

**AFRICAN STATES, IDEOLOGIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT AND RECYCLING OF
POVERTY**

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ABSTRACT

State, as a specific modality of inters and intra-class relations/domination is culture-specific. It largely assumes the character bequeathed on it by interplay and intermixture of both internal and external social forces. Hence the character of most states in Africa can better be appreciated if a careful and systematic study is done with regard to contradictions inherent in the organic composition of capital in industrialized Europe; as well as the nature of the African man. These contending factors blended to unleash a dictatorial, interventionist and parasitic structure that differentiates and dissociates itself from the ruled. As essentially “elitist specie of social isolation”, most states in Africa practically pursue development strategies by relying on “received models of development”. **These strategies discountenance existing local conditions and end up abstracting from the history of the historian and instigate circuitous vicious cycle of poverty.** This is particularly the case in the present dispensation where “ideologization of development” is now the norm. Thus most political leaderships employ the services of technocrats-turned soothsayers and policy marabouts whose recommendations rather complicate development initiatives. We shall base our investigations on some basic propositions emanating from social production of material values. **Hence we shall argue that the putative capacity of most states in Africa to perform its regulatory functions makes it possible for a few economic notables to appropriate the state apparatus and align with few technocrats in their conscious effort to circulate poverty as long term strategy of holding the entire system captive.** The paper shall make useful recommendations to break the cycle.

Key words: State, Poverty, and ideologization of development

Introduction

The African continent is littered with failed states. Most of these states are economic backwaters, social apologies and political ruins... the states, naturally implode upon the inglorious weight of their inherent contradictions. Colonialism designed and inspired the problems... these set of political actors were rogues personalities, weaned on selfishness... They did an inglorious job of mismanaging Africa, so much so that she is today the laughing stock of the world.

Ogbunwezeh, 2005:2

The failed ideologies of the last century have come to an end. But a new one has risen to take their place. It is the ideology of development and it promises a solution to all the world's ills. But like communism, fascism, and others before it, developmentalism is a dangerous and deadly failure... the ideology of development is not only about having experts design a comprehensive, technical plan to solve all the problems of the poor. These experts design see poverty as a purely technological problem, to be solved by engineering and the natural sciences, ignoring messy social sciences such as economics, politics, and sociology.

Easterly, 2007: 1-2.

Over the years, successive political leaderships in Africa have been engrossed with the onerous task of enhancing sustainable development. Several strands of development strategies have also been adopted and implemented... However these strategies failed to transmute the region out of the woods as incidence of poverty persists and in fact continues to deepen to seemingly intractable dimension.

Okolie, 2009: 67 – 8.

The citations stated above are germane, axiomatic and instructive. Most states in Africa lack the capacity to regulate social relations, initiate and sustain autonomous and autochthonous development conditions that can transmute the socio-formation out of the woods unto the trajectory of sustainable human development. Indeed, the persistence of low regulatory, extractive and administrative capacities of these states is caused by a combination and interplay of some basic factors; which include:

- Factors of colonialism and institutionalization of colonial extractive and distributive mentality;
- Institutionalization of peasant mentality within the civil society;
- Entrenchment of political alienation within the civil society;

- Circulation of pacifist political leaderships who exhibit high level of psychological derailment and melancholy arising largely from high residues of incompetence and poverty of ideas;
- Persistence of very low level of development of productive forces ;
- As a corollary of the above, low permeation of cultural secularization and social atomization;
- Prevalence of sharply dichotomized civil society of “we” and “they” and sustenance of weak institutions;
- Persistence of hybrid political culture which favours expansion of “extractive feudalism” and “oligarchic communal order”;
- Institutionalization of parasitic patrimonial order that is rooted in zero sum game; and
- Circulation of political leaderships with pre-colonial “village headmaster” and “village head” mentality who appropriate and personalize political offices and conflate popular/majoritarian leadership with one-man dictated rule.

