

Leadership and Governance Imperatives in a Developmental State

The debate for a public policy dialogue

J O Kuye

School of Public Management and Administration
University of Pretoria
South Africa

ABSTRACT

The importance of this debate sets out to explore and examine current arguments for and against the developmental state in Africa and globally. A fundamental case for the developmental state is the pursuit of an interventionist agenda and in some cases, orchestrated economic policies as against absolute neo-liberalist and even protectionist policies. However, in a highly globalised and utilitarian world, the gains of the developmental state examples of the Asian Tigers are considered as difficult to replicate in other developing regions like Africa by public governance scholars and global economic policy watchers. Thus, the development arena is pervaded with Western prescribed conditions for aid such as a free market economy and democracy. The developmental state is not a new idea in post colonial African governance set ups. The pro-poor stance of local economic development policies, government infrastructural expansion programmes, social welfare grant policies, as well as employment and business equity policies show a level of government intervention in the redistribution of wealth and social justice. Whether these policies have translated into measurable strides in terms of development indicators is yet to be seen. Nevertheless, this article will explore the character of the developmental state as extracted from some recent successes and try to isolate core issues that can be factored into an African policy agenda and development environment.

INTRODUCTION

This article sets out to explore the implications of the utilisation of Public Administration principles in the deployment and targeting of public policy issues and the infusion of governance and economic principles in the construction of a developmental state.



Public administrators are tasked with the job of elaborating and detailing of broad policy frameworks as put forward by political office bearers. This entails the entire policy process, from formulation of policies, to the implementation (where these detailed policies have been adopted by political office bearers) and the review of policies. Thus, the importance of policy making in the whole spectrum of Public Administration is not subject to debate. The United Nations Millennium Development Goals report of 2005 shows that African countries in recent years, rather than add growth or remain stunted, have regressed in terms of development and its tangible indicators such as life expectancy, poverty and hunger (UN 2005:6-9). While natural factors such as drought or famine and diseases like HIV/AIDS may have played a role in these grim figures, issues such as governance and leadership should not only be factored into the equation but given pride of place. With the above in mind, the article will thus deal with development and policy analysis. It will discuss policy and policy analysis and how this impacts on development.

The discussion will also pursue the issue of development and what it means to run a developmental state. In doing so, the article will discuss policy issues that are tied to development. Additionally, a line of thought, which pits political and/or leadership commitment and development against prescribed rules by international development agents as a route to visible and sustainable development for all, will be followed. In this case, pertinent questions that arise will be what is good governance and development?

Are these concepts to be equated only with the definitions by the international donor agencies, such as democratic leadership? If so, what can be said about the extensive examples from some of the development feats of the Asian tigers? What are the characteristics of the governance examples in these countries, which have defied the prescription of the Western controlled development institutions? How have the Asian tigers fared going forward against the might of established world hegemonies and their regimes? These are important questions for development especially in Africa where governments are continuously grappling with the challenges of poverty, poor health, economic and social infrastructure, illiteracy and poor capacity amongst others. Before addressing these questions, it will be important to first address the place of public policy within the development discourse.

In reviewing the dialogue and debate which galvanises the concept of developmental states, Fritz and Menocal (2006:2) argued that “the role of the state in development has undergone several permutations over the past 50 years. They further elaborated on the fact that “state-led development is encouraged and supported by the international community” (2006:2).

DEVELOPMENT AND GOVERNANCE AS TRANSFORMATIONAL POLICY

There are basically two conceptualisations in literature of development as is manifested through the development agencies and development planning or policies. According to Ferguson (1990:9-10), one school of thought championed by authors like Gunnar Myrdal, views the development machinery as an implement accessible to a planner but needing good advice on how to utilise it. Within this arrangement, the locale of policy analysis is vital. This view of development planning and development agencies construes the development

system as a collective effort to fight poverty, improve livelihoods and other forms of progress. In contrast to this view, neo-Marxists see this current arrangement of development planning and the agencies themselves as a contradiction of development. This neo-Marxist ideology is based on the theory that capitalism is a reactionary force and thus an obstacle to development and also a cause of poverty (Ferguson 1990:10). Authors Lappe, F. M. and Collins, J. (cited in Ferguson 1990:11) argue along the same neo-Marxist lines, constructing conjectures that define poverty is a symptom of powerlessness. The authors also stipulate that international aid projects are by nature weak in making the radical changes in political and economic structures that could alone empower the poor. As such, aid projects cannot be expected to help eradicate poverty as they only perpetuate the system which in the first place causes poverty.

