

African States and Development Management: Examining the Normative and Empirical Challenges

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ABSTRACT

Africa is one of the most backward continents in the world. It houses some of the poorest states that are populated by people who are ranked among the world's poorest of the poor. Certainly, these are not very good comments on a continent that is blessed with rich human and material resources that are acknowledged all over the world. Within the framework of the overdeveloped state theory, this article examined the African state and development management with the aim of identifying the normative and empirical challenges that confront Africa's development. This study adopted a qualitative approach and is descriptive in nature, with the researcher setting out to illustrate the normative and empirical challenges that confront Africa's development. Authoritative scholarly sources were reviewed during a desktop study. The purpose was to identify relevant publications and utilise them in the research. It is the position of this article that states in Africa will continue to play major roles in development. The level of human happiness might be increased and the equilibrium of the earth maintained if governments and private individuals do what they are best placed by nature to do. Development has been slow in Africa because its leadership since independence has been unpatriotic, corrupt, lazy, and myopic. No nation becomes great without a critical mass of dedicated, committed, visionary, and missionary leaders. Unfortunately, these crops of leaders have been in the deficit in Africa since the attainment of political independence. On a continent where communal bond is strong, voluntary and people's organisations should be the bedrock of policies and programmes that promote development.

Keywords: Africa, development, leadership, management, missing link

INTRODUCTION

Africa is one of the most backward continents in the world. It houses some of the poorest states that are dominated by people ranked amongst the world's poorest of the poor. Certainly, these are not very good commentaries of a continent that is blessed with rich human and material resources that are well acknowledged all over the world. Yet, all these elements, as attractive as they might appear are mere potentials waiting to be harnessed and deployed for the good of the African people and prosperity of the individual states. Unfortunately, this has not been the case many years after most states in Africa have gained flag independence.

The Nigerian situation, perhaps aptly captures the phenomenon of poverty in the midst of plenty. Nigeria is prodigiously blessed with enormous resources both human and material that in most cases are lying fallow or poorly explored for the good of its people and the society. Ironically, successive governments in the country have recognised and lamented this sorry state of affairs but have not done anything substantial to fundamentally change this unfortunate situation that appears to defy all solutions (Akhakpe, 2016). Though, a more introspective view would surmise that it is not that efforts have not been made to turn around things for good but such efforts seem to be half-heartedly pursued and not driven by national interest (Akhakpe, 2019; Igbokwe-Ibeto, 2020).

Some scholars would want to blame the failure of development in Africa on borrowed institutions, structures of governance and precepts from Western Europe, which have struggled to make meaningful impact on the people and the society (Osaghae, 2012; Akhakpe, 2019; Igbokwe-Ibeto, 2024). Yet others would blame the international capitalist order and the subordinate role the African countries plays within it, which has made it difficult for the African countries to pursue an autonomous path of action that could address its peculiarities, using as it were its own cultural values as basis for development (Ake, 1995; Nnoli, 2018). However, the challenge remains underdevelopment which the African states must address and overcome, irrespective of the obstacles before it.

It is how this can be done with positive impact on the life of the people and the society that remains a puzzle to statesmen, the elite and other stakeholders in Africa. This article therefore, seeks to examine how development can be achieved in Africa, given the numerous challenges in Africa. It is the concern of this article to lay bare these normative and empirical obstacles to the African states efforts at addressing these challenges and concrete steps that can be taken to overcome them. This will be done against the backdrop of the shift in paradigm from development administration to development management. In an attempt to make up for lost time and grounds in development vis-a-vis other parts of the world, the states in Africa went into virtually all areas of socio-economic and politico-cultural spheres of their societies. In the process, these states became over grown. Can the African states get back to shape and yet drive inclusive growth and development? This question perhaps, can only be answered after issues involved are properly dissected and analysed.

To address the issues central to this article, the article is divided into seven compartments. Aside introduction, the first part explores the methodology, conceptual and theoretical indulgence. The second examines the state and the "question" of development in Africa. The third explores elements of development management. The fourth examines nexus between state and development management. The fifth provides an overview of the African states and development management: The missing link, whilst the sixth part made recommendations for resolving the identified problems and conclusion.

METHODOLOGY

This article, which is theoretical in nature, drew its arguments mostly from secondary data, which included textbooks, journal publications and internet sources. Subsequently, relevant sources of this research were fairly and professionally scrutinised, understood and tested with the available literature for the purpose of the research. It included scan- reading, comprehensive and critical reading and writing down ideas. Authoritative scholarly sources were reviewed, during a desktop study. The purpose was to identify the relevant publications and apply them in the research.