The factors enunciated above combine to unleash state structure/apparatus that are highly dependent on the personal traits and dispositions of the political leaderships. Regrettably, the incompetence of some of these leaders is splashed and replicated on development summersaults; and inability to pursue internally-generated sustainable human development. Thus, “received” development models” are generally adopted as smokescreen and in utter disregard to local development potentials. As expected these have continued to yield meager returns as poverty, unemployment, penury and starvation have remained glorifying norms. However, the decaying and depreciating living conditions in the past three decades have erupted into unprecedented violence, civil disobedience, dissident groups, freedom fighters, child soldiering etc. These have continued to threaten the survival of most states in Africa and indeed increase the moral responsibility of addressing more pointedly, the perennial problem of poverty.

Indeed, one of the numerous responses of most leaders in Africa is to pursue sustainable development through the precept of contemporary globalization ideals articulated in the ideology of development. In this paper therefore we shall attempt to establish a synergy between the adoption of ideology of development by most states in Africa and recycling of poverty in the region. The paper is divided into six sections as follows: introduction, theoretical perspective, state and contradiction of development in Africa, incidence of poverty; ideologization of development and poverty reduction and conclusion/prognosis.

Theoretical Perspective

Several development scholars anchor their study of poverty and development in Africa on the failure of institutions, political leaderships and psychological dispositions of the citizenry. Rather than appreciating the level of the problem from the broad spectrum of the existing cultural secularization, and social atomization; level of development of productive forces vis-à-vis the pattern of development; distribution and exchange relations; internal development potentials, and circulation of incompetent political leaderships.

The above remark particularly informs the persistence of great debate between the modernization apologists and dependency analysis on the root causes of underdevelopment in Africa. Basically, we shall predicate our analysis on some basic extracts/propositions emanating from the social production of material values. Within the context of this we state as follows;

- Man's primary needs are food, shelter and clothing (even though these have become more elastic with the villagization of global landscape)
- The intensity of societal development is largely informed by the quality of manpower as implicated in the level of development of the productive forces.

- The existing social relations of production are largely influenced by the existing productive forces, level of development and permeation of cultural secularization and social atomization.
- As aptly stated by Ogban-Iyam (2005:19) “different social production and reproduction systems have different quality of labour power, tools of labour, objects of labour and social production relationships”.
- As a corollary to the preceding argument, development, as a continuum, reflects the existing quality of labour power, social relations of production and ingenuity of the political leadership.
- Thus as a central instrument of change and development, the political leaderships in Africa have been steering the course of societal development within their internal limitations, and level of competence.
- Contradictions of development in Nigeria arise essentially because of circulation of incompetent leaderships over the years whose low capacities for initiating development agenda combine with their unquenchable crave for power to unleash seemingly intractable corruption; thereby throwing-up “development – curse situation”.
- In addition, following the circulation of half-baked and incompetent political leadership who are tainted and steeped in “exogenous development tradition”, development planning and execution become externalized; as internal development potentials and conditions are overlooked in preference to “ready-made development pills” which end up addressing the symptoms rather than the root causes of underdevelopment and poverty.

Finally, in view of the fact that the political gladiators decide/choose what to produce, when, how, where, by who and for who, they generally appropriate virtually all that were produced; and adopt ruthless suppression of dissenting voices by fertilizing deliberate policies aimed at circulating poverty and festering peasantization of the civil society.

