATE as a social contract (Hobbes, Lockes, & Rousau 1942).

According to them, the state exists solely for the sake of obtaining security against the aggressiveness of others. Man is seen as essentially selfish and thus, he seeks only his good while the good of others is threatened by the selfish actions of men. This compelled man to enter into a tacit agreement with each other not to inflict or suffer harm. So the state and law came into existence as a contract to facilitate co-operation between men.

The contractual approach sees the contemporary world order as a legitimate association which calls for a legitimate transfer renunciation and creation of rights by which nation states contract among others, to accept their socio-political rights to be curtailed in exchange for the benefit and development of all countries in the contract. The contract to be beneficiary demands.

- i. Trust in the global system
- ii. The Global system must not remove the supreme power from the nation states in the countries (the developed and the developing countries) as contradicting partners.
- iii. Equality of all the contracting states as specifies by the law governing international economic order must be defined. In other words, where the law governing the contract is upset by the exploitation and the selfish interest of “a contracting partner”, the cooperation will be mired with crisis and continual danger.

The application of the contractual dimension of development in Africa, considering the role of the post-colonial state is problematic because the reform programmes of the western world emanating from the global world relationship has succeeded in subordinating Africa states to the vagaries of western control and machinations. This account for the

- i. Absence of peaceful and stable management framework or good governance system in Africa.
- ii. The market mechanism failed to promote welfare among the people on Africa because the Africa state plays only a peripheral role in the overall global economy.
- iii. Composite crisis of poverty, massive corruption, hunger, insecurity etc as a negative impact on the path of Africa development became, obvious as an indication that the global partnership between the core countries and Africa was not founded on "consent" and for "the interest of all" as advocated by the distributive justice theory.

Besides, the states exist as the property of the core-capitalist countries for the exploitation of Africa resources to intensify the underdevelopment crisis. The contractual approach however provided the philosophical foundation for a representative co-operation, as an imaginative exposition of perennial ideas of liberty, equity, and justice which never exist in the global economic order.

State as Organism (John S. Mill, 1873)

The position of this school of thought sees the state as an end in itself and that end is the full development of all the latent capacities of the state and its members. This implies that the state is natural and it exists to achieve liberty for all members. It is presented as an organism with a gradual growth for transformation (Coker, 2011). The state is assumed to have a will, a spirit, and personality of its own. It claims primacy over the people while the people are totally dependent on the whole (state). The assumption of the theory is that an individual is truly free only when he participate in the political life of the state, that is State development is a condition by scientific discovery and awareness. This opposes the mechanistic view of the state as a will and artifice. The state exists to foster social cohesion for national culture to sustain the economic and industrial development of the 21st century.

The position of this school of thought is considered ideal for the development and economic growth of nation-states because it expresses freedom and unity of men in the society as a means of alleviating misery and poverty which is endemic in Africa states, in her contact with the western world.

Nonetheless, the application of the concept of the state as organism posed a problem when the persistence crisis of poverty and underdevelopment in Africa is brought to bear. If the state is considered natural and a force for progress towards the "good life" which seems to be the result of not adhering to the materialist doctrine of individualism and utilitarianism development challenges in Africa and the crisis of the state would have been adequately addressed. This paper context that the proponent of this theory is only justifying "self-regulated economy (classical economy) of Laisses-faire advocated by Adam Smith in his wealth of nation characterized by, market fundamentalism and the liberal economy which is

claimed to be “the only way to salvation” and, which all countries must follow in order to attain development. This “perceived-development-miracle” rather intensifies Africa's development crisis to date. It only reduced Africa to be passive receivers of foreign ideas (Bassey, 2017).

Secondly, since the liberal state is a precursor of liberal democracy. This school of thought argued that deregulation increases productivity better than state intervention. Consequently, they plead for a contraction of the state according Yahaya 2016. This minimalist philosophy of the state has become the plank of the World Bank and IMF loan. These institutions claims to provide loans to countries that have a problem meeting their international payments and, to low income countries to help them develop their economies (IMF, 2012). The World Bank and IMF legitimacy has been brought into question because an obligatory prerequisite for a loan to bail out the sinking economies rather intensifies the crisis of development in Africa.

It is clear that the 21st-century experience in Africa, IMF and World Bank loans (Conditionalities) provides the basis for;

1. Legitimate ground to seek for more foreign loans as an option to bail African sinking economies.
2. Public service jobs to be drastically reduced on the daily basis through rationalization to increase unemployment.
3. Over devaluation of local currency for a persistence rate of inflationary trend.
4. The contribution of finance capital turned out to be a financial drain and debt service problems (Essien, 2017).

These and more are the effect of the paradox of the withdrawal of the state from the public.

