Journal of Retracing Africa

Volume 2 | Issue 1 Article 3

January 2016

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Recommended Citation

Ukaegbu, Chikwendu C.. "Leadership and African Agency for Development in Post-Fifty Africa." *Journal of Retracing Africa*: Vol. 2, Issue 1 (2015): 1-28. https://encompass.eku.edu/jora/vol2/iss1/3

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Cover Page Footnote
The author thanks the editor of The Journal of Retracing Africa for his very illuminating comments.

This article is available in Journal of Retracing Africa: https://encompass.eku.edu/jora/vol2/iss1/3

Leadership and African Agency for Development in Post-Fifty Africa

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Abstract: The year 2010 was a model year for the celebration of fifty years of political independence among African countries. Assessments of the human condition in Africa show that the continent, especially sub-Saharan Africa, has lagged behind other regions of the world in terms of development. Based on the analysis of the constants of development, this paper argues that effective development is fundamentally driven by the maximum deployment of organized endogenous human agency defined as the capacity of individuals or groups to think, act, and impact their social environments. Because African agency was not properly shepherded in the first fifty years of independence, transformational leadership through the instrumentality of the developmental state is the path to effective development in post- fifty Africa. This requires three key development strategies namely, inserting local human resources or domestic agency to the center of development activity; exit from fixation on extractive economies to a deliberate policy of value-added production embodied in industrialization; and a paradigm of development knowledge that sees development as the primary responsibility of endogenous agency.

Keywords: Transformational, Leadership, Development, State, Agency, African, Infrastructure, Governance, Transactional, Value-added, Industrialization, Endogenous

Introduction

Seventeen African countries celebrated fifty years of independence in 2010. Many more march towards that milestone each passing year. Fifty years of independence from colonialism is worth celebrating. But sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has lagged behind other regions in the march to development whether defined as better quality of life, provision of basic needs, productive capacity, global competitiveness, or degree of technological advancement. At independence, this lag in development was attributed to the lack of qualified human resource; an absence of finance and technological capital; a postcolonial state that fanned the embers of antagonistic parochialidentities; and a peripheral participation in a world economy dominated by the great powers. These factors have become enduring aspects of Africa's socioeconomic structure where structure is sociologically defined as enduring patterns of roles, positions, power, resources, and relationships that inhibit or facilitate human agency.[1] Agency refers to the thoughts and actions that individuals and/or groups deploy to impact their own lives, the lives of others, and the social institutions of their societies.[2]

The constraining effects of the structural factors mentioned above still manifest in one form or another to inhibit development in the region. However, continuing to blame them suggests that Africans are passive to structures from which they cannot free themselves. Africans are not slaves to structural conditions. Rather, domestic agency in each country awaits transformational leadership to lead citizens to unleash their hidden and untapped capabilities. The call for infusion of endogenous or domestic agency in development recognizes that humans are not blind and dull objects that carry out whatever is predetermined by structure; rather, they are active beings who individually or collectively use their knowledge and resources of their natural and social environments to transform their social institutions.[3] Africans are hard working. They exert tremendous physical and mental energy as they incessantly struggle to keep body and soul together. That the investment of human resource in the last fifty years has not resulted in a better life for the majority means that African agency has not been channeled in an organized way.

In the context of national development, organized human agency, henceforth known as organized agency, occurs when the political leaders of a country consciously channel the motives, ideas, skills, and capabilities of their citizens toward assuming primary responsibility for transforming their societies. Organized agency is primarily endogenous or domestic, it exists and is harnessed within each country. But potentially useful exogenous or external agency can be borrowed when necessary. Organized agency derives from the sense of readiness to act that leaders inspire their citizens through development-oriented policies and plans, investment in physical and social infrastructure, support of domestic entrepreneurship and a conscious effort to place the citizens at the center of the development process.

Martin Meredith's rigorous and dispassionate chronicle of lostopportunities in Africa's first fifty years of independence corroborates the thrust of this paper that African agency was disorganized and wasted in the first five decades following

[1]Richard Munch, *Sociological Theory: From the 1850s to the Present* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1994). Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984); Anthony Giddens, "Structuralism, Post-Structuralism and the Production of Culture," in *Social Theory Today*, eds. Anthony Giddens and Jonathan Turner, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), 195-223.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

independence.[4] The gross domestic products per capita (GDP/capita) of Ghana, Namibia, Gabon, and Cote d'Ivoire were higher than South Korea's in 1960.[5] By 2008, South Korea's GDP/capita had skyrocketed; the figures for Gabon and Cote d'Ivoire dropped from their 1960 levels while Ghana and Namibia posted infinitesimal increases.[6] The United Nations Deputy Secretary General, Asha-Rose Migiro provided a reflexive perspective on Africa's development dilemma saying:

> as we celebrate Africa's achievements, opportunities and potential, we must also honestly address the realities and challenges that confront the continent. Too many babies still die in infancy, too few children find places in school, too many farmers cannot get their crops to market, and too many factories lie idle for lack of spare parts, skills or investment.[7]

To effectively mobilize and deploy organized domestic agency, leaders of post-fifty Africa should in a more direct way conceptualize the popular indicators of development as part of drivers of development. Popular indicators of development refer to generic factors exemplified by the indicators of human development reported in the United Nation's annual *Human Development Reports (HDR)*. The early measures which included life expectancy, literacy, and gross national income (GNP, now GNI) per capita[8] have expanded to include measures such as gender empowerment, poverty, inequality, personal freedom, and so on.[9] These measures are often interpreted as outcomes rather than causes of development because they appear as ends not as the means to development.

By contrast, there are indicators which catch the eye as the real drivers of development but are not given the attention they deserve in the discourse, policy, and practice of African development. These include the status of a country on technological inventions and innovations, the degree of creative destruction in the economy, technical competitiveness, investment in research and development, rate of value-added production, the degree of backward and forward integration in the national economy, the degree of industrial research and development, and the volume of value-added exports.

Scholarly attention to Africa's development often centers on the generic

[4]Meredith Martin, *The State of Africa: A History of Fifty years of Independence* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011).

[5]Angus Maddison, "Historical Statistics of the World Economy GDP and Per Capita GDP: 1-2008 AD," accessed November 20, 2014, http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/oriindex.htm.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ernest Harsch, "Weighing a Half Century of Independence: Beyond Hey Days and Sobering Reality Lies Untapped Potential," *Africa Renewal*, August 2010, accessed November 20, 2014, http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/august-2010/weighing-half-century-independence.

[8]UNDP, *Human Development Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[9]UNDP, *Human Development Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

measures. These real drivers of development in modern society are treated as if they are not reachable by Africans. Yet the latter were central to the transformation of the societies that are now known as developed nations. Indicators such as life expectancy, education, and GNI per capita indeed act as promoters of development because they help to build efficient human capital, the elements of agency, which help to drive the development process. The problem is that development theory and practice, including the human development reports, often treats these human development measures as dependent variables.

The highly anticipated Millennium Development Goals (MDG) is a case in point. Will the status of a developing nation change to that of a developed country if it meets all the expectations of MDG by 2015? What if the said country remains an extractive economy, possesses little or no value-added production, occupies a marginal place in global competitiveness and innovation, and remains captive to the vagaries of global commodity prices? As in previous cases of national development, whether in the Western nations or in latecomer nations, Africans must take primary responsibility for operating and expanding these drivers of development for societal transformation if the next fifty years are to be significantly better than the first half century of missed opportunities.