From the foregoing, the principles and intricacies of **ideologization of development** are neither understood by the leaders and the led (including domestic experts and technocrats) nor tailored towards the demands of the civil society. This partly explains why efforts at transmogrification of the economy have continued to yield countervailing results and why the number of need saddled citizens has continued to escalate

An Overview of African States

State is largely an unavoidable human contraption for managing interpersonal, group and societal relationships. Meanwhile, numerous synoptic conceptions of the state abound in social science literature. Lin (1939) defines the historic state as “a territorial human society which exercises, through a government, supreme coercive power over individuals and groups within it for the purpose of regulating and maintaining a general hierarchy of social values and institutions”. Other scholars who predicated their definitions of state from the materialist standpoint include; Ake, (1985:05, 1985b:9); Ibeanu, (1998: 7-9); Lenin, (1976:10) etc. Ake (1985:105, 1985b:9) for instance defines the state:

as a specific modality of class domination; a modality of domination in which class domination is autonomized. By autonomization is meant that the institutional mechanisms of class domination are constituted in a way that they enjoy independence from...society such that they appear, following Engels (1987), as an objective force standing alongside society.

Similarly, the online Etymology Dictionary noted that:

The word state and its cognates in other European languages (stato in Italian, etat in French, Staat in German) ultimately derived from the Latin status, meaning “condition” or “status”. With the revival of the Roman Law in the 14th century in Europe, this Latin term was used to refer to the legal standing of persons (such as the various “estates of the realm”-noble, common and clerical), and in particular the special status of the king. The word was also associated with Roman ideas (dating back to Cicero) about the “status rei publicae”, the “condition of the republic”. In time, Skinner, (1989) remarked that, the word lost its reference to particular social groups and became associated with the legal order of the entire society and apparatus of its enforcement.

[Dictionary.com.http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/state](http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/state)

In what appears a more cogent submission, Online Etymology Dictionary equally observed that the word originates from the medieval state or regional chair upon which the head of state (usually a monarch) would sit. It maintains that “by process of metonymy, the word state became used to refer to both the head of state and the power entity he represented. For empirical and juridical senses of the word, see Jackson, and Rosberg (1982); and Weber (1994).

Meanwhile, the relative validity of the preceding argument is further reinforced by consolidation of the philosophical definition of the state as espoused by classical and medieval political philosophers (See, Nnoli, 2003:25 -30). The above not only unfolds the functional roles of the state but places the state on the trajectory of societal hegemony. Meanwhile, our primary concern is not so much on the traditional organic and mechanic theories on the origin of the state but more on what the state in Africa mean, represent and manifest vis-à-vis development imperatives.

Therefore, in contradistinction with prevailing intellectual belief and conviction, the state had always existed in the so-called “primitive societies.” However, the character was insipient and fossilizing. Those “invincible hands” that brought social relations within the bounds of order was the state. Our central contribution here remains that the character of the state had always reflected the prevailing level of development of the production forces, social relations of production; refining potentials of the labour process; as well as the existing level of social atomization.

Meanwhile, following (Lin 1936) we can periodize evolution and development of the theories of the state thus:

The Taoist theory of the state;

The Cynic-Stoic theory of the state;
 The Liberal theory of the state;
 The Communist theory of the state; and
 The Anarchist theory of the state.

Presently studies on the African state comprise individual researches of the state based on certain themes and case studies, and studies on the comprehensive theory of the state (Kawabata, 2006:2). He further introduced trends in the comprehensive theory of the state as follows:

- a) the first period is from the early 1980s to the mid 1990s. As stated by Young (1982), theory of the African State could be classified into three path ways, that is Afro-Marxism, people's socialism and African capitalism;
- b) the second period in the evolution in the theory of African state appeared from the end of the 1990s' through to the beginning of the 2000s. Emphasis shifted to the role of African state. As crisply noted by Villalon (1998) the vulnerability of African states shows itself in five different faces namely; the client state, the personalized state, the centralized state, the prebendal state and the extractive. The periods hence marked a reassessment of African state as engine for social development.

No doubt, the enquiry was smacked by the continuous failure of the state to stimulate development and resolve the contradictions inherent in the development strategies employed by African leaders to enhance sustainable and home grown development. Indeed, after due consideration of the above we arrived at the following:

1. That scholars are consumed in absorbing functional roles of the state and unwittingly gloss over the actual meaning and perspective of states in Africa.
2. That scholars who attempted insightful analysis of the term ended up amplifying the interests which the state serves.
3. That a few other contributions in this regard were generalized blemish, emotive and mundane; and hence thrived on largely circular intellectual analysis with little hope of breaking the circle.