Conceptual and Theoretical Indulgence

In social and management sciences research, it is customary to begin an academic investigation by examining the conceptual and theoretical contours of the subject matter of analysis because conceptual and theoretical analyses provide a road map for navigating the contour of social phenomena (Igbokwe-Ibeto, Osakede, Nkomah & Kinge, 2016). Though, consensus may not be achieved on the validity or otherwise of such enterprise. Nonetheless, it is an exercise worth pursuing if only to sketch the parameters of the subject matter (Igbokwe-Ibeto et al., 2015). The concept of a state does not lend itself to a universally accepted definition. Scholars have volunteered their varied views of the concept to the extent that there are perhaps as many definitions of the concept as there are scholars on the subject. According to Akhakpe (2019) the state is an entity that enjoys monopoly of the use of coercive force within a given territory. What comes forcefully to the fore in this perspective to the state is the element of force or power that it has with other organisations in the society with which it shares similarities, that is, the church, family, trade unions and even political parties do not have.

If the state is to carry out its core functions, which include: governance, security, external relations and ideological programmes, it needs powers that no other organisation can challenge. Such compulsory and territorial jurisdictions enable it to for example; distribute resources in such a way that there is peace, order and

good governance of the human society (Akhakpe, 2019). Unless and until this is efficiently and effectively done, the state cannot claim to exercise its power of compulsion judiciously. Perhaps, a more popular conception of the state takes the legal path. In this regard, the state is defined as the entity that has the following characteristics: population, government, territory and monopoly of force (Nnoli, 2018). In the view of Nnoli (2018), this conception of the state is important in both international law and international relations because prior to it, the dominant form of organisation of human society was feudalism. However, this system was terminated following the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 (Ake, 1995). Under feudalism, societies were hierarchically arranged in terms of the sacred and temporal powers. At the apex of the sacred system were the Pope and other priests. At the apex of the other divide were the emperor and the serfs at the lowest rung of the ladder Akhakpe, 2016).

However, in contemporary times, Anifowose (2017) argues that a state is the most inclusive organisation which has formal institutions for regulating the most significant external relationships of the men within its scope. It would seem this view of the state follows the formal-legal perspective, as it emphasises issues of institutions and regulation of those interacting within the human society. However, the idea of fewer roles for the state in exchange for relationships seems to down play this perspective to the concept of the state. For Karl Marx and Marxists, the state is a product of class struggle and in the process; it has become an instrument of this same struggle, thereby making it a contested terrain. This, it would seem has led to it being neither efficient nor effective in playing its role as distributor of resources for the betterment of the citizenry. If the modern state is a product of the development of the society, what then is development?

Like the concept of the state, development has not equally enjoyed a conventional definition. However, contemporary usage of the term has taken a multifaceted dimension in order to capture a variety of features that make the concept eclectic. One of such views contends that; development is a process of social change in the positive direction, from one state of being to another (Amin in Akhakpe, 2019). In this process of development, the culture of the people is considered key, as it makes the process unique and peculiar to them. The prioritisation of the people as the center-piece of development is a deviation from the hitherto dominant perspective to it, which emphasized economic indices as per-capita income, increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), physical structures like bridges, sky-scrappers, among others.

It is therefore argued that development could mean the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system could move away from a condition of life, widely perceived as unsatisfactory towards another condition regarded materially and spiritually better (Adefarasin, 2015). Applying a more eclectic perspective to the concept of development, Ndianefoo (2011) argues that development is the integration of the various given natural, physical, acquired and human resources towards a permanently and cumulatively being as persons of their community and of their real production. In essence, development is essentially about improving in a consistent way, the welfare and well-being of the people. Given the gamut of men and materials at play in the process of development, putting them together in an organised way is pivotal to their use meaningfully to achieve set goals.

Management may refer to the use of men and materials in an optimal manner to maximise set objectives. Fayol (in Akhakpe, 2016) argues that management is a social process; the process consists of planning, controlling, coordination and motivation. Defining management by outlining its core principles underlines their importance in achieving set goals. Lawal (2014) notes that management can be defined as a process by which scarce resources are combined to achieve given objectives. It follows therefore, that those involved in this process or activity are called managers and the activity they carry out involves managing. With virtually all organisations facing challenges of scarce resources, management and managing have today become the vogue worldwide. Hence, development management can be operationalised as organising the human and material resources at play in the process of social change, optimally or efficiently to achieve their ultimate goals. The aim of this process is the total transformation of the people and their societies. There is no gain saying that unless these imperatives are followed, Africa might not achieve the goals of development.