Cognizant of the centrality of organized domestic agency to national development, the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation emphasized that development is an endogenous and a self-reliant endeavor.[10] It should stem from the heart of each society which in sovereignty defines its values and vision for the future, relies primarily on its members' energies, its natural and cultural environment, and encourages participation by all.[11] These insightful principles of development corroborate the history of ancient civilizations. They are consistent with the process of industrial development in Western societies. And they are verifiable from the experiences of successful latecomers to development from the first half of the 20th century to the present.

Drawing from the precepts of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, embedded in the centrality of endogenous agency, this paper states that given the long history of national development in different countries at different epochs, the successful paths or what can be called the constants of national development are now well known in development theory and practice. It argues that a transformational leadership within a developmental state is the appropriate framework through which to shepherd citizens for the emergence and deployment of an organized

[10] Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, "What Now: Another Development," (Uppsala, 1975), accessed May 15, 2012, http://www.dhf.uu.se/pdffiler/75_what_now.pdf.

[11] Sheila Coronel and Kunda Dixit, "Setting the Context: The Development Debate Thirty Years After What Now Development," *Dialogue* 47 (June 2006): 13-27.

domestic agency for national development. National development, here, refers to the ability of citizens who under the leadership of a developmental state apply their mental and physical energies to transform their natural resources and social and economic environments for individual and national self-actualization.

The Centrality of Organized Endogenous Agency

Development has never been a gift from one developed nation to an underdeveloped other. There is hardly a case in history where the people of one society developed another society and altruistically handed it over to the latter as a gesture of goodwill. Foreigners who through colonization transformed the economies of other societies either decided to settle in the area and where settlement was not possible, they established intensive and extensive extractive mechanisms to transfer as much as possible the resources of the colony to the metropole.[12] Leaders and citizens or individual societies, therefore, have always been the prime movers of national development. That is why foreign aid is different from national development. Leaders of aid receiving countries decide whether to put aid to fruitful use or misuse it due to incompetence or corruption or both.[13] Or still, leaders can become so complacent with or dependent on aid that they lose the motivation to aggressively pursue positive institutional change.[14]

Another endogenous agency-related constant is that development cannot be outsourced or offshored. A country where leaders are complacent with hiring outsiders to build and maintain their national infrastructure stands on the façade of development.[15] Many natural-resource-rich countries that use their money to buy most of their basic needs and luxuries from other countries still have the characteristics of Third World countries. Therefore, heavy dependence on foreign skills inhibits development because national development is about what the people can do for themselves by themselves rather than what foreigners can do for them.

A country is defined as developed not only because it has high gross national income per capitam generated from the luck of having abundant natural resource a country is developed because it has the capability, through the skills and creativity of its people, to produce its needs of primary and value added products.

[12] Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation," *The American Economic Review* 91, no. 5 (2001): 1369-1401.

[13] William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Effort to Aid the Rest of the World Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good.* New York: Penguin Press, 2006). Robert Calderisi, *The Trouble With Africa: Why Foreign Aid is Not Working* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

[14] Dambisa Moyo, *Why Aid is Not Working and Why There is a Better Way for Africa* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2007).

[15] Harold Kerbo, *World Poverty: Global Inequality and the Modern World System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006).

Almost all countries classified as developed nations or core countries exhibit this characteristic. They import their needs as a matter of choice based on their calculations of the economic gains of importation over domestic production. But when import-penetration threatens their economy they apply their human and natural resources to produce in order to continue meeting their needs. Here, we see development as primarily the national capability and capacity to produce rather than as improvement in the quality of life of citizens only. The World Bank put it succinctly; resource-rich countries may have substantial foreign exchange earnings, but this wealth may not translate into a country's competitiveness or employment creation.[16]

By contrast, countries classified as developing have limited capability to produce value-added goods or to import them by choice. Importation of manufactured goods is a major component of their national budgets. The result is that high import penetration causes the structural distortionof the economy.[17] That is why Obafemi Awolowo observed that an underdeveloped country is one in which natural and human resources are partly unutilized, partly underutilized, and partly misutilized, and in which there is a gross deficiency in the quality of three production agents namely labor, capital, and organization.[18]

That development cannot be a gift from one developed country to a less developed other, nor can it be outsourced to people of other countries, is consistent with the principles prescribed by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation. Development is therefore an endogenous and self-reliant endeavor. But supranational agencies undertake many projects designed to provide basic needs such as food, water, healthcare, education, and electricity in many sub-Saharan African countries. These are factors of foreign assistance for daily survival, not national development for self- actualization. The Tap Project launched in 2007 by the United Nations Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) worked to provide clean water in Cameroon, Central African Republic, Mauritania, and Togo, one among a string of projects in Africa dating back to 1952.[19] There are also those projects undertaken by international non-governmental organizations such as Africare, which has been working on economic development, women

[16] World Bank, *World Development Report 2012-13: Jobs* (Washington, D.C.: 2013).

[17] Harold Kerbo, *World Poverty: Global Inequality and the Modern World System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006).

[18] Obafemi Awolowo, "The Path to Economic Freedom in Developing Countries," A Lecture Delivered at the University of Lagos, March 15, 1968, accessed May 16, 2012, usaafricadialogue@googlegroups.com.

[19] UNICEF TAP Project, http://www.unicefusa.org/mission/survival/water/tap-project; UNICEF History, Milestones, 1946 -1955, accessed November 19, 2014, http://www.unicef.org/about/history/index_milestones_46_55.html.

engagement, nutrition, water, sanitation and hygiene across Africa since 1970.[20] Therefore Africa has been receiving international assistance on basic needs from pre-independence to more than half a century after independence, yet the continent remains poor and underdeveloped.

The social disruption, human misery, and deaths that occurred in the Horn of Africa in 2011, especially Ethiopia and Somalia, due to drought in that year had been recurrent phenomena for many previous decades.[21] John Dollar's visual image of hunger in Ethiopia due to drought and famine in the time of Emperor Haile Selassie is not different from the situation which occurred in the same country in 2011.[22] Imagine that the countries in the Horn of Africa were located in Western Europe, Japan, or the region of the miracle economies of East Asia, the effects of drought in that region would long have been stably ameliorated using relevant technology, and organizational and managerial efficiency, to anticipate and control the situation.

Donor countries and supranational agencies continue to intervene across Africa to control age-old diseases such as malaria, polio, measles, and cholera. Lawrence O'Donnell, MSNBC's anchor of *The Last Word* in the United States, in collaboration with UNICEF, established the Kids In Need of Desks (K.I.N.D.) project in 2010 to solicit funds for desks for Malawian school children.[23] It procured 40, 000 desks for school children in Malawi at the cost of $3 million in its first year.[24]

The project provided tens of thousands of desks to Malawian school children and their teachers for a better learning and teaching experience. The project also provided jobs and therefore was a source of livelihood for Malawians who built the desks.[25] This great humanitarian accomplishment brought invaluable joy and enthusiasm to the school children as they enthusiastically offloaded their desks as the MSNBC camera beamed on their happy faces. O'Donnell, UNICEF, and donors from the United States and other countries deserve appreciation for their benevolence.

However, this magnanimous project underscores the marginal status of organized domestic agency in the development process in Africa. Was the lack

[20] Africare, accessed November 19, 2014, http://www.africare.org/africares-approach/.

[21] Gabe Joselow, "World Bank Drought Plan Focuses on Ethiopia, Kenya," accessed June 10, 2012, www.voanews.com/english/news/africa/east/World-Bank-Drough--; IRIN, "Ethiopia: Somalis Living from Drought to Drought," accessed May 15, 2012, www.Irinnews.org/report.aspx?ReportId=93200.