To avoid the above pitfalls and hence situate the state in Africa in its historical context and non-transient materialist foundation, we shall reconceptualize the state **as that living public**

power and custodian of the totality of instruments, structures, human and non-human elements as well as territorially designated cosmic order and ecological endowment of the given political unit . This manifest public power regulates human conducts; through governmental apparatus promotes and enforces shared societal values, norms and customary practices and more importantly enunciates and superintends over behavioural currents and transaction within the defined enclave. Indeed, the character and integrity of these regulatory functions are largely influenced by the level of development of the productive forces. This public power effectively has monopoly use over available coercive instruments and uses same to regenerate itself and bring societal intervention within the bounds of prescribed order.

Indeed, the basic problem of African states is not so much with its colonial history but with incongruence in development between the productive forces and social relations of production. Both remain essentially counteracting. While not diminishing or dismissing the saliency of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the explanation of underdevelopment and low development of the state, it is our contention that African leaders, who appear to enjoy and benefit from the present low development of the state, consistently reproduce development policies that further vitiate the autonomy of states in Africa. In fact, if factors of colonialism and neo-colonialism shaped the development of most states in Africa, we stand to reason that something must naturally influence state formation in all socio-formations. More instructive is the fact that the colonial thesis failed to explain why countries like Britain, United States of America, Italy, and most of the Asian Tigers etc, who were colonized at one point or the other, are today leaders of the industrialized capitalist states. Recall that during the empire years much of these advanced capitalist states were conquered, annexed and fused with other empires and yet

they subsequently overcame the obstacles to advance the course of development in their respective states. What then is particularly peculiar to the African situation? Thus, holding tenaciously to this colonial excuse and doing virtually nothing to improve and transform the production base under the guise of colonial affliction is in itself criminal defeatist and amounts to barefoot “scape goatism”. As we shall demonstrate subsequently, the problem of underdevelopment and seemingly inability of states in Africa to overcome the web of contradictions weaved around sustainable development are located more within the psychic motor and mental apparatus of Africa leaders and less on colonial and neo-colonial machinations.

Following the collapse of the communist bloc, most societies today have structured their political organization in line with the ideals of the liberal state. Indeed, the history of modern state is a history of contradictions of industrial capitalism. The organic composition of capital in advanced capitalist economies led to a new thinking towards “going out”, sourcing for new markets beyond their respective frontiers. In fact, the extensive growth of capital and the expansion of industrial production coincided with the internationalization regime. This precipitated the choice of colonialism and elevated “might is right” to a level of global norm. As correctly noted by Ibeanu (1998:8) “the vast majority of colonized people at this stage of expansion of capital, whether in the urban or rural areas, continued to exist as agents of pristine social forces and solidarities”.

This is particularly the case in Africa for the following reasons:

- ◆ The factors of colonialism undermined the existing patterns of development, social atomization and cultural secularization; and as well embedded destabilizing values that make societal coalescence difficult.

- ◆ External factors deliberately dislocated indigenous development initiatives, and replaced same with distorted pseudo-Western development contraption which is in total contradistinction with local conditions.
- ◆ No effort was made to harmonize and integrate prevailing development culture and political organization with received model, rather the invading model through conquest sought to uproot the traditional pattern of social organization.
- ◆ Also the spirit of consumerism and the culture of distribution were institutionalized while productive instincts were decimated through a deliberate policy of truncating development of national and regional integration.
- ◆ Moreover, external vestiges have equally laid the foundation for recycling of visionless, unpatriotic and renegade political leaderships in Africa who collude with agents of imperialism to loot public treasury.
- ◆ In addition, most Africans have been steeped in Western tradition. Thus while being thoroughly Africans in blood and colour, they indeed think and behave like Westerners. Hence they constantly thrive on wholesale repudiation of their state of being, and therefore wallow in abject poverty in the midst of plenty.