These arguments are cited as they are important in constructing a balanced discourse. The debate on how much these development interventions actually change the lives of people on the ground is vital. For instance, arguments in the eighties by Heyer, Roberts and Williams (1981:10), indicate that there is little empirical evidence to support assumptions that the activities of rural development programmes, lead to the improvement of the lives of the rural poor. To begin with, development is inescapably political (Leftwich 1990:365). This insinuates that the aim of policy will be to ensure that scarce resources are effectively distributed across a wide spectrum of needs. In theory, decisions on the allocation of resources efficiently and economically imply that often, programmes have to be aligned to the needs of the poor. Even so, this is hardly the case in practice, as lack of consultation with the poor, poor advocacy and conflict of political and economic interests prevail. This show-ground of conflicting political and economic interests against those of the rural and urban poor is captured in Heyer, Roberts and Williams (1981:12) definition of rural development as a complex set of institutions and initiatives encompassing “multiple and often contradictory interests”.

The above discussion has focused on two sets of ideas on development. The first view sees development as a measure of the quality of life dealing with issues such as reduction of poverty and improved standard of living. The second portrays development as a process of transformation towards a capitalist economy and the development of the drivers of production. From recent trends in development, show the model of Western driven international aid and development as leaning towards the transformation of the state to a capitalist economy. This model is defined in the use of aid to promote open market friendly economies, support for democracy, human rights and good governance. Incidentally, these prescriptions have not changed since 1989 when the World Bank report on Africa stressed that the underlying problem of Africa’s core challenges “is a crisis of governance” (World Bank 1989:60). Evidence of this model of aid is seen in the NEPAD “Declaration on democracy, political and economic and corporate governance” (NEPAD 2002:3). Here, the basic premise is the canvassing for increased aid, investment and debt relief from developed countries as reward for democracy, good governance and peace in Africa. It is expected that conditions for support from the developed world, will also require African states adopting neo-liberalist economic policies in addition to issues of good governance. Conversely, a study of some successful developing countries presents a different scenario where developing countries like some of the East Asian countries have successfully applied other principles in development. This article argues that prescriptions of neo-liberalism cannot be cut and pasted into development planning without considering unique national

and regional character. It is therefore seems logical to explore the possibilities of countries progressing outside neo-liberal prescripts.

UNDER DEVELOPMENTAL STATE: A PANACEA FOR DISCUSSION

The idea of the developmental state can be traced back to Friedrich List in 1885 when he contended that the less advanced nations first required artificial means to catch up with the advanced nations (cited in Leftwich 1990:373). This artificial means, Leftwich argues, sees the state as an agent of development, taking up the mandate to accomplish economic development (Leftwich 1990:373). Therefore, applying an economic model of a free market economy in developing countries, will undoubtedly fail to achieve its purpose especially where the apparatus for such a model such as infrastructure and institutional capacity are lacking. Locking into this viewpoint, Kurtz (2001:2) argues that in prescribing trade liberalisation, the pervasive failure in infrastructure, credit, input and insurance markets in poorer countries should be considered.