[22] "The Emperor's Birthday," DVD, Directed by John Dollar (New York: Filmmakers Library, 1992).

[23] L. O. Donnell, "Last Word K.I.N.D. Fund, One Year Later" (December 15, 2011), accessed May 25, 2012, www.thelastword.msn.com/_news/2011/12/15/9451755-last-word-kind-fund-one-year-later.

[24] Ibid.

[25] S. Muller. "Last Word K.I.N.D. Fund One Year Later," accessed November 19, 2014, http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/last-word-kind-fund-one-year-later.

of chairs in schools because of nonchalance on the part of the government, leadership deficit, bad management on the part of public bureaucrats, or was it that the Malawian nation really lacked $3 million with which to provide 40,000 chairs for school children? Desk-deficit schools abound in Sub-Saharan Africa including Sierra Leone, Liberia, Uganda, South Africa, and more, with more deficits in rural than urban areas.[26] No amount of donations will ensure sustainability of school supplies until Africans regularly make or buy the supplies by themselves.

An American physician was perturbed, indeed shocked, when she observed Nigerian physicians perform an emergency cesarean section without light due to lack of electricity.[27] She quickly arranged for solar powered kits to be supplied free of charge to hospitals. But the reality of that country is that once the first set of supplies are out of order, they may neither be replaced nor be repaired. Hence the status quo ante of surgeries in lightless conditions will return. However, performing surgery in the dark would not be typical of hospitals in Nigeria given that installation of power generators as back up for the unsteady supply of electricity from the national grid has become a permanent feature of institutions and organizations. But it is also commonplace for power generators to breakdown and remain unrepaired for a considerable length of time. In such cases, organizations may work without electricity until the equipment is repaired or replaced.

With much reliance on formal and informal foreign aid, leaders of African countries are yet to live up to the examples of newly developed countries such as those of East Asia and some parts of South Asia. Endogeneity suggests that ‘development stem from the heart of each society as it defines its values and visions of its future while primarily relying on its own strength and resources in terms of human and natural resources’.[28]

It does not mean that countries should reject external assistance especially in times of emergency. Rather, leaders of African countries erroneously perceive external assistance as a permanent component of national development. Recent development successes in Asia occurred without significant foreign aid as a

[26] Abibatu. Kamara, “First Lady Receives 4000 Lap Desk for School Children,” accessed May 21, 2012, http://awoko.org/2011/05/02/first-lady-receives-4000-lap-desk-for-school- children/; Yanhong Zhang, “Urban-Rural Literacy Gaps in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Roles of Socioeconomic Status and School Quality”, *Comparative Education Revie*w (November 200 Christie O’ Riley, “Solar Suitcase’ Saving Moms, Babies During Childbirth,” CNN, February 28, 2013, accessed March 18, 2013, http://www.cnn.com/2013/02/28/health/ cnnheroes-stachel-solar-power.6): 581-602.

[27] Christie O’ Riley, “Solar Suitcase’ Saving Moms, Babies During Childbirth,” CNN, February 28, 2013, accessed March 18, 2013, http://www.cnn.com/2013/02/28/health/ cnnheroes-stachel-solar-power.

[28] Dag Hammarskjold Foundation.

proportion of the recipient country's income.[29]

William Easterly further noted that the West itself achieved gradual success through market and democratic reforms over many centuries, not through top-down 'big plans' offered by outsiders.[30]

The pursuit and acceptance of foreign assistance, including basic needs, as normal and regular aspects of a country's political economy and development strategy sideline endogenous agency from playing a central role in the development process. It perpetuates national psychological dependence on outsiders and prevents effective development from taking place. Endogenous agency, amongst other things, entails that countries deploy their human and natural resources to expand and deepen the productive sector especially in agriculture and industry, thereby expanding the store of resources and creating more wealth with which to provide for the needs of their people.

Another common characteristic of developmentally successful countries is that they combine import substitution and export-oriented industrialization**.** The history of development suggests that national wealth is not and should not be based on the extraction and marketing of natural resources alone. But African leaders have been fixated on extraction of natural resources. A monocultural economy is structurally incoherent because it lacks backward and forward linkages and the resulting multiplier effects that diversify and strengthen the economy.[31] In Nigeria where oil exploration started in 1958, the country has been unable to develop a robust capability for a sustainable backward linkage in the oil sector through domestic refining of crude oil for domestic use. Instead, it spends a lot of foreign currency on importation of petroleum products and depends on expertise from advanced countries to build its new refineries or maintain existing ones. The same is true of other African countries that boast of varieties of natural resources but whose leaders lack the knowledge of policies, or the courage to enact policies, that transform and upgrade those natural resources in the value chain.

Africa's weak performance in value-added production was well captured in a recent conference announcement by the World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University. The conference held in June 2013, fifty-three years after the modal year of independence among African countries regretfully stated:

> New evidence shows that between 1975 and 2005 the diversity and

[29]William. Easterly, The End of Poverty: *Economic Possibilities for Our Time* by Jeffrey D. Sachs Washington Post, Sunday, March 13, 2005, accessed May 17, 2012, http://www. washingtonpost. com/wp-dyn/articles/A25562-2005Mar10.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Kerbo.

> sophistication of industrial production and exports declined in most African economies. Today, Africa's industrial sector is in many ways less advanced than in the first decade following independence.[32]

The industrial infrastructure established by former colonial masters in some countries may have sustained Africa's industrial sector in the first decade but that industrial foundation was not sustained by post- independence political leadership. The United Nations Industrial Organization (UNIDO) cited by Jomo Sundaram, Oliver Schwank and Rodiger von Arnim observed that immediate post-independence Africa gained ground in labor intensive manufacturing until premature trade liberalization of the 1980s exposed African infant industries to global competition for which they were unprepared; the policy preference was simply to abandon existing industrial capacity thereby precipitating de-industrialization.[33] Regardless of what the obstacles are, and no matter how much natural resources African countries have, the living conditions of the majority will not change for the better without economic diversification through the expansion of value-added production. Put another way, Africa must industrialize in order to achieve sustainable development. That is the story of the majority of developmentally successful countries. The primary sector, agriculture and other extractive activities, however, should not be neglected. Rather, and as in the case of South East Asia, agriculture and the entire extractive sector should be developed to full capacity to provide national food security and raw material to support value-added production for economic transactions in the global capitalist system.[34] That brings up another truism about developmentally successful countries namely, countries, past and present, have attained development through active participation in the global capitalist system**.**

Even the former Soviet Union, a world power, with an economic system different from the world capitalist system had a partial attachment to the latter. Industrial development in Russia benefitted from Western capitalist entrepreneurship, technology, and management style before and immediately after the October Revolution of 1917 and the resultant establishment of a communist

[32]United Nations University. "Call for Papers, Learning to Compete: Industrial Policy in Africa", (Helsinki: UNU-WIDER. 2013), accessed May 25, 2012, http://unu.edu/news/announcements/seeking-papers-on-african-indust.

[33]UNIDO cited in Jomo Sundaram, Oliver Schwank, Rodiger von Arnim, and Rodiger L.von Arnim, "Globalization and Development in SSA", UN Department of Economic Affairs (DESA) Working Papers, No. 102, February 2011, accessed November 24, 2014, http://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2011/wp102_2011.pdf.