The theory of the over-developed state appears plausible for explaining the subject matter of this article. The theory argues that most states in Africa were created by imperialist powers and imposed them on the society

where they exist thereby isolating from them, the very society they are to serve. Given its estranged nature, its emergent leaders had to develop strong bureaucratic and militia-apparatus in order to regiment and silence dissenting voices from their various societies. Unlike its homologue in the West that emerged from civil society and thus claims propriety right over such state, African states being imposed on and separated from society, lacked the legitimacy to carry out most of its programmes and projects in their respective states.

Moreover, the states in Europe emerged out of capitalism and its ultimate goal is to promote and protect the very same capitalism that gave birth to it (Mandani, 2012). Thus, the capitalist class is able to control the state based on the principles of capitalism. In Africa however, there was no capitalist class, rather, pockets of peasants, artisans and few educated Africans could not moderate the actions and activities of the state in Africa. Consequently, the states in Africa have become contested terrains with omnibus groups fighting to control it (Akhakpe, 2016).

Within this theory, some scholars have argued that in reality, African states are not over-developed because there is too much penetration of the state by forces within their societies, thereby making it difficult for it to act sometimes with dispatch on certain national issues (Osaghae, 1994; Rashed & Luke, 1995). Certainly, with the Third Wave of Democratisation and the subsequent expansion of the democratic space, there has been a flurry of social forces in the society jostling for prominence (Huntington, 1991). With weak institutional rules and enforcement system, nations all over Africa have failed to consistently and persistently pursue development that could uplift the living standard of the people under their jurisdictions. However, regardless of the origin of the African states, the issue is that it needs to be efficient to deliver the dividends of governance and development to the citizens and society at large. The question begging for answer is; why are the states in Africa still crawling rather than hitting the ground running to achieve development? Certainly, this is what the section that follows seeks to address.

The State and the "Question" of Development in Africa

It is important to state at this juncture that the states in Africa are distinctively different from its homologue in Europe and North America. On the eve of independence, they did not have a robust private sector to fast-track the process of development or social change. Expectedly, the states in Africa had to step in to fill this lacuna or gap. As such, unlike the nation-states in Western Europe that has a capitalist bourgeois class effectively in charge of the private sector economy; the African states had to and still take upon themselves, roles of promoting development (Mandani, 2012; Nnoli, 2018). Thus, the states in Africa were once; the orchestrator, executor and regulator of development programmes (Akhakpe, 2016). Surely a jack of all trade cannot be master of all. Yet, they had to take up these roles due to the negative colonial socio-economic and politico-cultural legacies the colonialist bequeathed to Africa and Africans at independence. Thus, as Nnoli (2018) observed that the states in Africa has ever since (independence) been an interventionist state, they must intervene in all areas of life if it must retain the loyalty of the population. They must provide food, shelter and water at the same time as they provide employment, healthcare and various welfare services. The ubiquity of state power is the present day reality of African politics. Yet, in all these endeavours, the objective has always been first and foremost, the satisfaction of the interests of the prevailing ruling classes (Igbokwe-Ibeto, 2020).

In the view of Osaghae (1994), the state has obligations to its citizens; these obligations have political, economic, social, cultural and even spiritual dimensions, which are aptly summarised in the word development. Osaghae (1994) went on to chronicle some of the goals of the state which consists of freedom from oppression and exploitation in the hands of those who own and control the means of production, to the equality of control of production and distribution of its benefits, self actualisation of the dignity of workers and their labour and justice. However, the states in Africa have not been oblivious of these imperative needs. Their responses to it were to apply the statist development strategy (Replay, 2017). They used their power and resources to engineer growth and development by stimulating socio-economic activities such as: the establishment of Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI), creating jobs, establishing industrial estates, among others (Akhakpe, 2016).