In 20th century Italy, the state manifested a developmental dictatorship. This was in contrast to Weber's theorising of the state as a minimal actor, within a detached bureaucracy that sets the framework for economic actors. The concept of the developmental state in recent history began to emerge when political scientists took up the study of the characteristics of successful developing countries. Before this, post war economists and development administrators and theorists advocated for an unregulated market place allowing for market forces to determine economic growth. These neo utilitarian (Edigheji 1999:106) and neo liberal (Kotz 2003:15) theorists commonly prescribe the minimal supervisory role of the state in the economy. In contrast to this, the developmental state model is premised on two assumptions (Clark and Jung 2002:18). *Firstly* that most developing countries are at such a disadvantage in the world economy that a reliance on market forces to produce significant growth will be a tall order. *Secondly*, that some of these developing states, possess the powers to overcome these challenges facing late developers. Empirical evidence shows that effective developmental states have accounted for the most success rates of economic development in the third world. Incidentally contrary to the Western or first world's conditions, some of these states may or may not be democratic. This is in direct contrast to the antidote for underdevelopment as prescribed by international development agencies like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, whose regimes are set by the hegemonic West. This antidote consists of potent cures such as democracy, good governance, market free economy and an efficient and accountable public bureaucracy. These policies advocate little state intervention in the process of economic development. The logical theory being that poor or low development and structural adjustment can be seen as a consequence of authoritarian leadership where economic and political power is in the hands of the State (Lal 1983:103-9). As a result, good governance and democracy have become a condition for development assistance.

In the period between the early eighties and late nineties, developing countries like the East Asian tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore South Korea and Taiwan), Southeast Asian tigers

like Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia, and other countries such as China and Botswana, have achieved remarkable development record. Nevertheless, these countries differ in terms of governance. For instance, countries like Indonesia, China and Thailand do not have recognisable democratic governments and in some cases have been found wanting in the preservation of human rights. Despite this, it is from these states that most of the studies on the developmental state have emerged. Leftwich (1990:378-380) provides a model of the developmental state which differs to some extent from the prescription of good governance. Three characteristics of the developmental state that are significant in this case are as follows:

Autocratic leadership: These countries manifest more than 30 years of authoritarian rule (in non democratic states) and one party state (in democratic states). Leftwich (1990:378) argues that this has resulted in political stability and continuity.

Bureaucratic elite: There is a core of developmental elites running the bureaucracy or the public service and committed to the goals of development. One strong point of these elite is their abhorrence of corruption or acts that will compromise development goals. There is also a thriving relationship between senior bureaucracy and political leaders (Liddle: 1992:448). Clark and Jung (2002:19) describe this state of affairs as “the absence of debilitating political infighting.” Moon and Prasad (1994:362-363) describe the East Asian developmental states as having bureaucratic agencies that are highly structured and competently staffed. These countries have bureaucratic elites who are committed to national ideological objectives which in some cases may be fuelled by security pressure and threats and competition especially in the case of the Asian tigers.

Weak civil participation: State autonomy is enshrined in these states (Yun 1999; Clark and Jung, 2002:19). This means that civil society (whose strength is seen by the advocates of good governance as a formula for good governance), is weakened and in most cases controlled and financed by the state. Thus, state autonomy implies that the state can act independently of pressure from civil society groups (Clark and Jung 2002:19). Some authors (Gold 1990:18-25; Molutsi and Holm, 1990:327) identified China and Botswana respectively as examples of both democratic and non-democratic states in which this is the case. The result of this state of affairs is a situation where most of the power is vested in the state. Additionally, Leftwich (1990: 380) argues that this weakness of civil society coupled with the early autonomy of these states at the beginning of development as it is observed today, has resulted in a more powerful state diluting private economic interests whether internal or external.

Based on these characteristics, the developmental state is expressed as a development conscious state in which economic development is enhanced through political commitment and a competent bureaucracy driven by state political and economic structures. Some of the functions of the developmental state are in form of micro and macro policies that create an enabling environment for businesses. In this case, some neo-liberal requirements for development and economic growth such as political stability, creating effective mechanisms to fight corruption and financing expensive infrastructure are dependent on the state (Clark and Jung, 2002:20). Another function of the state in the developmental state is the control over finance. This means that the state has control over investment decisions, assess to foreign exchange and control over bank credit and foreign loans (Haggard and Chenf 1987 cited in (Edigheji 1999:108). States can also use the financial tools available to enforce performance standards on industry and firms and put pressure on multinational corporations to contribute to projects geared towards national development.