[34]Jan Kees van Dongee, David Henley, & Peter. Lewis, "Tracking Development in South- East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa: The Primacy of Policy," *Development Policy Review* 30, S1 (2012): S5-S24.

state.[35] Granted that East-West trade was minimal during the Soviet era, Russia used any opportunity afforded by trade to acquire valued Western technology.[36] China has enhanced its prosperity by fully participating in the global capitalist system. The miracle economies of East Asia and Japan attained their now enviable status by operating within the world capitalist system. Emerging economies are operating within the same system.

The global capitalist system is not altruistic. There is no Santa Claus in international relations. Leaders of developed nations often protect the interests of their countries first. Concessions are made, or gifts are given, in exchange for present or future material, cultural, or ideological gains. Hence only strong states in developing countries succeed in the world capitalist system. A strong state does not mean a dictatorship or the classic autocratic regime that obtains and maintains citizen compliance through the use of instruments of state terror.

A strong state means a government with sufficient organization, power, and freedom to achieve its development goals.[37] According to Obafemi Awolowo, economic freedom exists where a sovereign country independent of outside control or direction organizes the exploitation and deployment of its total resources for the benefit of its people. The idea of a strong state, therefore, means that political leaders in post-fifty Africa will assert autonomy from domestic and foreign vested interests by enacting and implementing policies that are primarily in the best interest of their citizenry. In development theory and practice, a strong state is equivalent to a developmental state.[38]

A developmental state is proactive, interventionist, ambitious, autonomous, energetic, and courageous. It invokes nationalism and patriotism as it enacts, implements, and supervises its policies. It has a vision of where it wants to lead the country. It recognizes the dominant ideology of neoliberal globalization, operates within it, but is not slave to it. It situates its development policies and practices within its unique history and borrows relevant models from outsiders rather than depends on them. It uses national revenue to solve the people's problems and invokes integrity and honesty in the allocation and investment of public resources. Furthermore, a developmental state believes that with good

[35]Peter Gatrell, "Reconceptualizing Russia's Industrial Revolution), in *Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution* eds. Jeff Horn, Leonard N. Roseband, & Merritt Roe Smith (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press. 2010) 229-250; Peter Stearns, *The Industrial Revolution in World History* (Boulder, CO.: Westview Press, 2013).

[36]Daniel Yergin, "Politics & Soviet-American Trade: The Three Questions," *Foreign Affairs*, April 1977.

[37]Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the 16th Century (New York: Academic Press, 1976); Kerbo.

[38]Kerbo, Ibid.

leadership and organization, citizens can unleash their capabilities to multiply and add value to natural resources to uplift themselves and society on a sustainable basis. Hence a developmental state eschews a dependent mentality and promotes a sense of national self-efficacy where leaders and followers join to boldly take their developmental destiny in their own hands. Therefore, a developmental state is a champion of organized indigenous agency and national self-reliance.

A developmental state is similar to a transformational leadership. It has bold visions and takes bold steps to implement its visions.[39] It makes leaders out of followers so that the latter can effectively mobilize the larger society to pursue the collective end.[40] Subordinates of the apex leader in a developmental state have the ability to mobilize those below them. Cabinet officers in the executive branch of the central government, administrative heads and their aides at the provincial level, and local government functionaries have leadership capacity and enthusiasm for development as should the president of the country. The legislature at national and provincial levels of government in a developmental state is focused, courageous, imaginative, and makes transformational rather than mundane and self-serving laws.

Governors or administrative heads of provinces see the economic development of their provinces, states, regions, or districts as their primary responsibility, not the responsibility of the national government. Just as there are strong states, so should there be strong provinces, regions, or districts. The administrative head and elected and appointed officials of the Ashanti Region of Ghana, for example, should see the development of the region as their primary responsibility. That is why Arthur Stinchcombe defines a strong province or region as one that keeps the local part of a commercial flow of goods and services going, integrates that flow within a cosmopolitan system of flows governed by a central government, other provinces, or other sovereign states and builds institutions that arrange such things as residences, churches, education, retail trade, and other activities that make up life.[41] Therefore, the distributionist governance practiced by provincial, state regional and local government officials in some African countries does not facilitate development. By distributionist governance I mean the habit of political officials at regional and local levels to be complacent with monthly or periodic allocations of revenues from the national government without making imaginative

[39] James Burns, Transforming Leadership (London: Atlantic Books, 2003).

[40] Iain Hay, "Transformational Leadership," accessed April 29, 2012, http://www. leadingtoday. org/weleadinglearning/transformationalleaders; Mathew Kelly, (2003). Academic Advisers as Transformational Leaders. The Mentor: An Academic Journal, January 1, 2003, accessed June 2010 http://.psu.edu/dus/mentor/03010mk.htm; Gary Yukl, Leadership in Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989).

[41] Arthur Stinchcombe, "How Can Provinces Govern?" Unpublished Work in Progress.

policies that can multiply those subventions by creating an environment that enables citizens to expand productive activity. All state and local governments in Nigeria depend on allocations from the national government for financing most of their programs and this creates a disincentive to maximize collection of internally generated revenue.[42] The situation in Kenya and Ghana with respect to allocations to counties and district assemblies respectively is similar to that of Nigeria.[43] Leaders of strong regions engage in regenerative governance by creating an environment for economic expansion, increased employment opportunities, and infrastructural modernization.

Consequently, the rule of thumb definition of development as improvement in the quality of life of citizens' is no longer a helpful model for steering development in post-fifty Africa or anywhere for that matter. Resources with which to improve quality of life do not fall from the sky. National development is driven by the promotion of drivers of development through the deployment of organized individual and collective domestic agency embodied in the efforts and activities of the citizens themselves. Consistent with centrality of domestic agency on which this paper is anchored, achieving development in post-fifty Africa entails that African leaders of developmental states create appropriate conditions under which the creative and physical energies of their citizens will be optimally harnessed. Leaders of a developmental state or developmental regions can, for example, challenge and provide incentives to its universities to construct mini refineries as part of building domestic capability for a steady flow of petroleum products.[44] Or national, regional and local governments of a country can strengthen, broaden and deepen national and regional entrepreneurship and the industrial sector by procuring all their operational needs from local firms.[45]

The Federal Executive Council of Nigeria, in 2010, approved the importation of one thousand plastic bins for the collection of garbage in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja on the premise that products made by Nigerian firms were

[42]Michael Oseni, "Internally Generated Revenue (IGR) in Nigeria: A Panacea of Development," European Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences 21, no. 1 (2013): 1052-1066, accessed November 24, 2014, http://www.journalsbank.com/ejhss_21_1.pdf.

[43]Mwangi Kimenyi, "Kenyan Devolution and Resource Sharing Calculator," Brookings, (October 2013), Accessed November 24, 2014.; Daily Guide, Ghana, "District Assemblies' Common Funds at 10%" (May 2013).

[44]Chikwendu C Ukaegbu, "Leadership Fatalism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria: Imaginative Policymaking for Human Development," *Philosophia Africana* 10, no 2 (2007): 161-182).