Unfortunately, these efforts did not record many positive dividends, probably due to the fact that its precepts, methods, techniques and organisations were not indigenous in nature rather they were tailored along the lines

of Western Europe's. Western precepts, indeed, have become axiomatic. They are presented to Africans as "fait accompli" without any home grown efforts to domesticate them to suit Africa's peculiarities. Development viewed from this prism by Osaghae (1994) becomes a matter of becoming more like the West in the eye of those who, in the towns and villages, have been lured into the conveniences and comfort of Western living. This is precisely why modernisation, a supposed correlate of development is called Westernisation.

It is against this backdrop, that Africa and Africans should be more circumspect of the principles underpinning the New Public Governance (NPG) and the New Public Service (NPS). It is vantage wisdom not to swallow them line, hook and sinker. Their adaptability and applicability in the African socio-economic and politico-cultural milieu is expedient. Given their cultural origin and ideological pretensions, countries of the South-South should tread with caution in applying them wholesale in order not to embark on another futile adventure. Modernisation, SAP; Privatisation and Globalisation, have either failed or are failing in Africa. Can development management provide the recipes for sustainable development in Africa?

Elements of Development Management

The poor performance records of developing countries of the world, particularly African states, has created a fertile ground to test yet another paradigm of development called development management. These developments have further extended the search for a workable model or paradigm for development known as development management. Development management has the following features: (1) It is society centered, that is, it brings all stakeholders in the development process into the midst of it; (2) It embraces all organisational settings in the society; (3) Development is centered on the cultural values, aspirations and experiences of the people; (4) Under this model of development, the state is expected to play more role rather than minimal one; and (5) It emphasises the imperative of building state institutions' capacity and development to drive this process (Rasheed & Luke, 1995).

This perspective to the development challenges in Africa, from the benefit of hindsight, did not make much impact on the problems of development in African countries (Mnyaka, 2021). It would seem the problem of development goes beyond mere introduction of precepts and techniques. For many decades, Africa has been at end of "received paradigms" of development from the West (Replay, 2017; Akhakpe, 2019). First, it was modernisation which in the 70's was seen as the magic wand to get Africa out of its doldrums and subsequently launch it into the path of sustained development. Yet, development from this perspective was little more than Westernisation. It engrained on Africans, the values of the West and the feeling among Africans that unless they imitate the West in virtually everything, they are not likely to develop. But after many years of transplanting Western policies and techniques of management, development in Africa remains substantially farfetched (Balogun, 2019; Osaghae, 1994).

The Nexus Between State and Development Management

Early administrative thought sees administration as decision making with emphasis on how best one can arrive at the best decisions that could serve the public interest (Sapru, 2019). However, Simon (in Akhakpe, 2016) was able to show that any such claim to rationality in decision making is bounded by time, information, resources and so on. For Simon, what comes close to reality is the satisficing model to decision making where, decision makers choose those alternatives that immediately meet their desires or interests. The law and order procedures of the institutional approach to public administration might have proved inadequate and there is need for fresh method and insight. Yet, before most countries could come to terms with the realities of this imperative of reorientation of public administration in the light of development administration, was not an easy task to accomplish in the Post World War II era, especially in areas of the world where development planning and or development economics are needed (Rasheed & Luke, 1995).

Development administration is seen as the management system and processes a government establish to achieve its development goals (Rasheed & Luke, 1995). Similarly, Riggs (1974) and Anyebe (2017) conceives of development administration as organised efforts to carry out programmes or projects by those involved to serve developmental objectives. Arising from the foregoing views on development administration, they aptly

capture the imperative of organised efforts, be it systemic or processes. However, it is not enough to have organised efforts but other crucial elements must be in place, such as the right leadership, resources, conducive environment for operation and attitudinal factors that could facilitate the achievement of set goals.

From all indications, years of development administration did not translate into substantial development outcomes for Africa. This may not be unconnected with its inclination towards achieving the goals of modernisation. Modernisation in the 70's was conceived as means of translating the goals of Westernisation into Africa. At independence, most countries in Africa inherited both the forms and substances of what the colonialist deemed necessary for them. Of course, the emergence of neo-traditional institutions and structures were poor replicas of what obtained in Western Europe at that point in time. In other words, neo-traditional or neo-patrimonial systems are neither traditional nor modern but emerged in the course of colonialism to serve the exigencies of the time (Ekeh, 1980; Amuwo, 1994; Basil, 2015). Majorly, this neo-traditional system has survived the post-colonial era continued to mediate the process of development in Africa.