Nonetheless, some concerns arise in the developmental state model. Evidence still shows that majority of states that exhibit some of these characteristics (such as state autonomy and control) are not developing especially in African states. This state of affairs implies that the state may be pursuing its own agenda irrespective of the views of majority of the citizenry. In state dictatorships where the states is not committed to development and rather is prone to individual motivations and self interest, the consequences of this such as corruption, is a potent catalyst for poverty and stunted development.

ENVIRONMENT OF PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS AND DEVELOPMENTAL PRESCRIPTS

Within this environment of development and the developmental state, the process of policy and the analysis of policy are required to thrive. For instance, countries like Japan and Taiwan in moving from a developmental state to a more facilitative state, may propose far reaching policy measures to slowly adjust to the new development paradigm shift. Policy analysis is also evidenced in the interactions between and within, the state, business, civil society and the international community. It has been established that one of the core components of a developmental state is the competence and commitment of the public bureaucracy (Moon and Prasad 1994; Liddle 1992). The bureaucracy thus becomes the principle locale of the policy process. However, one of the knocks on the developmental state is the tendency to compete over policy in terms of multiple policy targets from each of its actors. This environment provides an interesting locus for policy studies. In exploring the developmental state, its character and its activities, one can make bold to suggest that its unique characteristics are a determinant of the kind of policy to be pursued and its activities are the result of the policy choices made.

The international environment of development exists on policy guidelines that are meant to drive and sustain development in the developing world. In addition to this, the role of and the interaction between stakeholders such as business and civil society, the state and the international community are governed by certain policy and institutional arrangements. It will then be important to look at policy direction in the developmental state and in the international development community. It is also vital to explore how some of these policies may change or remain the same over time.

Policy is influenced by internal and external factors. A government policy direction may depend on factors such as war, the environment and public opinion and thus invariably affect development. The African continent has come under the spot light in recent years in terms of its seemingly slow growth especially when compared to other developing economies such as Asian countries like India and South American countries like Brazil. The African Development Bank (ADB 2001), still identifies governance issues (such as corruption, civil conflicts, political instability, respect for human rights and dignity) and fiscal issues such as debt and debt servicing as core factors that will determine the pace and level of development in Africa. The prescriptions also advocate that the state pursue policies that encourage economic principles such as trade liberalisation, having the state as a facilitator rather than interventionist in the economy, thus meeting the challenge of globalisation.

A systematic study of Japanese development from the Meiji era (1868 to 1911) to the end of the Second World War shows big strides in development. It is significant that these strides reveal specific state intervention in development, propelled through policies that governed state development. For instance early in the Meiji era, state policies abolished a decentralised political system to give way to an integrated entity; encouraged modernisation of monetary and fiscal systems and necessitated the adoption of modern Western technology. These were some of the early state interventions that gave way to setting Japan's economy on the path of long-term growth (Kunio 1986:1). In terms of monetary and fiscal policy, Kunio (1986:3-4) states that in 1881, Japan's minister of Finance Matsukata Masayoshi in order to solve the problem of excessive government expenditure and discounted article notes, pursued interventionist policies. These included reducing government expenditure, creating new taxes and redeeming article notes with the surpluses generated. Long after the Meiji era, in war times arguably between the Pacific war (1937) and the Second World War (1945) policy was directed towards those heavy industries that supported the war effort (Kunio 1986:18). There were more interventionist policies to control imports and exports and encourage mergers of big industries. From the early example of the Japanese, it can be deduced that even before the post war prescription of neo-liberalism; there was proof of government directly driving development through interventionist policies. Thus, there may be a need to consider that there a one size fits all approach to development does not exist.

With this in mind, a guiding principle of policy analysis should be in engaging unique situational circumstances while keeping abreast with changes in international trends. Consequently, policy analysis should be seen as an important component of development especially within the developmental state. Whether the neo liberal suppositions for economic development such as free market economy can be applied successfully in South Africa's economic development drive in the long term is subject to debate. However, there is no doubt that in South Africa as in many African countries; there is a deficiency of basic social rights such as basic primary education, reasonably good health, basic housing and good environmental governance.

