

6 CHAPTER SIX

THE CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS REFLECTED BY THE ARCHITECTS OF THE LPA AND NEPAD

This chapter consists of four sections. The first section provides an overview of the interview with the architects of the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD); the second section presents the findings; the third section compares these findings with the earlier theoretical conclusion; and finally, the fourth section is the conclusion.

6.1 The interview process

The interviews were conducted with a selection of the architects who played a role in the design of the LPA and NEPAD respectively. This was done in accordance with the methodological guidelines outlined in Chapter Five of this research. The sample which, earlier, consisted of four people for each of the two plans was extended to five in the case of NEPAD to ensure data saturation.

Recruiting participants for interviews was not easy in terms of time required to complete the interviews and gaining access to participants. It was hard to find people who had designed the LPA thirty years after it was issued. Some names were found thanks to the help of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in Addis Ababa. Among those who were found, some had forgotten certain aspects of the LPA as a result of working on so many other strategies of development since - some of which tended to contradict the LPA. These people were reluctant to be interviewed. Others were weighed down by age and could not be interviewed either. Some of those who are still active had a very busy schedule, which made it impossible to interview them. Of 20 people contacted, seven responded and only four made themselves available for interviews. It took more or less eight months to interview 4 people and to obtain further comments on the transcripts of their interviews.

Concerning NEPAD, despite my proximity to its secretariat in Midrand (Johannesburg), it was not easy to identify and have access to the people who designed it either. None of the people contacted at the NEPAD office responded. Beside some bureaucratic problems, the busy schedules of people contacted were an obstacle. Of 18 people contacted, eleven responded, and five were interviewed. This process took nine months.

It was planned that the participants to the research would include both economists and non-economists to diversify the points of view on the link between culture and economic development. This categorisation was not followed systematically as most people contacted did not make themselves available for interviews as expected. In the case of LPA where this has been possible, it was a matter of pure chance rather than the result of prior design.

The interview protocol consisted of five open-ended questions:

1. background about how LPA/NEPAD emerged;
2. awareness of the dependency/neo-liberal economic theory at the time the LPA/NEPAD document was being designed;
3. whether LPA/NEPAD is a classic interpretation of the dependency/neo-liberal theory in African development planning;
4. whether culture (as a system of beliefs and values that structure the people's identity) is related to economic development;
5. whether LPA/NEPAD could be considered as a true expression of what Africans believe and value.

Since the research concerned plans of economic development that date back to quite a long time ago, the interview questions were sent to participants beforehand (Greef, 2005, p. 295). This helped the interviewees to recall certain aspects of the debate which prevailed during the design of the plans on which they had worked and to link these with the research being conducted.

The interview process was flexible. Questions were adapted according to the responses given by the participants while obtaining the cooperation and achieving the rapport required by the research (Neuman, 2000, p.276; Welman, et al., 2005, p.200). Depending on answers given, the researcher could judge whether it was necessary to ask the next question in the list. In a number of cases, interviewees answered question 2 along with question 3 of the question list. This is in line with what Neuman (2000, p.371) says: “The questions and the order in which they are asked are tailored to specific people and situations.”

To ensure reliability, probes and follow-up questions were extensively used in accordance with the objectives of the research and the methodological guidelines outlined in Chapter Five. However, they varied from interviewee to interviewee. According to Greef (2005, p.293), probes are introduced when “responses lack sufficient detail, depth or clarity”. This leads the interviewer to follow up with a probe to complete or clarify the answer, or to request further examples or evidence. Requests for further explanation or clarification were put to the interviewee to elaborate on why and/or how a particular situation was the case.

Follow-up questions are aimed at pursuing the implications of answers to the main questions (Greef, 2005, p.294). In the process of interviewing, the common follow-up questions included, where appropriate, asking whether the architects of the LPA/NEPAD were aware of the cultural basis of the dependency theory/ the neoliberal theory of economic development, the extent to which the link between culture and economic development was considered in a particular plan of development.

More so, where appropriate, the question “whether adapting strategies of economic development to African value system would advance the cause of economic development” was asked. There was a situation whereby the follow-up question was not just linked with the answer given by the interviewee, but was also a follow-up of a perspective given by a previous interviewee. In the case of NEPAD, a view emerged that this plan is informed by the developmental state paradigm. According to Woo-Cummings (1999, p.1; see also Wade, 1990; Johnson, 1999; Handley, 2008, p. 15), the developmental state model of economic development is particularly prevalent in East Asia. Following the spectacular economic growth referred to as the *East Asian Miracle* (World Bank, 1993), certain African countries such as Rwanda and Ethiopia tried to emulate this Asian development model. Thus, one

interviewee was asked whether NEPAD had not been influenced by the Asian experience of development.

The process of interviewing included face-to-face as well as telephonic (including Skype) interviews and was recorded by means of a digital voice recorder. There was one case in which the recording was not allowed by the institution where the participant works. In this case, extensive field notes were taken and the transcript was sent to the interviewee to make additions and clarifications where appropriate, as well as to allow for further comments.

There were two LPA cases where face-to-face or telephonic interviews were not possible because of the availability of the participants. A questionnaire was sent to these participants via email and the response collected by the same means. This way of collecting data had limitations as there was no opportunity for immediate probing or follow-up questions for greater depth and clarity. In this case, the solution opted for was to follow-up the participants' answers through requesting further comments and elaboration by emails. This solution was successful in one case; however, the other participant did not give any feedback.