State as Organ of Class Domination and Oppression (Marx & Hegel, 1946)

The state in Marx's analysis is a creation of the economically dominant class used for its own purpose, primarily to perpetuate its own interest. It is a mere political abstraction and the most characterized institution of man's alienation. Hegel's view of the state on the other hand is an absolute power on earth. He sees the state as the moral whole, a form of reality within which individuals enjoy their freedom and welfare packages. He further asserts that the state is absolutely rational, final, and true embodiment and actualization of ethical ideas. The state is unchecked and cannot be checked by moral law because it is the character of morality.

Hegel's conceptualization of the state indicates that, the state is a relative organization that expresses at each stage of its development the degree of rationality. The notion of developing state inherent in Hegel and Marx's philosophy is of critical importance. The state in a capitalist class is used primarily for the defense and the promotion of the interest of the ruling elite, the reproduction of the existing form and the perpetuation of the state, although the state is made to appear as “an impartial regulator between the various social classes and as the defender of the society. This paper observed that the state wherever it exists has a ruling class and that, this ruling class is the dominant political, social and economic force on whose behalf the government acts. It is therefore not possible for the global economic relationship to reflect the interest of the non-ruling class of the underdeveloped countries. If this is accepted, then it is clear that any persuasive critique of the state of Africa's economy must address a set of

contending issues ranging from changing policy and social context from external factors that condition internal processes of development.

An examination of extent writings relating to the conventional and radical schools of thought in Africa development, thought different versions revolve around:

1. The orientation (the relationship between the whole system) and parts (states) in the Global context.
2. The process (the possibility of reforms).
3. Outcome (relationship to value and action Bassey, (2017), A key factor approach to these issues demand on alternative conceptualization and explanation of economic crisis existing in Africa social formation which reveals that irrespective of any policy direction, economic disparities in the global economic order, the Global system will persist because:
4. Global economic order is in contradiction to the real interests of all member states (Africa in particular). Because it is an organ of domination and the “state” being an instrument of oppression also limits the freedom of under-developed countries.

Though growth in Africa's economy in the early 21st century reveals most African countries such as Mauritania 19.8%, Angola 17.6%, Sudan 9.6%, Malawi 7.8%, etc to have experienced significant growth above the global average level (UNECA, (2012)). The growth rate has no positive impact on the economic development in Africa particularly in the states like Mali and Chad in the southern region of Africa with environmental conditions and lack of natural resources. It is a fact that on a balance, though a considerable number of Africa states have the potential for growth, to attain the level of development desire, a restructuring of domestic political power, and the fashion of new development. Strategies are needed to address the issue of the present world order systemic discrimination against the core value of the African state, this indeed is the opinion of this paper.

Development Conceptual Clarification

Though it could be simply assumed that the concept of “development” should be clear to all by now, there is a need to re-state the concept within the context of our epistemological study. The strict interpretation of the word “development” suggests that no country is actually “developed”. All countries are developing except they have completely eliminated all traces of traditionalism. In the light of this development is a continuous process that is occurring in all states in different degrees. It is a transition from traditionalism to modernity (Deutch, (2001)). Development involves the whole range of growth qualitatively and quantitatively. It is an integrated complex and multi-facet social phenomenon that encompasses economic, social, political, environmental, and physiological. It is an overall growth and expansion in all the economic, political and social dimensions of life.

In the context of human need, development denotes satisfaction of basic needs and maintaining standards at the desired level Ozumba, (2010). Infrastructure necessary for the right atmosphere, food, housing, good health, clean environment, basic education,

satisfaction, spiritual and cultural ability to participate actively in social and political life suggest development. Development with respect to "manpower" refers to improved performance and productivity of human resources and, avoidance of professional obsolescence associated with failure to keep pace with the changing times. Etuk, (2010) sees manpower development as a necessary condition for optimal manpower utilization in any organization.

Western social scientist on the other hand sees development as both a process and a goal. Scruton, (2008) defines development as the process of economic growth in per capita income and the fundamental changes in economic structure that generate growth. Emphasis is placed on industrialization, division of labour, migration of labour of industrial areas among others with a steady increase in investment.

As a goal, development is presented as the desired stage where underdeveloped countries should strive to attain. This implies that development (often used interchangeably with modernization) means catching up with the European powers. Neo-Marxists scholars such as Rodney, (1990) sees development as synonymous with the emancipation of African norms and values. He emphasizes the inadequacy in the explanations of "development" as a concept based on the economic consideration of the bourgeois scholars. He sees development as an overall social process that depends on the outcome of man's effort to deal with his natural environment. Claude Ake (1996) reiterated views of Rodney in the explanation of development when he asserts: "Development is not economic growth... not project but a process, by which people create and recreate themselves and their life circumstances to realize a higher level of civilization in respect to their choices and values". The knowledge here is simply development centered on the people. The people are the "end", the "means" and the "agent" of development and the ability for people to create and re-create themselves depends on careful planning. The Neo-Marxist preposition of development provides the basis for a search for Africa alternative development paradigm which focuses on "people". The paradigm shift also called for nation states to design their national recovery programmes to address the realities in Africa.