[45]Chikwendu C. Ukaegbu, "Imaginative Policymaking for National Development," *The Guardian*, (Lagos, Nigeria, October 28, 2010).

inferior.[46] A political elite that takes development seriously will see the purchase of local manufactures as a means to strengthen the manufacturing sector. In another instance, the government of Senegal accepted a paltry $13 million from a foreign firm to fish on its waters for four years. The superior technology of the foreign company quickly depleted the fish population, displaced indigenous fishermen and women, and increased unemployment and economic insecurity in the area.[47] Tanzania's gold mine is a hotbed of conflict between foreign firms and local residents because the latter perceive themselves as marginal to a lucrative resource in their native land.[48]

Harold Kerbo noted that developmental states do not enter into international agreements that put their citizens in precarious positions.[49] Other commentators note that the liberalization of trade occasioned by the IMF/World Bank structural adjustment programs of the 1980s and 1990s coupled with the influx of Chinese textiles in the 2000s have caused a significant decline of the textile sector in Lesotho, South Africa, Namibia, Swaziland, and Nigeria.[50] The latter scenario is not conducive to Africa's quest for development given the importance of the textile industry in the industrial development of nations.

A developmental state knows that globalization creates winners and losers, and that guided free trade rather than unbridled free trade has been the norm in many of international economic transactions in the global system. For centuries, national governments have enacted laws, charted colonial and imperialistic paths, made policies, waged wars, negotiated and signed treaties, led business delegations, funded research and development, and designed strategies in search of positive outcomes for their national economies. These are elements of state intervention too. The British government played an active role in the 19th century Industrial Revolution previously attributed solely to the magic of the invisible hand.[51] Richard Lehne observed that government influence over business in America

46 "EC Approves N927m for FCT Waste Bins," *Nigerian Tribune* (September 23, 2010), accessed March 16, 2012, http://tribune.com.ng/index.php/ news/11458-fec-approves-n927m-for-fct-waste-bins.

47 "Globalization: Winners and Losers," DVD, Directed by Keely Purdue, Films for the Humanities and Sciences (Princeton, NJ: 2004).

48 Nicholas Bariyo, "Deadly Clashes at Tanzania Mine," *Wall Street Journal* (November 14, 2012), accessed http://www.online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887324556304578119.

49 Kerbo.

50 Deborah. Brautigam, The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 2009; Asianews, "Chinese Textile Tsunami Hits Africa" (April 26, 2005), accessed May 4, 2012, http://www.Asianews.it-en,Chinese-textile-tsunami-hitsAfrica.

51 Jeff Horn, The Industrial Revolution: Milestones in Business History (Westport CT.: Greenwood Press, 2007); Patrick O'Brien, "Deconstructing The British Industrial Revolution As A Conjuncture and Paradigm for Global Economic History," in Jeff Horn, 21-46.

has even become more pervasive in recent decades.[52] The British government played the role of a developmental state during the Industrial Revolution; so did German, Belgian, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Scandinavian governments in the industrial development of their respective countries.[53]

The UN's Economic Report on Africa 2011, was premised on the thesis that Africa needed a developmental state even though it was a well-known fact that strong activist states enabled development in Southeast Asia, Japan, and other places where development had occurred in world history.[54] Even Walt Whitman Rostow, a foremost protagonist of neoliberal, modernist developmentalism, assigns a central role to the state in his outline of stages of economic growth. According to Rostow, the takeoff of economic growth is characterized by the emergence to political power of a group prepared to regard the modernization of the economy as a serious high-order political business.[55] We now know, from the East Asian experience, that a developmental state can emerge and operate successfully anywhere and at any time there emerges a political group that takes development seriously.

A developmental state is not an abstract entity. It is people, human beings, elected officials, plus bureaucrats and technocrats in leadership positions who are responsible for policy and action that empower their citizens to transform their socioeconomic environments. Aware of the circumstances of their own societies, leaders of a developmental state find ways to shepherd their citizens to prudently create, manage, and expand national or local financial, physical, social, and production infrastructure on the path to development. China currently earns the attention and respect of the world as its political elite successfully shepherds the national economy and human resources on the path to national development through prudent policies and management.

On the Importance of Prudent Management of Financial, Physical, and Social Infrastructure

Countries that make it in the development process seek ways to avoid the burdens

[52]Richard Lehne, *Government and Business: American Political Economy in Comparative Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2006).

[53]Jeff Horn, et al., *The Industrial Revolution: Milestones in History* (Westport CT.: Greenwood Press, 2007); Ian Inkster, "Cultural Engineering and the Industrialization of Japan" in *Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution*, Jeff Horn, Leonard. N. Roseband, and Merritt Roe Smith, eds. (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2010): 291-398.; Kristine Bruland, "Reconceptualizing Industrialization in Scandinavia in Horn," 125-150.

[54]United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Economic Report on Africa, 2011: Governing Development in Africa, The Role of the State in Economic Transformation," accessed November 2012, http://www.uneca.org/era2011/ERA2011_ENG-fin-pdf.

[55]Walt Whitman Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960.

of foreign debt. Avoidance of debt, especially external debt, is part of prudent financial management. For example, the cancellation of a sizeable chunk of Nigeria's foreign debt by core countries in 2005 lifted it out of the debt burden. Nigeria paid the final installment of its foreign debt in April 2006. But in August 2014, the head of the Debt Management Office put that country's foreign debt at \$9.38 billion.[56] The latter is a conservative estimate because the World Bank and the World Fact Book noted that Nigeria's external debt had reached \$13 billion by 2011.[57] At the present pace, Nigeria steadily marches towards re-incurring as much as the \$18 billion debt forgiveness it received from international lenders less than a decade after.

Of the thirty-nine countries listed under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, thirty-three were in Sub-Saharan Africa and the majority of them had attained completion status, the point at which debt relief was irrevocable.[58] If a primary objective of debt relief is to free up resources for social spending including more spending on health and education, that purpose stands defeated if, as in the case of Nigeria, these thirty-three SSA countries soon after debt forgiveness incur new debts, become re-saddled with the burden of debt servicing, and use the latter as an excuse for not spending on sectors such as education, health, poverty reduction, infrastructure, technology acquisition, and capital formation for economic modernization. Consistent with the central argument of this paper, avoiding the debt burden is the responsibility of state actors who themselves should be part of organized domestic agency. Countries that have made it on the journey to development have placed a premium on high quality education while at the same strengthening their economies.

Indicators of educational progress often cite quantity or enrollment trends but de-emphasize quality or how well education prepared its recipients to effectively function in their positions and roles in society. Flagship compendium of human development indicators, "Human Development Report" is a good example of the emphasis of quantity or rate of enrollment over quality or how much and how well students learn. The education component of the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) is also premised on enrollment rather than on quality. But does progressive increase in enrollment in all levels of education mean the production

[56] O. Abioye and I. Onuba, "Nigeria's External Debt Rises to \$9.38 billion: DMO," *Punch Nigeria,* August 20, 2014.

[57] World Bank, International Debt Statistics (Washington, D.C. 2013); Central Intelligence Agency. Debt-External, The World fact Book, 2013, accessed November 19, 2015, www.gov.library/publications/ theworl-factbook/rank.order/2079rank.html.