Although the questionnaire was in English, one LPA participant preferred to answer in French which is a language the interviewee was comfortable with. The answers were translated by the researcher and a copy of the transcript sent to the participant for approval and further comments.

The transcription of interviews used the three types of transcription discussed in Chapter Five, namely: literal, interpretative and reflective transcription. The literal transcription captured accurately the interview data as expressed by the interviewee. However, this literal transcription was not a mechanical reproduction of the recorded interview. The interpretative and reflective transcription helped to express creatively in complete sentences the message encapsulated in certain words, concepts, or ideas which the interviewees had expressed in incomplete sentences. Repeated words were expressed once in the transcript. In this case, attention was paid to certain words repeated as a result of typical verbal communication and those repeated to emphasise a point. The transcripts were sent to the respective interviewees for further comments and elaboration. This process served to ensure on their part that the interpretative and reflective transcription conveyed the message recorded by the voice recorder.

The validity was ensured in the spirit of knowledge as a social construction. To ensure the quality of information, questions were concise and precise. During the interview, certain participants requested clarification about the meaning of culture, neo-liberal theory of development as these are complex and could be confusing. These were clarified. One participant felt uncomfortable that the researcher talked of economic development rather than development which is more comprehensive. This participant was informed about the various dimensions of development, but that the focus of the research was on economic development.

After the transcription, the data of each interview was coded by attributing theme categories to segments of the text according to the information they provided to research questions. The theme categories from different interviews were then compared among themselves, first according to the meaning they made for each of the two plans of development, and then according to the meaning they gave to the overall research. This way of proceeding responds to two of the three objectives of the overall research, namely,

- a critical assessment of the major African strategies of economic development against the backdrop of theories which are alleged to have informed them and their cultural assumptions; and
- an investigation of the relationship between African cultural values and economic development and the extent to which the neglect of Africa's value system in Africa's economic policymaking and planning could jeopardise development plans.

I shall now outline the findings obtained. In the following sections, the LPA participants will be identified by the letter 'L' and those of NEPAD by the letter 'N'.

6.2 Research findings

On the awareness and appreciation of the two theories of economic development

The research sought first to investigate the extent to which the architects of the LPA and NEPAD were aware of and appreciated the dependency and neoliberal theories respectively. As it will be demonstrated below, the extent differs from plan to plan, and from participant to participant.

On the awareness and appreciation of the dependency theory

With different emphasis, the LPA participants claimed that the architects of the LPA were aware of and appreciated dependency theory. They provided two reasons to support the claim.

The first reason was the prominence and popularity of the dependency theory. “The dependency theory was prominent among certain African scholars and leaders” (#2L). These leaders and scholars appreciated “the ideas of Raoul Prebisch, in particular the idea of centre-periphery” (#1L). The dependency theory “was a kind of populist approach that resonated very well among Africans” and “was very popular even within the media” (#4L).

The second reason was the relevance of the dependency theory. The dependency theory “gave a clear picture of how the world economy works and the place of Africa in it” (#1L). For #4L, “it [the dependency theory] reflects the concerns and needs of Africa within the context of the global economy”. #4L continues and argues that “It was premised on an African sentiment of injustice [and] exploitation”.

#3L gave a certain nuance which is not mentioned by other participants. While #3L, like the three others, affirms that the dependency theory was well-known, a point was made that “the notion of the dependency did not feature very much in theoretical terms. Instead, “it was very and clearly discussed in informal circles”. Probed to explain further why, #3L said: “Most people went as far as accusing openly the former colonisers of still having a hand on their former colonies”. Two other interviewees shed light on this matter. #4L talks of the context of the Cold War and the need of aid to implement development policies:

Maybe it is because it was a period of the Cold War. When they blamed the West, [they] could rely on Libya and the Soviet Union for support. Of course, they knew they needed aid in order to implement their policies. The West was not willing to provide them with aid as long as they were not accepting the diagnosis of the problems that came from the World Bank and IMF which can be seen as the mouthpiece of the West.

For #5N who gave a background to NEPAD by comparing it with LPA:

The LPA was developed at the height of the Cold War [...]. They wanted us to depend on them, to depend on their economy for us to continue to supply them with raw materials.

Thus, depending on the ideological trend which they followed and relied on for their aid, certain African countries could not make free critical comments in formal circles. This approach seems to have been part of a political pragmatism.

The main point is that the architects of the LPA were aware of the dependency theory and appreciated it as one which could help them to see clearly the position of Africa in the global economy and respond to it accordingly. I shall now consider the neoliberal theory.

On the awareness and appreciation of the neoliberal theory

As in the case of the dependency theory, the architects of NEPAD were aware of the neo-liberal theory. However, their appreciation of it differed from participant to participant to the extent that one feels that the people who designed NEPAD did not share one view of what could inform economic development in Africa. The participants gave three reasons to explain how the architects of NEPAD were aware of the neo-liberal theory and appreciated it.

The first reason is that,

we live in a global system with neo-liberalism as a dominant paradigm [...] reinforced by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), most world institutions, and certain world organisations (#3N).