A review of the strategies and implementation of alternative paradigm shows that Africa lacks revolution potential to implement alternative development paradigm which demands among others:

1. The mobilization of social forces to tackle the continent development challenges.
2. Appropriate management strategies to address external debts and debt servicing.
3. Available linkage of Africa agenda to the south (Africa-South linkage) for negotiation
4. Entrenchment of the state in the society for development purpose. These and more constitute a fundamental political question that needs to be addressed politically because self-human development as a paradigm have remain marginalized and dismissed as ridicule and utopia or simply as theories in the "pejorative sense of the term" this explains why the theory lacks the practitioner support according to Onimode (2000). One thing stands clearly that, human life is imperative in development, and riches are sought to achieve ideal situation (improving the life of

the people) in the present and future if this is accepted, this paper call for the need to invest in human resources and basic social services as conditions for development. Other issues worth considering are governance and democracy.

Development and Governance

Explanations of the most successful development experiment are often attributed to dynamic and purposeful leadership. This shows that good governance is an indispensable element of any social formation. Although governance as a political term assumes different shed of opinion over the years. In medieval periods, governance exists when the king rule in the desires of the God and natural law, the selection of the king are those who are capable of defending the rights of the people who voted them into power. The quality of life of any nation is determined by the qualities of its leadership characterized by the ability to generate cooperation and stimulate initiative, the superiority of knowledge, honesty, accountability, resourcefulness, efficiency, vision, discipline, experience among others, These and more are likely to produce good governance for genuine development to be attained, in order to curtail the possibility of experiencing growth without development or neither growth nor development. In the context above some definitions of governance can be gleaned (Iwe 2002). Good governance is judge by performance, the ability to lead others to fulfill set goals for the overall development of the society where the government and corporation have a mutual interest in transparent and consistent enforcement procedures. It will stimulate the government's ability to implement its policies and development goals efficiently. This implies the effectiveness of the state capacity in regulatory administrative, technical and extractive function as prerequisites to development. The centrality of the state in the development process reflects the maintenance of "legitimacy" to retain the confidence of others. This calls for the need for good governance to embrace three critical ideas according to Enang, (2021)

1. That leadership must act within the law that is seeking not to avoid nor evade the law (constitutionalism).
2. Leadership conduct is ethical to enhance legitimacy.
3. Leadership is socially conscious, social responsibility to promote the welfare of the people as emphasized by distributive justice theory.

Development is dependent on efficient government management Charles, (2001) penned that the ability to develop a science and philosophy and a practice of administration that is rooted in democracy, honesty, and competence makes genuine development a reality. It is clear that any governance devoid of the variables aforementioned tended towards mal-development characterized by the selfish parochial and authoritative regimes.

In most African countries (empirics from Nigeria) development challenges of socio-political and economic malaise are attributed partly to the crisis of political leadership. The crisis of leadership reflects the interest of the comprador bourgeoisie which manifests in the structure of the authoritarian control of the state for the accumulation process. So governance becomes leadership by coercion, indiscipline and inefficiency, lack of direction, lack of social consciousness and ethical consideration, disregard for talent and the intelligence, policy failure taste for mediocrities, character deformation to mention but a few. Since leadership

does not exist as a servant of the people, but as lords and semi-gods to adore and worship with an interest to enrich and perpetuate themselves in office. They do not see their positions as that of the sacred trust of stewardship subject to check and discipline. This situation creates a condition for the poor in the continent of Africa to languish in hunger, squalor, diseases, and destitution while the leaders past and present are busy looting the nation's treasury and trotting the globe with task payers money. Leadership in Nigeria hire and pay thugs to assassinate their perceived enemy (personal observation). Leadership in Nigeria adopts Machiavellian principles of grabbing power and retaining at all costs by all means, moral or immoral. So justice, honesty, integrity. Probity and accountability are sacrificed on the altar of fraud, murder, corruption, and the use of a gun to gain and retain power. In the light of the above, it is difficult for public policy to rely on the goodwill of the people. Effective regulation and enforcement are not possible if public institutions are raven by self-interest because the task of standard-setting and enforcement for good governance is undertaken by various departments of government. The above presents a picture of how far sanity has been thrown to the dust in Africa's body polity. The big question is "how can Africa be rescued from moral and social ills plaguing her?" This question raises additional phenomenological questions about leadership perception desired for development which gives rise to measurement problems for further research.