The above perhaps explains why most state in Africa find it difficult to initiate and stimulate sustainable human development. The state, through the pliable leaderships in Africa, see as relevant, only received development models that abstracted from internal conditions. These models rather than mitigate, deepen the incidence of poverty and underdevelopment.

Incidence of Poverty in Africa

Technically speaking, poverty refers to **a condition and situation of want; lack of capacity to satisfy man's innate needs for food, clothing, shelter, mobility and primary societal expectations**. Poverty demeans man's potentials for creativity and enterprise and dislocates man's psychic motor and mental apparatus toward absorbing search for the "**needs of the stomach**".

Basically, two models of poverty exist in the literature, they include, absolute and relative poverty. The former concerns economic deprivation in terms of an objective, fixed standard. As stated by Offiong (2001:96) "this implies a level of income that imposes real

physical suffering on people in hunger, disease and the massacre of innocent children”. Moreover, absolute poverty refers to the inability of people to maintain psychical survival on a long-term basis. By relative poverty, we mean the suffering that stems from inequality; it is thus the situation of being economically deprived compared to some other particular groups (Bryjak and Soroka, 1992:185).

Indeed, poverty can be measured in various ways. Ogboi (2003:19) identified four criteria viz:

- (a) Economic criteria measured in terms of income, expenditure and welfare;
- (b) Sociological criteria measured in terms of ethnicity, minority group, religion and social status;
- (c) Characteristics of household head measured in terms of occupation or employment status; or in terms of the sex of the household head;
- (d) Locational criteria divide an area or region to capture the spatial pattern of inequality and poverty and the effect of public anti-poverty policies.

The above-stated measures largely conceive poverty as a synonym of comparatively low standard of living. Meanwhile, there exists a double standard in the “scientific” measurement of poverty. For instance, the World Bank’s one dollar a day criterion applies only to developing States; and in fact both the Bank and the UNDP fail to acknowledge the existence of poverty in Western Europe and North America. In fact, they base their measurement of poverty in the West on minimum levels of household spending required to meet essential expenditure on food, clothing, shelter, health and education (See, Chossudovsky, 2002:7 for details). Again, the use of \$1 a day had long come under criticism for being arbitrary and using poor quality and limited data, thereby risking an underestimate

of poverty. The \$1.25 a day level is also accompanied with some additional explanations and reasoning, including that it is a common level found amongst the poorest countries and that \$2.50 represents a typical poverty level amongst many more developing countries (Shah, 2009). **However the problem associated with basing a measure of poverty in monetary terms in developing economies is that there are other numerous means of generating income, which are informal in nature, and most of the times are not captured in the computation of monetary income.**

Nevertheless, available **global** indices validly demonstrate that Africa is not only the poorest region in the world, but it is also the only major developing region with negative growth in income per capital during 1980-2000 (Sachs, et al 2004:117). Indeed, tables 1 and 2 below are very instructive.

Table 1 :Regional breakdown of number of people living on les than \$1 and \$2 per day, 1990, 1999 and 2015.

Region	1990	1991	2015	1990	1999	2015
East Asia and the Pacific	452	260	59	1,084	849	284
(excluding China)	92	46	6	285	236	93
Europe and Central Asia	7	17	4	44	91	42
Latin America and the Caribbean	74	77	60	167	168	146
Middle East and North Africa	6	7	6	59	87	65
South Asia	495	490	279	976	1,098	1,098
Sub-Saharan Africa	242	300	345	388	484	597
Total	1,276	1,151	753	2,718	2,777	2,230
(excluding China)	916	936	700	1,919	2,164	2,040

. Culled from Okolie, 2009:75

The number of people living below 1.25 and 2 dollars per day in selected African States are hereby reflected in table 2 below.