Africa being “part of the global world [and] the global thinking” (#3N), “they [architects] needed to engage rather ignore some of these countries and institutions” (#2N).

The second reason is the need for a starting point. “[T]he neo-liberal economic understanding was important to kick-start NEPAD” (#4N). This way of proceeding is linked with the fact that “the leaders [...] were aware of what they were dealing with and the challenges they were going

to face vis-à-vis the neo-liberal approaches to development” (#2N). From this voice, one can hear voices other than neo-liberalism being expressed. According to #4N “we cannot just rely on neo-liberal economic approach to development in this part of the world” (referring to Africa). For #4N, beside the appreciation of the neo-liberal economic approach, the architects of NEPAD appreciated also the importance of “a political economic approach” as well as the importance of “a new economic approach which embraces the use of information technology (ICT)”.

While #4N talks of complementary alternatives to neo-liberal theory, #1N and #5N talk of alternatives to oppose it. This alternative consists of the notion of the developmental state. The perspective of the developmental state featured strongly in the responses of two interviewees. #1N puts it thus: “neo-liberalism is anathema to NEPAD”. For #5N, “The foundation of NEPAD was the state. The state has a political will”.

The third reason that led to the awareness and appreciation of the neo-liberal theory is the way the global economy and market work in practice. According to #3N,

How you produce, the production as well as exports and imports are determined, if not by the World Bank, in any case by the international market. We are operating within a paradigm, [...] under the regime of neo-liberalism.

“[T]he leaders were not naive” about this reality (#2N).

The point that emerges from these quotes is that the architects of NEPAD were aware of the neo-liberal theory and appreciated its relevance. Unlike the dependency theory for LPA, there was a strong issue about whether the neo-liberal theory should lead the future strategy of development (NEPAD). Thus, beside the neo-liberal theory, there were alternatives suggested such as the developmental state, the political economic approach, and the economic approach centred on information technology (ICT). #5N also talked about a group of people in the debate who advocated for an agricultural economic approach, but was rather marginalised.

However, the neo-liberal voice seems to be dominant as it was expressed by #2N. There was “a lot of appreciation” to the extent that “At the end of the day, NEPAD [...], was overwhelmed by the Washington Consensus” although, “in theory, that was not the intention.”

So far, I dealt with the issue of whether the architects of LPA and NEPAD were aware of the dependency and neo-liberal theories alleged to have fuelled the two plans respectively. I shall now consider whether the LPA and NEPAD can be regarded as manifestations of the dependency and neo-liberal theories respectively.

LPA and NEPAD in relation to the two respective theories of economic development

This theme deals with the issue of the extent to which LPA and NEPAD are expressions of the theories of economic development alleged to have informed them.

On the extent to which LPA is an expression of the dependency theory

The LPA interviewees affirm that LPA is an expression of the dependency theory. Two main reasons are given to explain why they regard LPA as a manifestation of the dependency theory. The two reasons flow from the awareness and appreciation which the architects of LPA had for the dependency theory.

The first reason is that the dependency theory was used as a tool of analysis for, and a response to, the way the world economy works: “[...] the dependency theory helps in the analysis and understanding of the economic situation of Africa and its position in the global economy” (#1L). For #4L, the dependency theory “was used essentially as a basis to identify the problem and offer a solution”. In the same way, interviewee #2L argues that LPA was aimed “at reducing the dependency of African economies on developed countries”.

The second reason is that the dependency theory was used to respond to Africa’s historical experience of colonisation and economic exploitation. For #2L, “LPA was essentially aimed at reducing dependency of the African economies on developed countries particularly the former colonial powers.” #3L expresses a similar view but differently: “[P]lans of development [were] conceived in the West and executed according to the interests of the West rather than the interests of Africa”.

However, #2L and #3L expressed two points which give a moderate view of LPA being an interpretation of the dependency theory. As highlighted earlier, #3L pointed out that “the notion of the dependency [...] was much and clearly discussed in informal circles”. The second

point is expressed by #2L who said: “many African countries continued to rely on the two-gap model⁴⁷ that gives prominence to external capital and external aid to fill the gap for development financing”.

What can be inferred from these voices is that the dependency theory informed LPA. However, this cannot be taken in absolute terms. The fact that the dependency theory was discussed in informal circles could lead one to wonder whether there were some other alternatives that were discussed in the formal circles. None of the interviewees talked of such eventual alternatives. Nevertheless, one might presume that #2L’s two-gap model was an alternative. Yet none of the participants indicated the two-gap model as being discussed when LPA was being designed. Instead #2L’s comment has to do with the implementation of LPA. Furthermore #2L does not dispute the view that LPA is an expression of the dependency theory. In fact, #2L expresses discontent with the two-gap model that goes in the opposite direction of the dependency theory as it “gives prominence to external capital and external aid” viewed as tools used to enforce economic dependency.

I shall now turn to NEPAD and the neoliberal theory.

On the extent to which NEPAD is an expression of the neo-liberalism

The claim that NEPAD is an expression of the neo-liberal approach to development is not commonly shared among the interviewees. The views collected show that there was more than one paradigm proposed to the extent that it might have been difficult to reach a consensus about what exactly should inform an African policy of economic development.