In considering this, it must be stated that while many states in the developed world have moved from the principle of state welfarism by reducing state spending, making cut backs in social programmes and eliminating government regulation of corporate behaviour; for most African states, the policy of state welfarism may still be relevant. This argument is motivated by the reality of African poverty. This makes the championing of neo-liberal economic restructuring as a panacea for Africa's problems debatable. For instance, Cheru and Gill (1997:141) argue that the concept and global pursuit of neo-liberalism is myopic since the very dimensions of change needed for this global economic machinery, such as social and ecological dimensions of living are very poorly represented in third world countries and Africa in particular. It is based on this that this article proposes that as a developmental state, South Africa along with pursuing economic restructuring policies that are prescribed by neo-liberalism, should continue to pursue interventionist approaches in the area of the economy, most especially in government spending where it concerns social development and poverty alleviation. Based on the above argument of policy for a developmental state, the article is postulating the following:



Economic restructuring: Conventional views suggest that states would pursue neo-liberal policies in order to remain competitively relevant in a globalising world (Rudra 2002:411). These policies dictate economic liberalisation, reduction of trade barriers, privatisation, and elimination of government subsidies and deregulation (Tuman 2000:174). It is acknowledged that globalisation and its come in or stay out (Kroukamp 2000:261) neo-liberal trends has made it difficult for many African countries to ignore the structural adjustments that have enveloped the developing world. Hence, as globalisation seems to dictate the character and form of what should be done or not done at national levels, this principle of global economic restructuring championed by the International Monetary Bank (IMF) and the World Bank may prove difficult to escape in South Africa.

Acknowledging Local Context: Looking at the definitions of the developmental state and its origins, it is important to consider that there are no quick fixes to development in terms of the conditions given for economic growth. Thus, dictates on economic policies in South Africa for instance, have to be approached based on its unique social, cultural and historical exigencies. For instance development efforts in South Africa must address the 'legacy of institutionalised migrant labour and changing demands for it' and the 'historical underdevelopment of apartheid' (Simon: 2000). For instance, one important requirement for investment is a working infrastructural system from roads to electricity and information and communication technology. In terms of these requirements, South Africa's effort in development is fragmented. More success is recorded in historically richer economic nodes which can afford to provide the supporting environment to make Local Economic Development (LED) work, such as infrastructure and training (DPLG 2002:24). Socially, most South Africans are poor and do not have access to the basic requirements of health, education and housing. Historically, the economic antecedents from colonialism and apartheid have left many African states, including South Africa with huge debts. The debt burden in it self leaves development in Africa in a quagmire of sorts as the holes of poverty these debts have left make meaningful development strides almost worthless.

A compromised approach: Considering the first two concerns, it is proposed that South Africa pursues these new economic development prescriptions with caution, bearing in mind that with the extent of indebtedness and huge gaps between the rich and the poor, there needs to be greater intensive state driven economic and social policy direction. However, it should be pointed out at this stage that adopting the character of a developmental state should not take away from some of the prescripts of good governance, which include good human rights records and an effective civil society.

GLOBALISATION AND THE DEVELOPMENTAL STATE

According to Clark and Jung (2002:22) neo-liberalists argue that it is too simplistic to assume that market conforming economic behaviour can be dictated by the state alone. The authors point out that individuals and groups to some extent react independently to market forces and policy incentives they are exposed to. This is in contrast to the assumption that market dictates or state policies are the sole determinants of group or individual dynamism. In recent years also, the globalisation of the world economy and the internationalisation of hegemonic political regimes has in some cases changed the face of the developmental state. For example,

Table 1: The developmental state, good governance and good enough governance agendas