Table 2: Population living under 1.25 and 2 dollar (PPP) a day (2) for selected African states

Country	\$1.25<	\$2<
Angola	54.3	70.2
Benin	47.3	75.3
Botswana	31.2	49.4
Burundi	81.3	93.4
Cameroon	32.8	57.7
Central African Republic	62.4	81.9
Chad	61.9	83.3
CDR	59.2	79.5
Egypt	<2	18.4
Ethiopia	39	77.5
Gabon	4.8	19.6
Ghana	30	53.6
Guinea	70.1	87.2
Kenya	19.7	39.9
Liberia	83.7	94.8
Malawi	73.9	90.4
Morocco	2.5	14
Mozambique	74.7	90
Niger	65.9	85.6
Nigeria	64.4	83.9

Source: Culled from Okolie, 2009:75

Worse still, while no African State was ranked among the very high human development in the Human Development Index Trends, 1980-2010, 35 out of 42 Countries ranked among low human development are from Africa (*Human Development Index, 2010*:).The situation is even

more precarious in Sub-Saharan Africa where the World Bank (2000) remarks that by 2015, the number of people to be living under \$1 per day will escalate to 753 million while more than 2 billion people will be living below \$2 per day by 2015. Madavo (2005:1-2) captured poverty situation in Africa thus:

While Africa is home to only 10% of the World Population, roughly 30% of the world's poor are Africans. Since the mid-1980s the number of poor in Africa has doubled to some 300 million and is expected to climb as high as 400 million by 2015. Thus Africa is the only region of the World where poverty is increasing in stark contrast to the dramatic gains in the fight against poverty that are seen elsewhere, most notably in Asia.

In addition Madavo(2005:.2) noted that:

Africa, is the only region of the World where poverty is increasing in stark contrast to the dramatic gains in the fight against poverty that are seen elsewhere, most notably in Asia ... at a time when globalization is integrating the World economy and contributing to growth in many least developed countries, Africans are being marginalized. The continent's share of world trade has declined from 3.5% in the 1970s to 1.5% today.

The situation is even more critical in sub-Saharan African States where poverty has reached an intolerable level.

Ideologization of Development and challenges of Poverty Reduction

Development refers to man-instigated socio- economic and political transformation of self and entire structure/institutions of a given political system to a comparatively low and/or present level to a more qualitative and/ or remarkably - improved form. These transformations have at its wake, improvements of the living conditions and the material standing of the citizenry. It pointedly improves man's potentials and capabilities and subsequently eliminates

and/or reduces poverty, penury, inequality, unemployment and generally enhances the condition for human existence and self-reproduction. In sum, development is innately associated with total transmogrification of man and entire social structure from the present form to remarkably improved status (Okolie, 2009:7).

According to Easterly (2007:1) ideologization of development “is not only about having experts design your free market for you, it is about having the experts see poverty as a purely technological problem, to be solved by engineering and the natural sciences, ignoring the messy social sciences such as economics, politics, and sociology”. Sachs for example argues that African problems are solvable with practical and proven technologies. He thus advocated for hundreds of expert interventions, through the Specialized United Nation’s Agencies ,to solve every problem of the poor-from green manure, breast-feeding education, and bicycles to solar energy systems, school uniforms for aids orphans and windmills. However, by ideologizing development, the proponents present yet another uniform and “universally-valid” strategy to development. Of course this cannot be; given differential material and non material endowments of socio-formations. Indeed development *per se* is not, and cannot be an ideology. In fact the pattern and intensity of development strategy adopted by most of the developing States at a given historical epoch is largely designed to consolidate the dominant global mode of production.