The views on the impact of the neo-liberal theory on NEPAD can be classified into three sets of arguments. The first set argues that NEPAD is an interpretation of the neo-liberal approach to economic development in so far as it was the dominant paradigm that informed the global

⁴⁷The two-gap model is a theoretical model of foreign aid which compares savings and foreign-exchange gaps to determine which one represents a strong constraint on economic growth. The main argument of the two-gap model is that developing countries either do not have enough domestic savings for their investment or suffer from a shortage of foreign exchange to finance the imports of needed capital and other immediate goods. Both shortages have an impact on economic growth. Thus it is argued that this shortage could be resolved by aid. However, aid itself could have little or no impact on economic growth as it is determined by the recipient’s absorptive capacity, which is the ability to use that aid fund wisely and productively (Todaro & Smith, 2010, pp.732-734).

economy at the time NEPAD was initiated. Thus, for #3N, “we are operating within a paradigm, [...] under the regime of neo-liberalism”. By the same token, #4N argues that “the neo-liberal economic paradigm was useful to kick-start NEPAD”. #4N goes on to say: “We can use the neo-liberal model as long as we come to terms with it and make it work for our situations and the challenges we are faced with”.

The second set is premised on the argument that NEPAD is not an expression of the neo-liberal approach in Africa’s economic policymaking. For #5N, “NEPAD was actually premised on the paradigm of a strong state, a very active state”. #1N shared the same view, but added that this “developmental state” goes “with a private sector though”. Like the views expressed in the first set, #1N and #5N recognised the fact that “NEPAD was introduced when the neo-liberal model was dominant”. However, #5N emphasised the view of an “interventionist state” and pointed out the fact that even “developed countries everywhere are bailing out the private sector” as a result of “the financial crisis [that] shattered the whole notion of the market driving the economy”.

The third set consists of the middle way argument between the point that NEPAD expressed the neo-liberal theory and the point that NEPAD relied on the developmental state model. Yet when analysed closely, this middle way bends more in the direction of the first argument. In effect, #2N argues that “in theory, it was not the intention of the leaders to make NEPAD an interpretation of the neo-liberal model of development.” Instead, NEPAD “has fallen victim to the excesses of the international global processes”. #2N further argues that “there was a lot of appreciation” of the neo-liberal model which “at the end of the day” led NEPAD to being “overwhelmed by the Washington Consensus”.

In the case of the latter comment by #2N, one may wonder what the real intention of the architects of NEPAD was. #1N had stated that NEPAD was informed by a strong state which underlies the East Asian economies. In a probe which sought to inquire whether the architects of NEPAD were aware of the developmental state, #2N said: “I could not say whether there was influence or no influence, but the way the world works today is that every country tries to influence, manipulate or exploit the others.”

While it is clear that LPA was informed by the dependency theory, it cannot be stated categorically that NEPAD was informed by neo-liberal development model. The three arguments indicate that there were contending models of economic development of which the dominant were the neo-liberal and developmental state theories. Nevertheless, the arguments of #2N, #3N, and #4N seem to make a stronger case for the neo-liberal theory. The implication is that NEPAD is informed by the neo-liberal theory but not exclusively. The developmental state, the new political economy, the information technology approach, and the agricultural economic approach were considered, but not to the same extent as neo-liberal and developmental state models.

I shall now consider the issue of whether the architects of LPA and NEPAD were aware of the cultural assumptions of the dependency and neo-liberal theories.

On the cultural premises of the dependency and neoliberal theories

This theme concerns the issue whether the architects of LPA and NEPAD were aware of the cultural bases of the theories of economic development that informed these strategies of development respectively. The question was asked particularly to the interviewees who argued that LPA and NEPAD are interpretations of dependency and neo-liberal theories.

On the cultural basis of the dependency theory

The LPA interviewees argued that, even though certain architects were aware of the cultural premises of the dependency theory, this did not really matter. Instead, they identified two issues which were the central focus.

According to #1L, the LPA architects “were aware of the cultural basis of the dependency theory but not all though”. However, the issue was not whether the dependency theory had cultural underpinnings but rather its immediate relevance; that is, “how the use of the dependency theory helps in the analysis and understanding of the economic situation of Africa and its position in the global economy”. More so, #4L argued that the architects of the LPA “were much aware of the political and historical underpinnings of the theory rather than the cultural ones”. They drew inspiration from “the historical and political dimensions of the theory because that seemed to make more sense to a lot of them” (#4N).

Still for #4L, the fact that certain architects of the LPA were neo-Marxists contributed to not taking much interest in the cultural premises of the dependency theory: “As neo-Marxists, they put a lot of emphasis on Marxism instead of culture because of the realities of exploitation and colonialism” (#4L).

The above views indicate in implicit terms that certain architects of LPA were aware of the cultural premises of the dependency theory. The implicit terms in which this awareness is expressed indicate that the cultural basis of the dependency theory was not an issue to be concerned with. Instead the issue was the historical and political dimensions of the dependency theory and its relevance to the analysis and understanding of Africa’s situation in the global economy. Moreover, the realities of exploitation and colonialism which concerned neo-Marxists overshadowed the concern for culture and how it informs theories of development. This could explain why culture is given little space in the LPA document.