Apparently, with the switch in academic interest to management issues, development management became the new paradigm for driving development in the 1990's. For example, prior to this, SAP had failed to engender growth and development in the socio-economic life of the people of Africa. Rather than bring about all inclusive socio-economic development, SAP further pauperised the people, as various aspects of their lives suffered immeasurably. As Olukoshi (2019) puts it, the neo-liberal monetary thrust of the adjustment model with its emphasis on a zero-sum market approach, was one, which from the on-set carried huge social cost. Not surprisingly, resistance to the implementation of the adjustment programme (has come) not only among the popular social groups that are the biggest losers from its adoption but also among the more privileged groups that profited from the efforts at economic liberation.

Opposition from social groups has continued to trail similar but unpopular reform programmes in Africa. One issue that continues to confront public sector reforms in Africa, be it administrative or socioeconomic, is the failure of the model used to provide a safety valve that would cushion the negative impacts on social groups that are the biggest losers of their adoption. One would have expected that these reforms would be accompanied with some human face or social equity incorporated into their initiation and implementation. Rather, they tend to work from the answer to the problem.

The African States and Development Management: The Missing Link

The African states has been described several times as weak, failed, failing, "crippled, sleeping giant, among several others (Osaghae, 2012). Perhaps, no word can best capture the nature and ramifications of the African development challenges. This article seeks to identify the dominant issues plaguing the continent's development experience, with a view to prescribing some antidotes to ameliorate, if not eradicate these obstacles to pave the way for sustainable development in Africa.

The colonial interregnum in Africa was an epochal phase in the continent's life that impacted fundamentally on her quest for development. Colonialism was an enterprise that stunted the growth and development of Africa. Motivated by the demand for raw materials for European industries and markets for their products, the European colonialist came with the carrot and stick approach to enable them lay the foundation for the exploitation of the "captured natives". For example, what the first Governor-General of Nigeria, Lord Lugard called the "Dual Mandate", was an attempt to justify the European adventure in Nigeria as an enterprise meant to benefit both the colonialist and the colonised. He sought however, without success, to camouflage the injustice of colonialism. For example, Mandani (2012) has shown how the colonialists in the course of administering their captured territories, created citizens and subjects among the same people. Also, Ekeh (1980), and (Akhakpe, 2019) have shown that institutions and structures created by this system, could not and still cannot work in Africa because they are not consciously designed for the development and good governance of the African peoples. Thus, many years after political independence, these colonial legacies still continue to work against the full realisation of the development aspirations and needs of Africans. The larger implication of these phenomena is sufficiently captured by Osaghae (1994) who argued that colonialism took

the development initiative away from Africans and since then, they have been at the receiving end of imposed paradigms of development over which they exercise no control.

Unfortunately, the initiative remains elusive, as Africans continue to be at the receiving end of Western-centered policies. Not only did the colonialists impose paradigms of development on Africans through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, they have also ensured that Africans and their governments are unable to control the process of development in their country (Akhakpe, 2016). This perhaps, explains why the so-called growth statistics in recent years in some African countries cannot be translated into development for the generality of Africans.

From the economic standpoint, it has led to the incorporation of Africa into the world's capitalist system, where it plays a second fiddle and dependent role vis-a-vis its counterpart in Europe and North America. It has been argued, that by the very circumstance of its historical origins and location, the state in Africa is a dependent contrivance which is meant to serve the needs of the metropolitan centers rather than the needs of the Africans themselves (Ake, 1985). This ordinate and superordinate relationship within the capitalist system is well expanded by Juan Galtung in his centre-periphery analysis. Juan Galtung's analysis shows that the world is divided into center and periphery countries. While the centre countries are located in the developed Europe and North America, the periphery countries are found in underdeveloped Africa, Asia and Latin America. The former produces capital goods while the later produces primary products with differentials interaction effects. This means that from the developmental point of view, the gap between centre and periphery countries will continue to widen unless something drastic is done.

The lack of capacity or autonomy of the state to control the class and groups struggling to capture the state for private gain, places major constraints on its quest for development. Politically, the state lacks the power to enforce order, peace and good governance. Administratively, it lacks the capacity to comply with bureaucratic ethos and norms of impartiality and impersonality thereby giving opportunity to hegemonic classes, groups and ambitious rulers to capture the state (Osaghae, 2012). The consequence of this lack of autonomy for development of the African states and societies are well elaborated by Ake (1985) who asserts that in the absence of autonomising mechanisms in the post-colonial state, the resources of physical coercion become the tools of particular group, especially the hegemonic faction of the ruling class.