[58] World Bank & International Monetary Fund, "Debt Relief Under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative," January 10, 2013.

of human agents competent enough to lead and manage national development? A study of quality assurance in higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa conducted by Peter Materu (2007) further illustrates this problem. In that study, a university student in Ethiopia responded thus:

> Most donors define African education success in terms of how many students are being graduated and how many students are in school. The quantity issue is of course one thing that should be addressed, but it shouldn't be the whole mark of any education intervention in Africa. How an African resource could be better utilized by an African child for an African development should be the issue.[59]

That African education should produce an African child capable of utilizing an African resource for African development is consistent with the infusion of organized domestic agency in the development process. Studies of education in Africa leave doubts on the capacity of the educational institutions to effectively play this role. David Johnson laments that the children who complete primary schooling in Africa leave with unacceptably low levels of knowledge and skills."[60] A study by Justin van Fleet cautioned that the prognosis for the economic future and social development of Africa was gloomy because over half of the children complete primary school without learning basic skills.[61] Peter Materu notes that poor governance and insufficient qualified academic staff contribute to decline in the quality of higher education in Africa.[62] Otherwise why would international agencies, including the World Bank, and national governments spend tremendous amounts of financial and human resources on an alternative concept known as capacity building in Africa?[63]

Capacity building entails the enhancement of skills and capabilities of individuals and groups to enable them to be effective participants in their social and economic environment. Educational institutions around the world play this role. One can surmise that the proliferation of capacity- building programs in Africa by national, international, and supranational agencies in the last three decades means that national education systems have lost their ability to continue to play

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[59] Peter Materu, "Higher Education Quality Assurance in sub-Saharan Africa: Status, Challenges, Opportunities, and Promising Practices," The World Bank Working Paper, No.124. 2007.

[60] David Johnson, The Changing Landscape of Education in Africa: Quality, Equality and Democracy (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2008).

[61] Justin van Fleet, "Africa's Education Crisis: In School But Not Learning," Brookings, (September 17, 2012), http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/up-front/posts/2012/09/17-africa- education-crisis-van-Fleet.

[62] Materu.

[63] World Bank, Capacity Building in Africa: An OECD Evaluation of World Bank Support' (Washington, D.C. 2005).

the role of producing human capital for effective leadership and management of the development process.

Worthy of emulation is Lee Kuan Yew and his People's Action Party who as leaders of a developmental state were determined to promote the principle of an organized domestic agency for national development. They implemented a policy of massive economic restructuring with emphasis on technology, computer education, and human capital development, which led Singapore to develop as a leader in electronics, petrochemicals, and international trade.[64]

Granted that education is very important as a driver of development, higher education is not a sufficient condition. Studies show that most people in developed countries do not have university education.[65] But the majority lives at middle class level. Studies in the United States have found a rise in the rate of unemployment.[66] The apparent oversubscription to higher education in some African countries is a function of weak economies dominated by preponderant numbers of ultra-micro and non-gainful economic activities in the ubiquitous informal sector. Strengthen the economy in such a way that secondary school graduates with or without additional short term vocational education can find gainful employment, and you will see a drop in the number of applicants to universities. Strengthen the economy in such a way that the majority of first degree graduates secure gainful employment, and you will see a drop in the number of students rushing to pursue higher degrees. In the ideal scenario, however, liberalization of and greater access to higher education in Africa continues. But those who pursue higher education will do so not because they see time in tertiary institutions or graduate education as a temporary diversion from the anxieties of joblessness, but because they actually want to and are capable of achieving educational success. This is the story of many developed countries.

Because the majority of the economic activity in Africa takes place in the unorganized informal sector where people are in an unending struggle to scrape by, the economy is unable to play the role of a receptacle for educated people. A developmental state shepherds citizens to bring organization, direction, and dynamism to the economy through imaginative laws, public policies and actions. In the end, additional investments greatly needed to improve the quality and quantity of education will achieve intended goals of producing citizens who can effectively

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[64] Lee Kuan Yew, *From Third World to First:The Singapore Story, 1965-2000* (New York: Harper Collins, 2000).

[65] OECD, "Education Policy Analysis: Focus on Higher Education 2005-2006,"accessed May 21, 2012, http://www.oecd.org/education/skills-beyond-school/38140461.pdf.

[66] Kelly Bedard and Douglas Herman, "Who Goes to Graduate/Professional School: The Importance of Economic Fluctuation, Undergraduate Field and Ability "accessed November 25, 2014, econ.ucsb.edu/-kelly/grad_june06.pdf.

conceptualize and implement national development goals.

That the development process entails conceptualization of visions and implementation of policies by the people of a given society is another constant. There have been lots of think tanks, blue prints, conferences and summits about everything in the purview of development in Africa. Everything said at conferences on the state of infrastructure in any African country can be summarized in one sentence, namely, something must be done about the poor state of physical infrastructure in that country. The U.S. - Africa Business Forum which took place in Washington D.C. on August 5, 2014 was no different. One of its sessions, “Powering Africa: Leading Developments in Infrastructure,” focused on the problems of physical infrastructure on the continent, especially the intractable deficiencies in the power sector.[67]

Therefore there is more than enough information which a developmental state can use to steer a country to the path of sustainable development. It is time to stop talking and start doing something. It is common knowledge that investment in physical infrastructure (roads, bridges, electricity, water works, rail, air, and sea ports) has several advantages in all societies.[68] It is a sure source of creating jobs in a country. A developmental state can use it as an avenue to broaden, deepen, and strengthen the skill capacities of indigenous technical skills and the scale and scope of production in firms that supply construction inputs. The modernized items of infrastructure facilitate the movement of people, goods, and services. Good infrastructure is a powerful pull of domestic and foreign investments because capital responds positively to where conditions for doing business are most cost-effective.

The World Bank’s Regional Program for Enterprise Development (RPED) verified this proposition in a series of studies of African economies from the 1980s to the early 2000s. World Bank researchers lucidly defined the infrastructural problems of many African countries including Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Cameroon Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and others. Those studies observed the infrastrastructural deficiencies of many African countries and projected their costs to business activity.[69] The Center for the Study of African Economies (CSAE) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) jointly conducted similar studies and corroborated the findings of the RPED on the

[67] U.S.-Africa Business Forum, Mandarin Oriental Hotel: Washington, D.C. , August 5, 2014, accessed November, 26, 2014 http://usafricabusinessforum.bloomberg.org/#/agenda.

[68] A. Ghani & C. Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding A Fractured World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[69] World Bank, *Pilot Investment Climate Assessment: An Assessment of the Private Sector in Nigeria. RPED* (Washington, D.C. September 2002); See http://search.worldbank.org all?qterm+RPED&title=&filetype= for studies of various African countries.

poor state of infrastructure in Africa.[70]

Similarly, a study of the transport situation in Africa showed that only 14.2 percent of the roads in SSA were tarred and rail and air services deteriorated due to poor maintenance of railways and runways.[71] Vivian Foster and Cecilia Briceño Garmendia report that forty-eight SSA countries generate the same amount of power as does only Spain; thirty countries experience power shortages and regular interruptions in service; and serious gaps exist in the various aspects of transport infrastructure and water supply.[72] SSA started with stocks, similar to South or East Asia, of roads, telephone, and power but these regions had left Africa behind by the year 2000.[73] Foster and Briceño-Garmenda attribute this slow pace of infrastructural development in SSA to constraints posed by geography, high costs of services, funding gaps, oil price shocks, political conflicts, and the high number of atomized or small nation-states, among others.[74] These are not good excuses for poor performance among African countries because the developmental state is all about surmounting constraints. There is no country that attained development without obstacles on its way.

Declare a national emergency in an African country on revolutionizing the national infrastructure through investments in public works. The result will be jobs, jobs, jobs; and more jobs if the inputs for the construction and maintenance of public works are sourced locally. It does not require special summits, white papers, or conferences, to know that a government that wants to inject domestic agency at the center of the development process can tie job creation to the contracts it awards indigenously and foreign-owned firms operating in agriculture, manufacturing, construction, or services in its country. Establish mechanisms to ensure that firms that win such contracts strictly adhere to the job creation requirements of contracts and insist that indigenous professionals have decision-making positions, challenging roles, and avenues of learning by holding such jobs. The role of a developmental state, therefore, is to make and implement policies that enable private firms to make profit.[75] Private firms, in the process, expand

[70] Mans Soderbom and Francis Teal, *The Performance of Nigerian Manufacturing Firms: Report of the Nigerian Enterprise Survey, 2001* (Oxford: Center for the Study of African Economies (CSAE) & United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 2002).