On the cultural basis of neo-liberal theory

The interviewees argued that the architects of NEPAD were aware of the cultural foundations of neo-liberal theory. This awareness is located in the two main areas. The first area is the education of the planners as is expressed by #3N:

[W]here are these planners trained? What is the knowledge of these planners? Isn’t it from the same schools of those planners, I mean, those who dominate the market.

The second avenue is how Africa came to take position in the world economy. For #4N, Africa is part of the world through the colonial domination:

They were very much aware of that [cultural basis of neo-liberalism]. The challenge with the African continent [...] which has gone through colonial domination is not to break ties completely. A country which has been part and parcel of the evolvment of another country which has colonised it, to break ties can be suicidal.

These two arguments show that the architects of NEPAD were aware of the cultural basis of the neo-liberal theory. This awareness is a result of the education of the planners and policymakers as well as Africa having been colonised by these countries where some of these planners had been trained.

The issue of the awareness of the cultural basis of the dependency and neo-liberal theories was a prelude to the issue of the extent to which the link between African culture and economic development is considered in the LPA and NEPAD. This is discussed in the next section.

On the link between culture and economic development in LPA and NEPAD

The views on the issue whether there is a link between culture and development do not coincide. However, most of the views support the point that culture is a basis for economic development. The table below sums up the views expressed:

Table 6-1: Views on the link between culture and economic development

Link between culture and economic development as expressed by participants	Interviewees
Culture is the basis for economic development.	#1L, #2L, #4L, #2N, #N3, #5N
Culture is the basis for economic development but differently in colonised countries.	#4N, #4L
Cultural heterogeneity cannot serve as a basis for economic development.	#1N
Culture is an obstacle to economic development.	#3L

In the above table, there are two sets of claims. The first set consists of absolute claims opposed to each other, namely: culture is the basis of economic development, and culture is an obstacle to economic development. The second set consists of relative claims, namely: culture is the basis of economic development but differently in the colonised countries, and culture is related to economic development but not the same way everywhere (cultural heterogeneity in society). I will deal with these claims in the order in which they are presented in the table, as they range from the absolute affirmation of African culture as the basis of economic development to absolute affirmation of African culture as an obstacle to economic

development. It should be noted that only the participants who affirmed absolutely that culture is the basis of economic development were asked the question about the extent to which the link between culture and economic development was dealt with in the two plans. The three other groups were not asked this question as their claim that African culture cannot be the basis of economic development did not allow the researcher to do so. Furthermore, it was the link that was being pursued.

On culture as the basis of economic development

This is the affirmative claim that culture is the basis of economic development. In this affirmative claim, there are two different voices.

The first voice says that the architects of LPA and NEPAD recognised the value of culture for economic development, but did not employ it sufficiently or pursue it in terms of strong and concrete commitment. According to #1L, the architects of LPA “recognised the value of culture in terms of analysis, [but] the commitment was not strong”. For #2L, “culture was not dealt with explicitly and in detail in LPA” although the leaders committed themselves to ‘ensure that their development policies reflect adequately their socio-economic values in order to reinforce their cultural identity’.

The same response is evident among the NEPAD respondents:

I don’t think it [the link between culture and economic development] has been exploited that much. [...] The process is not revisited to say, let us have a thinking group around culture and development. [...] If NEPAD were further to be updated, we would have realised that, on the ground, things are culturally otherwise (#2N).

In the same way, #3N argues that, although “[it] expresses certain cultural values”, “NEPAD was not meant to articulate very clearly a cultural paradigm to development”.

The second voice claims that the link between culture and economic development is captured by certain key concepts central to the two plans respectively. According to #3L the link between culture and economic development in the LPA is reflected in “the idea of self-

sufficiency, self-reliance” as well as “regional integration [...] supposed to develop [...] what is common to Africa”. However, in responding to a probe on this issue, #3L said: “It is difficult to have an African identity to serve as a foundation of Africa’s development policy”.

#5N did not refer to key concepts of NEPAD, but instead listed some African lost ideals which should be recovered. Thus #5N claims that the link between culture and economic development in NEPAD is reflected in the affirmation that “Africa is the cradle of civilization, cradle of humankind, [...] Africa’s contribution to civilization, to culture”. However, the emphasis was shifted as #5N immediately stated that the focus of NEPAD is the sectors of development: “infrastructure, health, education, governance, and environment”, and not culture.

These views have one point in common, namely: the recognition that culture is the basis of economic development, whilst also recognising that this has not been the case in LPA and NEPAD. In other words the value of African culture for economic development was recognised in the two plans, but there was no follow through on this recognition. This lack of follow through is expressed in different ways. The first voice expresses this lack of follow through in terms of neglect. In the two plans, the African culture was neglected. The second voice expresses it in terms of “ignoring”. African culture tended to be ignored in the two plans. This conclusion can be expressed in the words of #3N: “The two plans were not made to articulate a cultural paradigm of economic development”. Thus, in the two plans, African culture tended to be ignored or neglected.

On culture as a basis of economic development but differently in colonised countries

This is the first relative claim about the link between culture and economic development. Culture is the basis for economic development but in a different way in colonised countries. According to #4L, “It is important to define the development agenda based on cultural aspirations of the people.” Accordingly, #4L was included in the group of the absolute affirmative claim. However, #4L goes on to argue that African culture cannot be made the basis of an African development agenda because “it has undergone so much transformation, influenced by the Western culture”. Most architects of African strategies of development “are alien to African culture [...]” #4N concurs:

To a certain extent there is [a link between culture and economic development]. But with countries which have been colonised, you find that the cultural behaviour of old times became very insignificant as people are educated in western universities.