It is clear from the foregoing views that, in Africa, coercive power of the state that ought to be used to improve the lot of the common man is often appropriated by privileged group(s) in the polity to further their private interests to the detriment of the developmental goals of the state (Igbokwe-Ibeto, 2020). Thus, the absence of countervailing forces in civil society to check the use of the coercive resources by enlightened self-interest means that the phenomenon of "arrested development" will be with Africa for a long time to come, unless drastic and immediate steps are taken to checkmate this trend.

Lack of consistent, appropriate and timely public policy framework on various issues facing the people, has been the bane of development in Africa. Every public policy has a universal goal, which is to improve the welfare and well-being of the people it is directed at. However, the tragedy of public policies in most African countries is that they lack enough input from the targeted groups who are supposed to initiate, help formulate and implement them. As Ajayi (in Akhakpe, 2016) argues that it is erroneous to attribute all the Third World problems to external factors alone because domestic factors also play significant roles as well. It is a known fact from experience that countries have a lot to gain when an appropriate domestic policy is adopted. For a domestic policy to be beneficial, two conditions must be satisfied. First, an appropriate policy has to be introduced at the right time and secondly, in the right dosage.

Home grown solutions to Africa's problems have often been articulated. For example, Africa's alternative to SAP, NEEDS, and so on. Yet, African countries continues to rely on transplanted precepts, paradigms and techniques of development from the West because it would seem there is paucity of funds for research, as this area seem not to be on the priority list of the parasitic ruling elite in Africa (Ekeh, 1980; Ikelegbe, 2017; Balogun, 2019).

The place of leadership by example cannot be overemphasised. What is referred to as leadership by example may sound simple but for those in position of authority, it is a huge and tall order because of their poverty of knowledge. Sadly, the civil and public services that are supposed to be the fulcrum of the collective aspirations of the nation and its people have become bee-hives of corruption, redundancy, inefficiency and ineffectiveness. As Riggs (in Akhakpe, 2016) rightly observed: the unchecked powers of bureaucrats who have now become preoccupied with the struggle for power and the need to buttress their own security by building infra-bureaucratic political alliances, that administrative values are sacrificed to political value. Thus, there is need for robust countervailing powers to checkmate these administrative aberrations.

Inter-agencies and inter-sectoral synergies are lacking in the way the public sector in Africa is configured. Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAS) appear to be isolated from one another with little or no intra-governmental management (Henry, 2017). In civil society, Voluntary Organisations (VOs) and People Organisations (POs) that are stakeholders in the drive towards development and its management seem to operate disparately, sometimes duplicating their functions and activities. State institutions that should coordinate their activities are often busy fighting for the spoils of power (Fukuyama, 2019).

The modern state is driven by Information and Communication Technology ((CT), However, the level of ICT compliance in any country is a function of the level of funding of this important sector. The United Nation Economic, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 26percent benchmark of annual budget for funding education in all its member countries, has never been met by most African countries. This would suggest to everyone that the hegemonic class(es) in Africa are not interested in liberating the people from their spiritual and mental slavery. Just to state here that, no nation becomes great without developing its ICT sector. E-government and e-governance among others have become the vogue. However, Africa still lags behind in its level of application of and compliance with ICT (Akhakpe & Ajumjum, 2018).

Closely related to the above challenge, is the poor state of power supply in Africa. No country can develop without reliable and effective power or electricity supply. Africa is far behind what it needs to power the continent to development. For example, Nigeria's target of 10,000mw remains a far-fetched possibility, as its present capacity hovers around 3,500mw to about 4,500mw (Punch, 2023). This is in spite of the billions of dollars that have been committed into its revitalisation. Suffices to say that power supply is indispensable to industrialisation and other endeavours in human society (Clarke, 2020). Yet, this challenge has remained an albatross to Africa's development management. It appears to defy all known solutions thrown at it. The human element, again, appears to be the nemesis of this sector in Africa.

Corruption, waste and misapplication of funds have remained some of the biggest obstacles to genuine development of Africa (Ekeh, 1980; Joseph, 1987; Diamond, 1991; Ake, 1993; Igbokwe-Ibeto & Okoye, 2014; Akhakpe, 2019; Igbokwe-Ibeto & Osakede, 2019). The common thread running through these accounts, is that the inability of the ruling elite to mobilise and deplore state resources to bring about social change, is the strongest statement on the crisis of development not only in Africa but all over developing countries.