[71] UNECA, "The Transport Situation in Africa". United Nations Economic And Social Council: Economic Commission For Africa, Fifth Session of the Committee on Trade, Regional Cooperation and Integration (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, October 8-10, 2007), accessed September 15, 2013, http://www1.uneca.org/Portals/ctrci/5th/The-transport- situation-Africa.pdf.

[72] Vivian. Foster and Cecilia Briceno-Garmendia, "Africa's Infrastructure: A Time For Transformation" (Washington, D.C.: Agence Francoise de Development & World Bank, 2010).

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Atul Kohli, S*tate-Directed Industrialization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

production, and thereby create many employment opportunities that enhance the effective participation of domestic agency in development while eschewing corruption.

That unbridled corruption cripples the ability of a developing country's governments to steer development is another constant. Corruption, the use of political power for private gain, is a familiar characteristic of human societies. While no society is exempt from it, it is more blatant and destructive in some than in others. Toke Aidt found a strong negative relationship between growth in wealth per capita–a measure of sustainable development–and corruption.[76] Global Financial Integrity reports that Africa lost more than $854 billion through illicit financial outflows between

1970 and 2008 perpetrated by domestic and foreign actors; sub-Saharan Africa experienced the bulk of the illicit outflow.[77] From what we know about development, countries that have been successful in the journey to development in the last fifty years have done so on the strength of high national savings as the experiences of the Tiger economies and China show. Loss of a significant bulk of national revenue to private bank accounts through corruption, high internal and external debts, the high costs of government in some countries, and the absence of strong national, regional, and local tax collection regimes constrain overall national savings in African countries. Hence prudent management of national revenue is a stock of positive domestic agency that leaders of countries need to exhibit in post-fifty Africa.

Leadership and Domestic Agency for Post-Fifty Africa

What we know about development, or the constants of development, summarized above means that the governing elite of respective countries in post-fifty Africa at all levels of government must tow a path different from the previous fifty years. They should exert ownership of the development process and apply the developmental state as the tool with which to achieve development goals.

Jan Kees van Dongee, David Henley, and Peter Lewis observed that South East Asians were much poorer than Africans at the time of independence in the 1960s but by 2005, South East Asians were two and half times richer.[78] When Lee Kuan Yew became Prime Minister in 1959, Singapore's GNI per capita was

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[76]Toke Aidt, "Corruption, Institutions, and Economic Development," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 25(2) (2009): 271-291.

[77]Dev Kar and Devon. Cartwright-Smith. "Illicit Financial Flows from Africa: Hidden Resource for Development," *Global Financial Integrity*, March, 2010, accessed October 5, 2011, www.gfip.org/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=299.

[78]Jan Kees van Dongee, David Henley and Peter Lewis, "Tracking Development in South- East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa: The Primacy of Policy," *Development Policy Review* 30, (S1, 2012), S5-S24.

$400,[79] but it astronomically grew to $43,000 by 2011.[80] This is a history-making performance and national development is about a nation making history. By contrast, the average GNI per capita in SSA in 2011 was only $1,257 the lowest among world regions with many countries in the region below $1000.[81]

Some may quibble that Singapore is a small city-state and therefore not comparable to most African countries in landmass, population, ethnic diversity and its attendant sociopolitical problems. The success of Lee Kuan Yew was not because of the small size of his country but because of his development-oriented mindset premised on an acute sense of personal independence (which he translated into state autonomy), plus his courage, a sense of self-efficacy and love for the progress of his people, traits which are not easily apparent in African leaders. African leaders may wish their countries to look like the United States of America or France, or for their cities to look like Paris, Shanghai, or Dubai but will not ask how those countries and cities got there. One of the strengths of Lee Kuan Yew is his ability to look at societies which have succeeded, identify what he could borrow from their experiences (external agency), and combine those with the strengths of his own society (endogenous agency).[82]

As the saying goes, "opportunity knocks but once." Lost years and lost resources, natural resources especially, will never return. That 51 percent of SSA population live under $1.25 a day fifty years after independence is not a cheery situation.[83] Nor should we cheer that 70-80 percent of Africans struggle to eke out a living in the unorganized, unpredictable, rough, and some tines, ungainful informal sector. That African leaders allow other societies to continue to dump their value-added goods on a continent with a weak industrial base does not elicit hope for industrial development in the near future. Reports about low standards of education as highlighted above also pose a handicap to national development.

That the development process in SSA has not been steered towards the infusion of an organized self-reliant agency is contrary to the history of pioneer developed countries of the West, the experience of recently developed countries of East Asia, and the ongoing high speed of national development in China. A former governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi laments

[79] Calestous Juma, "Development: Learning from Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew," Belfer Center: Harvard University, January 30, 2013), accessed February 10, 2013, http:// belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/22709/development.

[80] World Bank, *World Development Indicators* (Washington, D.C: December 21, 2012), accessed March 21, 2013, http://databank.worldbank.org/databank/download/GNIPC.pdf.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Graham, Allison & Robert Blackwill, *Lee Kuan Yew: The Grandmaster's Insights on China, the United States, and the World* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2012).

[83] United Nations, "The Millennium Development Goals Report 2011," *New York Times*, June, 2011.

that dependence on imports of manufactured goods coupled with a superficial manufacturing sector portends a continuously weak economic future for his country.[84] The rest of SSA, except South Africa, falls within the scope of high dependence on imported manufactures.

High dependence on imports does not indicate a development process propelled by the society's reliance on its own strength and resources, its members' energies and its natural and cultural environment as rightly prescribed by The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation.[85] High dependence on imports also corroborates the concern expressed by the World Institute for Development Economics Research that Africa's industrial sector was less advanced fifty years after independence.[86] Mo Ibrahim noted that Africa's lag in economic development rests squarely on the way Africans have governed themselves and no amount of aid, he says, can move the continent forward; hence Africans should get up and take on the responsibility of development.[87] In the same vein, President Obama said to the Ghanaian parliament, "The future of Africa is up to Africans."[88]

Ibrahim and Obama underscore the importance of endogenous and self-reliant development. The future of Africa will not belong to Africans if they cannot establish sustainable backward and forward linkages in their economies through value-added production and if they continue to allow countries more hungry and aggressive to continue to exploit and use the continent's natural resources to secure their own national development. Achieving endogeneity and self-reliance will therefore depend on how state actors in post-fifty Africa define their role. One way is to define the African development dilemma as a governance problem; the other is to see it as primarily a leadership question.

Governance Versus Leadership: Complementary Yet Distinct

Governance means making and managing public or organizational policy, organizing people and material resources, controlling and encouraging subordinates to exercise skill and commitment to achieve excellence in a given set of assignments. In the realm of public affairs, governance refers to the range of policies public officials enact and actions they take to manage the affairs of

[84] "Central bank of Nigeria Governor Sanusi Lamido Sanusi (SLS) Responds to Some Internet Inquiries on Fuel Subsidy," accessed March 10, 2013, Usaafricadialogue@googlegroups.com on behalf of Mobolaji Aluko, January 5, 2012.

[85] Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Ibid.

[86] United Nations University.

[87] Mo. Ibrahim, "How and Why Africa Should Solve its Problems," *This is Africa: A Global Perspective*, July 25, 2013, accessed November 25, 2014. http://www.thisisafricaonline.com/ Perspectives/How-and-why-Africa-should-solve-its-problems?ct=true.