In these views, the fact that culture is the basis of economic development is not disputed. Instead, what is disputed is the fact that there is no longer an African culture to serve as a basis for Africa's economic development. In other words, the affirmation that culture is the basis of economic development is not true in Africa. Culture cannot be the basis of economic development in Africa. The reason is that colonisation and Western education have eroded African culture. One feels that these views express a discontent about what happened to African culture. African culture has been diluted. However, at the same time, one feels that such scepticism is pushed to the extreme. This kind of scepticism might have led certain architects to ignore African culture on the basis that it does not exist anymore and, henceforth they gave it little space in the plans.

Cultural heterogeneity cannot serve as basis for economic development

This is the second relative claim. Culture is related to economic development but not in the same way everywhere, within the same society. More clearly, culture is relative and cannot be made the basis of an agenda of economic development. According to #1N, "There is a division of the society into urban and rural, people who have studied and those who have not".

In the above quote, the claim that culture is related to economic development but not in the same way everywhere, is based on the diversity or heterogeneity in the society. Seemingly, those who have moved to urban settings operate on a cultural basis other than that of the rural areas; those who have studied operate on a cultural basis other than that of those who have not. This is the same argument as that of the second claim made by #4L and #4N, in the subtheme just concluded, but applied to people within the same society. The implication of this claim is also suggestive of the little importance attached given to culture in the two plans being investigated.

On African culture as an obstacle to economic development

This sub-theme pertains to the absolute claim that African culture is an obstacle to economic development. According to #3L, “[I]n Africa, the culture of economic accumulation is not sufficiently integrated in the minds of people”

The point of the above quote is that African development cannot be premised on African culture, because Africa lacks a culture of economic accumulation. The culture of accumulation is the basis of economic development. This was also one of the arguments used in the modernisation theory to explain underdevelopment. The implication of this claim is the exclusion of African beliefs and values in the processes of economic development, even those upon which (African) production is premised. In effect, before people can think of accumulating, they have to produce more than they can consume. Production and consumption are not culture-free as it is being argued.

What can be concluded from the discussion so far is that, in the two plans, African culture has been neglected; and some architects tend to ignore it. I shall now consider the issue of whether the LPA and NEPAD are true expressions of what Africans believe and value.

On the LPA and NEPAD as corroboration of what Africans believe and value

The reactions to this issue for both the LPA and NEPAD can be captured under three main headings as indicated in the table below:

Table 6-2: Views on whether the LPA/NEPAD is a true expression of African beliefs and values

Views	Interviewee #	Group (G)
LPA and NEPAD are true expressions of what Africans believe and values insofar as they are strategies of economic development produced by African leaders/intellectuals.	#3L, #4L, #1N, #N5	G1
LPA and NEPAD are true expressions of what Africans believe and value but it is not comprehensive.	#1L, #2L, #2N, #3N	G2
Issues dealt with in (LPA) NEPAD are universal economic issues.	# 4N	G3

LPA and NEPAD as plans produced by African leaders/intellectuals

Group 1 in Table 2 above claims that LPA and NEPAD are not expressions of what Africans believe and value in an anthropological sense, but insofar as they are African strategies of development produced in Africa, by African leaders (and intellectuals).

Among the LPA respondents, this view was best expressed by #4L:

[...] LPA was a true expression of African leaders. If you want to go to Africa to talk to Africans, this is only possible if they are educated and understand the dynamics and the philosophical foundations of development policies [...].

For #3L, “[T]he Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) [...] was adopted by [the then] OAU Heads of State and Government, after it had been studied and refined by experts of Ministers”.

Similar views are expressed in the case of NEPAD. According to #1N, “It [NEPAD] was elaborated by African intellectuals and born of African leaders who were elected, and therefore had the mandate of the people. It is an African document, [...] adopted in Africa”. For #5N, “NEPAD is an African document. It was produced by African leaders. It is being implemented in a number of countries”.

From these quotes, one can highlight three main arguments used to substantiate the claim that LPA and NEPAD are expressions of what Africans believe and value on the grounds that they are an outcome of the leaders and their experts. The first argument is that the rest of people do not understand the dynamics and the foundations of development policies as the quote from #4L suggests. It is an argument characteristic of an elitist conception of development or top-down approach to development. The fundamental assumption is that the minds of the African leaders express what the African people believe and value.

The second argument is that these leaders were elected, and therefore had the mandate of the people. In other words, the mandate conferred on the leaders by the people guarantees that whatever policy of development they formulated is an expression of what people believe and value. It does not matter whether the development agendas emanate from these leaders as such,

or whether they are imposed on them from elsewhere. What counts is that these leaders are elected and mandated by the people.

The third argument is the extent of geographical implementation and “meeting what people want”. In other words, the fact that a given policy of development is being implemented in a number of countries guarantees it being an expression of what people believe and value. The assumption is that “being implemented” means “it works”, and “it works” is synonymous with “being accepted by the people on the ground”.