Meanwhile the whole idea of experimenting with ideology of development in Africa followed the growing need to address the perennial problems associated with underdevelopment. In fact the deepening incidence of **want**, and the quest to stimulate sustainable development prompted successive leaderships to wallow from one development fad to another. Over the years, successive political leaderships in Africa have been engrossed with the onerous task of

enhancing sustainable development. Several strands of development strategies have also been adopted and implemented. These include: Revised Framework of Principles for the Implementation of the New International Economic Order in Africa (1975-77); The Monrovia Strategy(1979);Lagos Plan of Action(1980);Structural Adjustment Programme(1985-88); African Alternative Framework to the Structural Adjustment Programme for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation (AAF-SAP)(1989); African Charter for Popular Participation(1990); Conference on Security, Development and Cooperation in Africa(CSSDCA); Global Coalition to Attract Financial and Economic Assistance to Africa; The Everything For All By The Year 2000 Initiative; The 2020 Initiative; Copenhagen Social Summit Framework; The Highly Indebted Poor Countries Framework; The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers; African Economic Community/African Union; The Lome Agreement and presently the New Partnership for African Development launched in 2001(Okolie,2005:291).

However, these strategies failed to transmute the region out of the woods as incidence of poverty persists and in fact continues to deepen to seemingly intractable dimension. Indeed, elements of “ideology of development” were contained in the structural adjustment programme foisted on Africa in the mid-80s. Following the collapse of the Socialist bloc, virtually all development pills administered to African States have the trappings of expert-designed development model. Thus the role of experts, technocrats and economic development soothsayers became pronounced. However several years of romanticizing with this model appears to have aggravated the incidence of poverty because of a number of reasons, including:

(1) Following the ideologization of development in Africa, successive African leadership confuse development with dominant global mode of production; and unwittingly pursues consolidation of received mode of production in place of development of their respective economies .

(2) Most development strategies adopted by successive administrations in Africa are tainted in ideological confusion. Each subsisting mode of production recommend and foist ideologically-laden development strategy which, at best, help to consolidate a lop-sided mode of production, and slant the entrenchment of competitive social relations of production.

(3) The ideologically-tainted development strategies discountenance the specificity of local development conditions as well as ecological factors that would have supported the existing local development potentials. Thus development strategies hang in symphony outside the material foundation of the recipient economy.

(4) As empirically demonstrated in a previous study I conducted on the United Nations Development Programme, in 2001, the so-called technocrats, experts generally have shallow idea about development potentials/endowments of constituent communities and hence end up administering “wrong pills” to the “dying patients”.

(5) Most of these technocrats are arm-chair theorists who are versed in top-bottom approach to economic development.

(6) In addition, most of the experts and technocrats are so harassed by poverty that they degenerate to “political praise-singers” who tell the leaders only what they wished to hear.

(7) More fundamental is that the prescriptions of the ideology of development cannot really work in Africa. Solution to African development crises lie in evolving community-based holdings. These must be based on bottom-top agenda aimed at re-instituting agro-allied (small and medium scales, arts and crafts) ventures; supported by finances from the political institution.

(8) As a corollary of the above, Africa must be allowed to pursue independent and autochthonous economic development strategies that focus on satisfying the domestic needs of the populace before considering the expectations of the global political economy.

Meanwhile the fundamental defects of the ideology of development have continued to orchestrate poverty. Table 3 below shows that the level of improvement in Human Development Index from 1980-2010 has not appreciated remarkably in selected African States.

Human Development Index Trends, 1980-2010

HDI rank	1980	1990	1995	2000	2005	2009	2010
South Africa	-	0.601	0.634	-	0.587	0.594	0.597
Equatorial Guinea	-	-	-	0.477	0.510	0.536	0.538
Cape Verde	-	-	-	0.500	0.519	0.531	0.534
Kenya	0.404	0.437	0.435	0.424	0.443	0.464	0.470
Cameroon	0.354	0.418	0.408	0.415	0.437	0.456	0.460
Mauritania	-	0.337	0.368	0.390	0.411	0.429	0.433
Togo	0.347	0.361	0.374	0.399	0.414	0.425	0.428
Lesotho	0.397	0.451	0.452	0.423	0.404	0.423	0.427
Nigeria	-	-	-	-	0.402	0.419	0.423
Uganda	-	0.281	0.312	0.350	0.380	0.416	0.422
Chad	-	-	-	0.269	0.299	0.293	0.295
Mozambique	0.195	0.178	0.186	0.224	0.263	0.280	0.284