Democracy and Development

The claim about the compatibility of development and democracy on the grounds of equality in distribution of social values and eradication of poverty provides the basics of the application of distributive justice theory as an adequate framework with solutions to the existential crisis of African countries. The theory dwells on the need for equal access to global wealth, fair treatment, and equal opportunities of individuals in the global formation. The dimension of development whether political or economic seeks to foster the same set of attributes such as transparency, accountability, liberty, equality, and fairness in resource distribution. The need to promote this requires democratic institutions to be put in place to accomplish the goals of development. Enang, (2006) made it clear that every shade of government is tagged " democratic" for it to be accepted, this had led to multiple definitions which attracted lots of controversies.

Athenian democracy sees democracy as "a people-based rule" - the rule of the people by the people and for the people that is, ruled by consent and equality. It is clear however that this ideal is not practicable. Views of philosophers kings who asserts that "nature is not a complete equitable creator, some are born free and others are born less privileged" (Aristotle 1922). Expectations are that the privileged few who are more equipped should represent the less privilege for democracy to be attained. Plato equally asserts that:

"Inequality is the natural order of things because different people have different capacity and this defines their positions and role in development"

The question of equality on this platform is questionable if the notion of equality implies the freedom to act as one which, conditions of lawlessness which culminate in chaos, as in the case with Nigeria insecurity problem in the 21st century is likely to occur. Raphael (2001) on the

other hand, sees democracy as the sovereignty of the majority and liberty. The emphasis here is that freedom to act must be within the ambit of the law, the law is supreme and not the people. This provides the basics of redefining democracy as “rule of law” or “general will” which guarantees the freedom of man by aligning with the rule (the law of the people) which by implication, connotes the happiness of the greatest number. Experience in the presidential democracy in Nigeria 2019 and 2023 which legitimizes only the wealthy few to control power through rigging and manipulations did not only pervert democracy but also jeopardize the happiness of the greatest number, indicating that representative democracy as a concept is grossly misused because it did not incorporate fairness, equity, and liberty. The above is a clear indication that Nigeria underdevelopment crisis is rooted partly in her pervasive indiscipline and rapaciousness of officialdom, this is considered to be a fundamental obstacle to development. Africa is therefore expected to adhere to Heilbroner's (2021) prognosis of addressing the rapaciousness of African ruling elites whose interests are always mechanically synonymous with those of metropolitan interest. On this note, the discourse on whether democracy is compatible with development is a question for empirical investigation. Our position on the theoretical argument of state, development, democracy, and governance debate focuses on “equality of all contracting states in the distribution of global assets for the benefit and development of all countries. If Keohane and Paul (2015) focus on distributive formula is recognized and accepted, then, at the theoretical level, exploitation and discrimination may not be compatible with development.

Conclusion

All dimensions of development whether political or economic need to foster the same set of attributes namely, transparency and accountability on the grounds of good governance and democracy as a solution to Africa's socio-economic and political challenges. In the light of this, the paper attempts a review of democracy and state by conceptualizing theories of divergence opinions on the concept of development theories with numerous writers which make the concept development and state a process in transition. Each approach though narrow in perspective provides an understanding by resolving the conceptual problematic issue of development and state in terms of mutual influence, sets of ideas, standards, and expectations. The perspective on state and development in transition throws more light on the inadequacy of the dominant paradigm in explaining the persistence problem of underdevelopment and poverty challenges in Africa. It is therefore not uncommon to confuse development with reforms and adjustment.

Nonetheless, we conclude that all the approaches provide a comprehensive view of what development and state are and what they are not, as such the theory of development and state remains blurred as ever without a breakthrough in conceptual clarity. This is why the present study of development and state is said to be a theoretical jungle. We conclude that if the theory used is inadequate its matters relatively little whether the claims made about a particular aspect of reality are empirically accurate.

Recommendation

The world is been globalized and Africa cannot afford to stay out of the process but it cannot resign itself to entering the global economic context with both hands and legs bound. This

study recommends the need for Africa to identify comprehensively the key value of development and a self-defined development part that is best for the well-being of its people. Situating Africa within the contemporary dynamic of human development requires, the building of a polycentric and multipolar world in the interest of all, that goes beyond economic, political but also conceptual. The study also recommends empowerment of the African state as a critical factor in the development process for the alleviation of mass poverty, reduction of social inequality, and insecurity of material existence. A people-oriented governance base on democratic principles that focus more on development programmes is needed for African development. For a breakthrough in the study of the development, lots of empirical work and surveys in development and the state will have to be undertaken. At present, the dearth of information both in theory and concepts reduces the study to a discussion of trends and processes with very little concrete evidence to support the theory.

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