Beyond the thesis of economic integration of Africa into the capitalist system and all the exploitations that go with it, the domestic front still holds the key to unlocking the mysteries that appear to surround the development quagmire it finds itself. Riggs (1974) is correct when he posits that, "we may well have been exporting administrative (and political) doctrines and practices to countries where given the structure of government which prevails, these ideas are largely irrelevant. The foregoing submission underscores the potency of contextual factors in the drive towards development in Africa. While administrative principles may be applied cross-nationally, environmental conditions and constraints of recipient countries need to be prioritised and optimised for them to be efficiently and effectively implemented. The level of institutional and structural development in Western Europe cannot by the most objective criteria, be compared to that of Africa. Also, the degree of moral ethos that propels the activities of higher civil and public servants varies among these texts. For example, while corruption is high in Asian countries like Indonesia, Singapore and others, professionalism is high among their public servants, which accounts for the present state of their development (Akhakpe, 2016).

One factor that has continued to fuel the spate of venality in public service in Africa is the materialist perception of the state by the hegemonic classes in the polity. Bandfield (1966) argues that, in a society of amoral feminists, no one will further the interest of the group or community except as it is to his private advantage to do so. In other words, the hope of material gain in the short run will be the only motive for concern with public affairs.

The material gain motive for seeking public offices in Africa is well exemplified by the ruling class in Africa, who see their quest for material gain through state institutions as more paramount than the state well-being and sustenance. The materialist perception of the state has become ingrained in the popular consciousness (of Africans) with the result that society at large refused to develop any serious stake or interest in the state (Osaghae, 2012). In this circumstance, emphasis on accountability, transparency, responsiveness to the needs of the people and other aspects of the moral ethos of governance are relegated to the background. Till date, government's business in Africa is seen as no man's business. It is not surprising therefore, why many holders and aspirants to public offices in Africa see nothing wrong with stealing state funds especially if they are used to benefit not only the individual but also members of his community (Osaghae, 2012). In this condition, development management will definitely amount to nothing.

The African States and Development Management: The Way Forward

Africa is part of the global community and it cannot be isolated from the wind of changes blowing across countries of the world. Yet, while trying to embrace global best practices, it cannot ignore its peculiarities which other states or nations of the world may not share. This section is devoted towards finding remedies to the challenges identified in the preceding part of this article.

Africa's "arrested development" may not be extricated from its authoritarian system which dates back to the days of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism. In all these systems, the people were denied of their rights to freedom and liberty, which are necessary for the individual and collective development of a people in the society. Electoral democracy that majority of Africa presently operates where the people's votes appear not to count or what has been christened choice-less democracy, must give way to social democracy where socio-economic rights are justifiable and practically enforced. They are the sickles of development. The just concluded general election in South Africa should serve as a standard for the rest of Africa.

Professionalism should be optimised and prioritised in public service. Merit cannot be sacrificed on the altar of primordial sentiments. Square pegs must be put in square holes. This will give the people faith and confidence in the system that is aimed at development. Where there is professionalism, the ultimate goal of the state should take center stage and dominate every other consideration. Representative bureaucracy, thought to be a platform for national development in the 70s, did not bring the expected dividends. While representative bureaucracy helps to avoid the tyranny that accompanies the concentrations of power occasioned by inequity in the distribution of socio-economic and political resources to the disadvantage of the poor, however, recent time has witnessed the emergence of gigantic bureaucracies and growing rate of the state in organising and regulating social life. Thus, representative democracy as practice in Africa has led to mass manipulation of the poor and the unorganised. The push and pull of centrifugal forces for sectional or ethnic interests should be tempered with professionalism in the interest of national development.

Yet, professionalism may become a pipe-dream in the public sector, if the moral imperative in the governance of the state and society is not enthroned. Public office holders and aspirants to public offices should be ingrained with moral sanction to do what is right in the eyes of the public and put the public interest over and above personal and group interests (Igbokwe-Ibeto, 2020). Government's business' should be everyone's' business and definitely, government's resources must be for everyone. Change of perception of the state and the internalisation of the moral ethos that conduce for its development are necessary ingredients for the welfare and well-being of Africans.