[88] Barack Obama, "Text of Obama's Speech in Ghana. July 11, 2009," accessed July 12, 2009, http://www.washingpost.com/wp-content/article/2009/07/11.

society.[89]

Good governance is highly necessary and very much needed in Africa because it can yield positive incremental change. Similar to transactional leadership the rate of change from good governance alone is slow and circumscribed.[90] Stepping into the path towards another half century, Africa needs more than ordinary managers of national affairs. The continent should aspire for leaders that move their people to achieve profound institutional change. The latter is the role of transformational leadership. In which case, leadership is different from governance. While good governance aspires to perfect the status quo, good leadership is determined to transform the status quo to a higher order. Truly, Africa's development is both a leadership and governance problem. But leadership supersedes governance because a good or strong leader can inspire his/her followers to practice and sustain good governance practices.

Leadership is a bundle of attributes and actions including knowledge, vision, courage, drive, imagination, determination, transparency, decisiveness, motivation, patriotism and nationalism deployed by occupants of strategic positions to move their citizens towards profound and positive societal transformations. According to Lee Kuan Yew,

> All said and done, it is the creativity of the leadership, its willingness to learn from experience elsewhere, to implement good ideas quickly and decisively through an efficient public service, and to convince the majority of people that tough reforms are worth taking, that decide a country's development and progress.[91]

This means that leadership creativity, a critical attribute of transformational leadership, will spread to citizens who then apply and expand their creative potentials to the highest possible levels.

In real terms, transformational leaders in post-fifty Africa will assert independence and exercise courage in making choices in the best interest of their countries within the global system of economic, political and cultural interaction. They will lead their people to return quality and excellence to education, revolutionize infrastructure and modernize productive activity in agriculture and industry; make a determined effort to shepherd the industrialization of their countries; insert indigenous professionals and labor at the center stage of building national infrastructure; and deploy imagination to make policies that generate

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[89]Chikwendu C. Ukaegbu, "Development Lag and the Imperative of Transformational Leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Perspectives on Leadership in Africa*, eds. Egodi Uchendu, et al. (Nsukka, Nigeria: Afro-Orbis Publishing, 2010).

[90]Hay.

[91]R. Velloor, cited in G. Allison & R. Blackwill.

employment in public and private sectors of society.

Transformational leadership is inward looking but does not isolate its society from the global system. It assumes ownership of the national or local development problem depending on the layer of leadership. It enables followers to unleash hidden and untapped capabilities and brings transparency and accountability to the fore of national affairs. The motto of transformational leaders in post-fifty Africa should be, u*se the people's money to solve the people's problems*.

The World Bank projects that the economies of sub-Saharan Africa would grow from 4.9 percent in 2013 to 5.2 percent in 2015 because of an increase in export volumes from several countries that discovered mineral deposits in recent years, namely Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Niger, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, and Uganda.[92] Oliver August added his voice to the list of optimists of Africa's economic future.[93] But some skeptics such as Richard Dowden see this optimism as greatly exaggerated because optimists talk about rise in GDP due to income from extractive sectors without mention of Africa's place in manufacturing value added exports and the lack luster performance of African leaders in governance.[94]

Furthermore, the 2013 Human Development Report projects that 60 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa will still live in extreme poverty by 2050.[95] That will be close to 100 years after the modal year of independence. One may say that 60 million is substantially lower than the 371 million in extreme poverty in 2010.[96] By contrast, however, zero population and only 2 million people will be in extreme poverty in China and India respectively by 2050.[97] The optimistic projections on China and India may derive from the speed, breadth, and depth of economic modernization especially in the export of manufactures ongoing in both countries.

In their analysis of the role of manufacturing in the future of global growth and innovation, James Manyika et al. identified leading countries on indicators such as value-added, production of energy and resource- intensive commodities,

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[92] World Bank & International Bank for Reconstruction & Development, *Global Economic Prospects: Sub-Saharan Africa Region, 2013* (Washington, D.C.: January 2013).

[93] Oliver August, "Africa Rising: A Hopeful Continent," *The Economist*, March 2, 2013, accessed April 8, 2013, http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21572377-african-lives-have-already-greatly-improved-over-past-decade-says-oliver-august.

[94] Richard Dowden "Africa: The Myth of Africa's Rise," Foreign Policy (January 4, 2013), accessed February 8, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/01/04/the_myth_ of_africa_s_rise; Richard Dowden, "Little evidence of 'Africa Rising' in Ibrahim Index of African Governance" October 1, 2014), accessed November 26, 2014 http://www. royalafricansociety.org/blog/little-evidence-%E2%80%98africa-rising%E2%80%99- ibrahim-index-african-governance.

[95] UNDP, *Human Development Report* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

technology innovators, and installed capacity of industrial robots.[98] No African country was mentioned on any indicator of manufacturing. Further, a study of technology transfer conducted by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) found that Africa was the smallest importer of capital goods and the least favored destination of R&D projects.[99] The findings of James Manyika et al. and UNECA are similar to the drivers of development listed at the beginning of the present paper. They are also consistent with the proposition that African political and economic leaders should treat both the indicators of industrial innovation and productivity and indicators of basic needs as drivers of development rather than treat the latter as ends in themselves.

Conclusion

The success of African countries in development in the next fifty years depends on a paradigm of development that accords unequivocal and dedicated primacy to domestic human power/agency. As the United Nations rightly observed, if African countries are to achieve substantial reduction in poverty, they need to go through a process of structural transformation involving a decrease in the share of agriculture and an increase in the share of industry and modern services.[100] African countries should not expect other countries to do this for them because it is a historical incontrovertibility that development is neither a gift nor can it be outsourced. More than fifty years of foreign aid or development assistance has not brought Africa close to achieving development as we know it in history. Only countries that have transformational leadership embodied in a developmental state can achieve such a change in the highly competitive global economy. The goal of transformational leadership is both to shepherd and empower citizens to define, own and surmount national development challenges by infusing organized indigenous agency into development vision and action. That is the history of development left by transformational leaders in both advanced countries and the newly developed ones.

Africa's development, especially post-fifty Africa, will not be different. Inserting domestic agency at the center of national development requires government policies that challenge Africans to independently initiate and

[98] James Manyika et al., "Manufacturing the Future: The Next Era of Global Growth & Innovation". McKinsey & Company, November 12, 2012, accessed April 21, 2013, http:// www.mckinsey.com/insights/manufacturing/the_future_of_manufacturing.

[99] UNECA, "A Technological Resurgence? Africa in the Global Flows of Technology," *UNECA Series on Technology Transfer for Africa's Developmen*t, United Nations Publication, 2010.

[100] UNDP, 2011.

consummate development programs. It will also require a conscious policy and an unflinching determination by leaders to shepherd their countries to develop. Development studies started in advanced countries on the premise that poor countries needed help. The unintended effect of that premise is that it created a mentality of dependence on advanced countries by Africans including well-educated African leaders. Effective infusion of domestic agency in national development will require a fundamental change in the content and substance of development knowledge from the present model that fetishizes external agency, especially the agency of foreign countries, to a paradigm that conceptualizes development as the sole responsibility of endogenous agency. The education sector will be at the forefront of the effort to redirect development theory and practice that emphasize an endogenous perspective.

Acknoweldgments

The author thanks the editor of *The Journal of Retracing Africa* for his very illuminating comments.

Notes on Contributor

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