	Developmental state (Evans and others)	Good governance (World Bank and others)	Good enough governance (Grindle)
Core aspect	Emphasis on state capacity and 'embedded autonomy'.	Emphasis on transparency and accountability.	Emphasis on minimal conditions of governance necessary to allow political and economic development.
Political regime	No normative commitments to any particular type of political regime, though many examples of successful' developmental states are authoritarian.	Normative commitment to democracy. Strengthening democratic rule is a key concern.	Normative commitment to any particular political regime. Elements of different regimes may work for different reasons; those aspects that work should be encouraged.
State legitimacy	Derived from state achievements and performance.	Derived from democratic representation of interests of the majority and the protection of the rights of the minority based on rules and procedures.	Different states enjoy different levels of legitimacy, depending on how institutionalised and capable they are. Legitimacy should not be seen in absolute terms and varies considerably even within given state.
Political will	Concern for national goals; commitment of core leadership is essential.	Concern for effective constraints, normative orientation (legitimacy, human rights, democracy, macroeconomic balance).	Concern for incremental, progressive change and how reformers can institute change-what alliances need to be built, and what trade-offs need to be made.
Role of the state	State should (actively) foster economic development but avoid capture by particular groups.	No clear agreement among various proponents; state should set a framework (rule of law) for markets/private actors.	State should intervene to produce core public goods, and where it can perform well, but should not tackle a wide range of issues, reforms, etc.at once. Priorities for state intervention/ involvement are important. Some level of state capture may need to be tolerated to achieve other goals.
Model of social representation	Exclusionary, based primarily on close relations between the state and selected business groups. Labour is controlled.	Inclusionary, emphasising broad social participation in the decision-making process (e.g.PRSPs).	Likely to be patchy and uneven. Some areas may be more inclusionary whereas others significantly less so. Again, there are no moral absolutes.
What to do on Monday morning?	Create meritocratic civil service in key areas, imbued by a strong esprit de corps and concern for national goals.	Broad and ambitious agenda emphasising multiple goals that need to be achieved in order to enable development: fight corruption, deepen democracy, and improve judicial systems and PFM.	Be explicit about trade –offs and priorities in a world in which all good things cannot be pursued at once; understand what is working rather than focusing mainly on governance gaps; ground action in the contextual realities of each country.

Source Fritz and Menocal (2006)

one of the premises of Edigheji's (Edigheji 1999:106) discourse on the developmental state is that globalisation and its consequences thereof have changed to a large extent the context of the role of the state in emerging economies making the developmental state examples difficult to replicate.

Fritz and Menocal (2006:5) argues that "the developmental state and good governance agendas overlap to some degree but also, entail important differences, which have implications for priorities in aid policy".

Fritz and Menocal (2006:6) further contends that the notion of "good governance agenda is more readily reconcilable with the developmental state idea than the pure good governance agenda"

Globalisation prescriptions such as the growth of economic liberalisation and political democratisation have eroded significantly the power and the capacity of the developmental state (Yun 1999). An example of this is the case with South Korea, where democratisation and the success of the developmental state has created conglomerates that are a power in themselves undercutting and undermining state powers (Clark and Jung 2002:24). In their analysis of these archetypes of the developmental state, Clark and Jung (2002: 24), illustrate that countries like Japan, Taiwan, China, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia are witnessing change in the forms of declining state power (reasons ranging from corruption to market liberalisation) a move away from the characteristic developmental state.

Conversely, countries like Singapore and Hong Kong have had little change. This trend in globalisation has also resulted in a shift in the development scholarship from the prescripts of the developmental state paradigm to more reconciliatory theories such as the idea of the *democratic facilitative state* (Gordon 1996 as cited in Edigheji 1999: 114). This is where the state consciously and strategically shapes, guides and co-ordinates the market but encourages cooperation between government business and civil society. In this instance, growth and development policy is moved to a middle position, the place of facilitation and the inclusion of all stakeholders in the formulation and implementation of policies for development.

Finally, despite the waning of the developmental state apparatus, there are some characteristics of the developmental state which are worth considering. These characteristics are those that encourage the commitment to a national developmental interest, the sense of a collective drive towards a national objective and the relative lack of corruption in state development institutions.

Policy targeting and the developmental imperatives for reforms.