The policy framework within which the state operates should be indigenised. It has been argued that transplanted precepts, ideas, values and even techniques of public management may not succeed in Africa, unless they are craftily modified to suit the Africa's exigential conditions and needs. Migrated paradigms, models and techniques of development have long proved ineffective in Africa, which accounts for stunted growth and development in the continent. While Africa should not be anti-receptive to prevailing global management concepts, techniques and values, exigential imperatives demand that they should be domesticated to conform to what the people need rather than what donor agencies, like the World Bank and IMF want African countries to implement. If modernisation failed, SAP failed and privatisation is posting poor results in Africa, then policy makers and executors must have a rethink.

In a continent where communal bond is strong, voluntary and people's organisations should be the bedrock of policies and programmes that promote development. Hitherto, marginalised groups in the society were not brought to the center of the development process as active participant in it. Development is about the people; therefore, they should be actively involved in it. In the past, development took the top-bottom approach, but what is being canvassed here, is the bottom-top approach that would embrace an inclusive process of decision making, power and resource distribution. Rolling back the state is not the solution but the active engagement of all stakeholders in the process of development.

The economy of any country is the heart beat of its development effort. Unfortunately, the situation Africa finds herself, poses major challenges to her development. This is partly caused by its dependent position in the world capitalist system. Yet, Africa has not also helped itself (Okezie and Baharuddin, 2011). The centre-periphery framework of the world capitalist system, perpetuate development of the West and underdevelopment of Africa (Valenzuala and Valenzuala, 1993). Africa has to adopt an internalist view rather than follow everything the West throws at it. Africa's rich resource endowment is well documented (Ingwe, Okoro and Vim-Agbor, 2012). The call by NPM apologists that the state should intervene less or roll-back its interventionist role in the development, is mis-directed because there is no vibrant and robust private sector to take over this role in Africa. In Europe this sector had a head start before the state came to being. In Africa the reverse is the case. As Amin (1987) rightly argues that conventional economic theory was built on the deliberate exclusion of the question of the state which was ignored in the analysis of economic mechanism. This omission is of course, ideological.

Economic theories written in the West with data collected from that environment cannot rationally be applied in a different scenario. Indeed, the states in Europe still intervene where it finds it expedient to do so. But in doing this, the public interest is the main focus. This is the path the states in Africa most thread, if true development must take place in the continent.

This brings us directly to the question of leadership that promotes development. No nation becomes great without a critical mass of men and women with determination and unflinching commitment to the public good and interest. The United States of America (USA) has had its fair share of such men: Roosevelt, Kennedy, Washington, among others. Britain had Churchill and Thatcher. Close to us, South Africa had Mandela. In some many African countries the reactionary forces are standing against the rise of such men and women. Yet, the forces of darkness cannot continue to overshadow light in Africa. As the revolutionary forces continue to build up, it is just a question of time before they cave in or dislodge.

Perhaps, this change will take the democratic path. With the expansion of the political space in Africa, more citizens are being brought into public affairs; core democratic values are gradually being inculcated into the psychic and behaviour of Africans. The relationship between democracy and development is strong. The advanced democracies of the world are also developed countries. This means that with substantive democracy in place in Africa, it can achieve sustainable development (Hayne, 2001). Some of the forces that can provoke the creative energies of the people towards improving and enhancing their capacity to control the forces of nature for their individual and societal good include: ability to participate in decision making, ability to enforce their social and economic rights, freedom of information and free access to education. Once all these are in place, transparency and accountability gradually gets embedded into the process of governance (Adamolekun & Kirago, 2021).

CONCLUSION

It is the position of this paper that development has been far-fetched in Africa because its leadership, since flag independence has been unpatriotic, corrupts, lazy and myopic. No nation becomes great without a critical mass of dedicated, committed, visionary and missionary leaders. Unfortunately, these crops of leaders have been in the deficit in Africa since the attainment of political independence. Achebe (1983) was in order and apt, when he posits that the trouble with Nigeria and by extension Africa is leadership. The trouble with Africa is simple and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the African character. There is nothing wrong with the African land or climate or water or air or anything else. The African problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility of the challenges of personal examples which are the hallmarks of true leadership.

There are many factors that make the African situation peculiar. Formal bureaucracies are so powerful, yet, clueless in the discharge of their responsibilities. The prevalence of ego-centric normlessness and administrative prodigality has given the bureaucracy a larger than life image and power in developing societies. It then becomes imperative for these societies to develop countervailing forces to checkmate the ever increasing bureaucratic powers in Africa. Indeed, the level of human happiness might be increased and the equilibrium of the earth maintained, if government and private individuals do what they are best placed by nature to do.

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