The point made by Group 1 thus far is that a given plan of economic development is an expression of African beliefs and values on the grounds of being produced by African leaders (and intellectuals). Three major conditions are given for this claim to be the case: these leaders must be elected by the people, a given plan of development devised must be implemented, and this implementation must comply with what people want. What can be highlighted here is that African beliefs and values are not understood from a cultural view point. It is from this perspective that they are neglected or ignored.

LPA/NEPAD is not a full expression of African beliefs and values.

Group 2 argued that LPA and NEPAD are true expressions of what Africans believe and value, but not comprehensively. In other words, LPA and NEPAD are not full expressions of African beliefs and values.

According to #1L, “LPA includes some of the values which Africans had from outside.” #1L further suggested that “if today there was another LPA, the document [...] would better reflect the impact of culture”. #2L expressed the same view in a comparative way:

[The fact of] Africa remaining the least developed, and its leadership are still under the influence of developed countries [...] could be seen as a departure from African cultural legacy. [...] the successful performance in other developing regions of Asia and Latin America, where plans and programmes (were) based on shared values and common interests, are indications that there is hope that Africa will succeed.

#3N gives three reasons why NEPAD (or any African strategy of economic development) is not fully a translation of what Africans believe and value. The first is linked with the training or education of African planners: “The problem is still where our planners are trained. The knowledge system they have which informs their thinking and planning”. Put differently, the fact that most planners and policymakers are educated in a value system other than the African one is the reason why African strategies of development are not full expressions of African beliefs and values.

The second reason is that NEPAD “was not meant to articulate very clearly an African paradigm to development”. “NEPAD expresses certain cultural aspects, but it is not about African cultural beliefs and values” (#3N).

The third reason #3N gave is the need to take “aspects of the global picture into account: issues of global trade, and issues of global investment [...] in a world dominated by the paradigm of neo-liberalism”. #3N is saying two things here. The first is that issues of global trade and investment are outside the realm of African culture, yet they are necessary for the flourishing of Africa’s economic development. The second thing is that the world in which Africa’s economic development is called to flourish is dominated by the paradigm of neo-liberalism which is not based on an African value system.

Another participant of Group 2 who holds a similar view is # 2N. For #2N, “NEPAD is a true expression of what Africans believe and value but is not all encompassing”,

[I]n the sense that certain things are said but without any further elaboration. [...] we didn’t progress any further than the fact of the announcement that ‘culture is important’. So many things are mentioned but we did not focus on strategies of how then, what cultural programme we should implement.

As it appears in these views, the idea that LPA and NEPAD are expressions of what Africans believe and value is not disputed. But the contention is that the two plans are not full expressions of African beliefs and values. The reasons given to make this point can be grouped into three sets.

The first set pertains to extroversion in African development planning. This set comprises the appeal to values from outside, the continual dependence on developed countries, especially the former colonial powers, and the education which does not take into account the African value system.

The second set of reasons pertains to shaping African plans of development according to the global economy. This set of reasons expresses the idea that African plans of development are not meant to articulate a paradigm of development specific to Africa; and therefore, that African policy makers and planners must take into account aspects of the global economy. It suggests that in the African planning of development, the African reality does not count much. The implication is that African agendas of development end up falling “victim to the excesses of international global processes” “without having developed enough strategies to ensure a way out” (#2N).

The third set consists of the fact that culture is mentioned in the two plans of development without elaborating further on how it should be translated into clear policies of development. This reason is a result of both extroversion and the reliance on realities other than the African one.

The implication of these three reasons is that, in the process, African beliefs and values are neglected. I shall now turn to the case of Group 3.

LPA and NEPAD and the universality of economic issues

Group 3 claims that issues dealt with in NEPAD (the same could be said in the case of LPA) are not cultural issues but universal economic issues. According to #4N, “Issues of health, issues of education, and issues of poverty, are issues which we can’t say are cultural. They are issues which have to do with economic system [...]”.

To substantiate this claim, #4N used two arguments which evolve around the concept of “institution / institutionalisation”. The first argument is that the way African [traditional] institutions used to transfer knowledge from elders to the young has evolved. These traditional institutions were like universities.

But now that we have created new universities, there is no reason why a way of learning should be different from how Americans learn or how other people learn. It should be more or less the same because the human brain is the same. Education is an instrument of institutionalisation.

This argument shares certain commonality with the one developed earlier by #3N. #3N argued that the problem is where African planners are trained and the kind of knowledge system they hold. However, #3N does not reject the idea of premising economic development on what Africans believe and value.

The second argument used to substantiate the claim that economic issues are universal issues is that, in planning: “We are all looking for the same objectives: to be creative, to be innovative, to be competitive, the mind. The spirit wants to succeed” (#4N).

With the idea of universal economic issues, institutionalisation, and common objectives, what is being put across is the case of the universality of economic development outlined in Chapter Four. This would lead one to believe that there is no need to refer to African beliefs and values, and therefore they can be ignored.

So far, what can be concluded on the issue of whether LPA and NEPAD are expressions of what Africans believe and value is that the African planners and policymakers have tended to ignore or to neglect African beliefs and values or even to deliberately exclude them.

These are the main findings that can be highlighted in the empirical research. In the next section, I shall attempt to compare these findings to the earlier theoretical conclusion. The conclusion of this chapter will then follow.