Kuye (2007:5) identifies policy targeting as a route to unravelling the crisis of the developmental state in Africa as it can be used as an implementation tool for poverty alleviation. In this case targeting becomes pro-poor guiding public expenditure and service delivery. Policy targeting for development becomes all the more significant with the influence of globalisation, which has catalysed the adoption of new bureaucratic and governance changes and strategies. This includes the New Public Management paradigm (Common 1998:440), cloaked with appellations such as: Entrepreneurial government, Network governance, Public Private Institutional Partnerships and the reinventing of government. This portends a renovation and modernisation of governance in a bid to provide conditions that benefit economic development from the support and investment angle. Most administrative

reforms are thus designed to bring about this economic restructuring of the developing world. This means that issues of efficiency, cutting of costs, streamlining government and enhancing managerial rationality are in the mix of the principle of the New Public Management.

The World Bank supports Public Service reforms in developing countries (www1.worldbank.org/prem/acr/ad.html). There is a three through approach to the reforms supported by the World Bank.

- There are the primarily fiscal and budgetary concerns such as over staffing of the bureaucracy.
- There is the response that targets policy changes
- Most recently reforms have focused on improving operational efficiency and service quality.

Be that as it may, the World Bank report also shows figures that reflect only about one third of satisfactory outcomes for reforms which are matched with sustainability. For instance downsizing and capacity building programs often do not produce permanent reduction programs in the civil service size, nor have they successfully tackled capacity and bottlenecks in economic management and service delivery. Fundamental to the remaining two-third failures are issues such as the lack of transparency and fairness in electoral processes and lack of mechanisms to incorporate civil society and local government in the national policy processes.

Finally, there is little empirical evidence to show a co-relation between the adoption of this paradigm shift in bureaucratic reform and developmental growth in Africa. However, with objectives such as 'ensuring efficiency of government expenditure on programs and projects in terms of cost effectiveness and fiscal discipline (Kuye 2007:6)', policy targeting may reduce bureaucratic bottlenecks in a developmentally structured state.

REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It looks as if there is a mixed bag of theories that need to be re-applied to reflect and effect African development. The view from the north, catalysed by globalisation and the view that takes into consideration the African situation. While some of these policies from the North may be well intended, there has been no conclusive research evidence that they have worked.

The nature of development in the East shows that development can be approached from a uniquely contextualised angle. Based on this, the following recommendations are areas which need to be highlighted to come up with a uniquely African approach to the issue of development.

New policy focus: Deriving a uniquely African development policy

The task for structural adjustment in the economy implies reforms in governance and the bureaucracy to carry this through. As has been discussed in this article, the global prescriptions of good governance that needs to be subscribed to be given impetus by the globalisation process and its northern drivers. From the foregoing, good governance is defined by democracy which in turn implies accountability and transparency in the process and structures of governance, good human rights records, strong civil society and an independent judiciary among others. These are universal values that should be enshrined in governance. However the concern here



is if the presence of democracy automatically ensures the adoption of these values and if these values exist in non-democratic states.

Where these concerns are addressed satisfactorily, the next question will be whether these definitions of good governance where they exist have resulted in development and if so to what extent. Next, it will argue well to determine if development has advanced in situations that where these prescriptions do not exist. An adjunct to the global motivation on good governance as a prerequisite to development is the adoption of neo-liberal economic policies as a means to economic development. To implement these policies there is the need for structural adjustments and institutionalisation of these policies. Thus, government cut backs are recommended through fiscal policies that affect the size of the state bureaucracy, thus heightening the demand for effectiveness and efficiency within the public service. African states have a large bureaucracy and where some of the World Bank reforms have been implemented, its sustainability in the long term has been largely put into question. There could be economic, social and political motivations as to why this is so. Some of these directly linked to the unique nature of African poverty and leadership and are discussed below.