Source: UNDP, 2010:150

In addition, Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest incidence of multidimensional poverty. The level ranges from a low of 3 percent in South Africa to a massive 93 percent in Niger; the average share of deprivation ranges from about 45 percent (in Gabon, Lesotho and Swaziland) to 69 percent (in Niger) (UNDP,2010:8). This calls for a thorough re-examination of development strategies adopted in Africa for the purpose of addressing the problem of poverty.

Conclusion/Prognosis

The paper explored the synergy between the nature/character of State in Africa and the development strategies adopted by the political leaderships. We observed that poverty is endemic

and that measures adopted so far to redress the sorry situation have yielded meager returns. The paper examined the ideology of development prescriptions vis-a-viz the inherent challenges of reducing poverty in most states in Africa. The paper noted *inter-alia* that the hydra-headed problem of poverty appears to defy viable solution because technocrats/experts who ostensibly design and implement development strategies are far removed from domestic object reality. Thus the development pills as contained in the ideology of development offer very little, but rather complicates the process of sustainable development.

Thus, with the low productive forces, state apparatuses in Africa remain regrettably at its infancy. Indeed the means of production has remained comparatively low and undeveloped vis-à-vis the labour power itself, thereby reproducing negative and contradictory social development order that thrives on random experimentation of received development strategies. The result is always tragic.

Finally, the unfortunate situation in Africa leaves the state at the mercy of the economic and political notables who, in pursuit of conflicting development strategies with the states, persistently plunge the populace into chaotic and stifling development models which remarkably abstract from autochthonous development conditions. They neither understand the meaning, and epicenter nor the essence of development. For them the state has either failed collapsed, lacked autonomy or manifest prebendalism and patrimonialism. These are all but criminally thought out and deceptive parlance applied by the political leaderships to confuse the helpless and hapless citizens and to push their minds away from real and objective situation.

Based on the above analysis, the paper states as follows:

- That while appreciating the fundamental role played by factors of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in the emergence of most states in African, that relying

entirely on this excuse for the inability of African states to advance sustainable development is not only unacceptable, empirically indefensible but criminally deceptive.

- That several African states would in the 1960s be excused on the above-stated reasons but the colonial foundation ought to have been uprooted by now if the successive political leaderships had sought solutions to African development problems within the psychological, philosophical and genealogical root of the African man. Indeed, within the psychic motor and mental apparatus of the African man lie the basic development contradictions. Specifically, where can we trace the root of the African man? Why are we innately not positively attuned to extending the frontiers of our immediate environment? Is it in the nature (psychological predisposition) of African man to thrive on endless and rapacious appropriation? If the problem is largely located within colonial class proclivities and imperialism, why is it that when we loot the treasury we do not handover same to our colonial mentor, but keep such loot in our private accounts? Are we then a criminally-minded race acting out our materialist existence or victims of cursed generation?

- The preceding argument further illuminated why the state in Africa finds it difficult, if not impossible to improve the level of development of the productive forces, which equally includes the labour force. Human capital development is very low because the relevance of this to societal development was diminished and de-emphasized. Besides, the despicable condition of the state made it secondary issue as the wave and intellectual current which guide the prevailing global capitalist order swept human capital development under the carpet and consequently promotes deceptive development checklists as contained in the ideology of development.

The solution out of the precarious situation lies in respecting the freedom of Africans in designing and implementing their development strategies based on instituting community holdings as well as effective participation of various communities in the development enterprise.

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