The level of underdevelopment and poverty in African countries

African debt burden: Africa is greatly burdened by debt. While the presence of the tenets of good governance may advance human rights and the political well being of a nation, with these debts, economic emancipation may still remain a piped dream. Thus the recent cancellation of some of Africa's debt may prove to be a step in the right direction in terms of a comprehensive approach to the issue of development in Africa

Inept Infrastructural network: It has been established that Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) and an export driven economy are some of the drivers of economic development in a country. However, for these to thrive, there needs to exist a conducive environment. This will entail sound economic policies and the infrastructure to support the implementation of economic policies. Poor infrastructural provisions in Africa, makes it difficult for investments to flourish. Good road networks, health systems, and electric power provisions are lacking in most African states. These need to be addressed.

The nature of African leadership since independence of various African states and resultant social and civil upheaval

Democracy, despots or the legacy of patriarchal rule: Africa seems synonymous with patriarchal rule, military dictatorships and despots. There is no doubt that democracy as is defined in terms of representation of all voices in governance is good. The trouble however, is the attempt to equate this with development. This is because there are other variables that need to be taken into consideration in determining the level of development in a particular state or context.

The rule of law or the rule of war: One of such variables is the war situation in Africa. Since the independence of African states, many states have had at least one civil war and some are still in on going wars. While the dead horse of colonialism and the cultural insensitivity in the division of territories need not be flogged here, the issue is that war impedes development and no matter how one looks at it, it is an African phenomenon that needs to be curbed to achieve development in any form.

Developing a uniquely African leadership value system (universal indicators for good governance acceptable to all)

The nature of African leadership is a problem in terms of development. There needs to be a universal set of values that African nations need to adopt in terms of leadership. For instance be it democratic or patriarchal, transparency, the respect of human rights and the rule of law should be adopted as well as a commitment to the people. In other words, while the world prescribes democracy as the only form of good governance, where other forms of leadership such as in one party states and patriarchy manifests itself in Africa, the aim should be to entrench the universal values of transparent, accountable leadership and the respect for human rights. This appears to be the philosophy behind The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) of NEPAD.

From political non-interference to economic liberalisation

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was an organisation structured along the lines of bringing independence to African countries. One of its cardinal rules being its style of political non-interference. However, with its new mandate, the African Union has evolved into both a political and economically driven phenomenon. Thus economic revival of Africa seems to be at the centre of the African Union mandate. This explains its core programmes which cover NEPAD and the Pan African Parliament. Of all these new vehicles of African transformation, the NEPAD holds a uniquely African model. This model incorporates a paradigm shift from the normal cap in hand approach of African relations with the North, to a do it yourself approach in terms of proposing a solution to its development challenges through sustainable partnerships.

Curbing the BIG BROTHER tendencies

Care should be taken that Africa desist from an approach to regional integration that will position some countries as hegemonies. If viewed logically, this is the relationship approach between African countries and the developed world. In this situation for instance, the surpluses in the developed world as a result of unbalanced trade relations translate to services which the developing countries of the world in their poverty still have to buy. This has only made African countries more dependent. It is therefore suggested that Africa rejects the concept of hegemonies (despite the stability notion of this approach) within the community and focus on a more communal approach to issues of its development. Thus, stronger economies within the African community ought to approach regionalisation with responsibility, giving consideration to the unique situations that apply in other less advantaged countries.

CONCLUSION

As a final summation, while this may seem like organised diatribe the argument is that in looking for the solution to Africa's development, the idea of the developmental state in



Africa is inevitable. Nonetheless it should be juxtaposed with the some ideas from the neo-liberal positions of the international development apparatus in setting development standards in Africa as a whole. This should be made with a view to draw parallels and establish a new ethos uniquely suited for African development. For instance while the conditions of accountability and transparency in governance is important for development, it is also vital to note that in a developing state, there needs to be a measure of state intervention to drive the process of development. Thus a one-size fits all approach to development in Africa is not applicable especially in a continent that has a past and present that is uniquely situated within the globalised world. Hopefully, the position taken in this paper can shed some light from a different perspective with the aim of not only re-visiting the issue of the developmental state but also shed some relevance to this great debate through a carefully crafted approach in negotiating what ingredients should constitute the amalgamate of a *developing state* and those of a *developmental state*. The relevance of this dialogue has significance for the present world order and especially those of South Africa and the African continent as a whole.

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