6.3 Interpretation of the empirical findings in relation to the theoretical findings

From what has been developed so far, two main sets of conclusions can be drawn in connection with the theoretical conclusion. The first set of conclusions pertains to the theories of economic development that inform the LPA and NEPAD and their respective cultural premises. The second set of conclusions pertains to the issue of whether LPA and NEPAD are a corroboration of what Africans believe and value. I shall consider these sets of conclusions in turn.

I begin with the first set of conclusions which pertains to the two theories of economic development alleged to have informed LPA and NEPAD respectively. As far as LPA is concerned, no participant disputes that the dependency theory served as a basis used to inform this strategy for Africa's economic development. The fact that the dependency theory did not feature very much in theoretical terms, and henceforth was discussed informally does not invalidate or undermine the above conclusion. Furthermore, the complaint that it was not used consistently because of the reliance on the two-gap model seems rather to be an issue of political and economic pragmatism linked with the context of the Cold War on the one hand, and the financial means needed by the developing countries on the other hand.

The issue of whether the dependency theory has a cultural basis was not a matter to be debated. The architects who designed LPA were much more concerned with its political and historical underpinnings. In their understanding these underpinnings bore immediate effect on the analysis of the position of Africa in the global economy, and how Africans should respond to the economic dependence that issues from this situation.

As far as NEPAD is concerned, the situation is different. There were conflicting suggestions about what should inform a strategy of economic development in order to allow Africa to reclaim its place in the global economy. Among these various suggestions, two are particularly highlighted, namely, the neo-liberal and developmental state models. In the theoretical findings, I argued that NEPAD is informed by the neo-liberal theory of economic development. This argument is refuted by the voice which holds that NEPAD is informed by the developmental state. In other words, NEPAD is not wholly informed by the neo-liberal theory of economic development. How can this finding be interpreted?

The claim that NEPAD is also informed by the developmental state might not be rejected. Both claims (that “NEPAD is informed by the neo-liberal theory” and that “NEPAD is informed by the developmental state model”) seem to have been attempts to address the issue of how African economic development could be shaped for Africa to climb the ladder of development. They originate from the fact that the architects of NEPAD came from different backgrounds and found it difficult to reach a clear consensus as to what should inform an African strategy of economic development. Accordingly, the two claims could be considered together, and one has to try to understand what went on. The two groups of architects who held the two claims respectively seem to have diverged and entertained a tension in the first place, and then converged in a reconciliatory way in the second place.

First I consider the divergence and the tension trajectory. One could assume that the architects from both claims were inspired by the success story of each paradigm of development as well as the reality of the world economy. No one could deny that neo-liberalism has achieved development success in some countries to the extent of becoming a source of inspiration for certain architects of NEPAD. #4N argues that:

Generally people who are arguing cannot tell us that the success of Japan, the success of Malaysia, the success of Singapore, or the Far East, South Korea has not used neo-liberalism.

For this group of architects, their “preference” for the neo-liberal approach to economic development was backed up by the reality of the global economy. They took into account the fact that “Africa is developing in a globalised world [...] and cannot pretend to be an island” (#2N). Furthermore they reviewed the forces that support the “global system dominated by neo-liberalism”, namely, “the World Bank, IMF, world institutions and world organisations” (#3N).

However, on the other side of the coin, certain other architects of NEPAD were aware of the negative effects of the neo-liberal approach on economic development in Africa. These negative effects included the disempowerment of the state to which the World Bank (1993) referred to in terms of *The Crisis of the State* at the time when the developmental state, strong and active had achieved an economic miracle in East Asia. Thus the idea of a strong and active state advocated by certain NEPAD architects might have been informed by the economic

successes in East Asia. It might have been suggested as an alternative to the neo-liberal approach which had negative effects on Africa's economies and weakened the very state being brought back in order to lead the economy henceforth. One could say, therefore, that the idea of "a strong and active role of the state" advocated by a certain group of scholars and planners in the processes leading to the NEPAD document did not originate in a vacuum. Woo-Cumings argues that,

Developmental state is a shorthand for seamless web of political, bureaucratic, and moneyed influences that structures economic life in capitalist South-east Asia. This state form originated as the region's idiosyncratic response to a world dominated by the West [...] (Woo-Cumings, 1999, p.1).

I will now consider the convergent, reconciliatory trajectory. The architects who suggested the neo-liberal approach to lead Africa's economic development and those who preferred the developmental state paradigm do not seem to have maintained that level of divergence and tension. There seems to have been a tendency to converge and reconcile. First of all the two participants (#1N and #5N) who argued that NEPAD is premised on the paradigm of "a strong and active state" affirm at the same time that NEPAD was introduced at the time when neo-liberalism was dominant. One feels that these architects neglected the effects which this dominance of neo-liberalism had on the processes leading to NEPAD. Yet these effects are taken seriously in the NEPAD document itself. As highlighted earlier, #2N argues that "in theory, there was a lot of appreciation" of the neo-liberal approach to economic development, which, together with "the excesses of the international global processes" led to NEPAD being "overwhelmed by the Washington Consensus".

However, the idea of "the Washington Consensus" was not followed to its logical conclusion. If this had been the case, the idea of "a strong and active state" advocated by certain architects would have fallen, since the neo-liberal approach to development requires the state to disengage from the economy. Obviously the NEPAD document does not suggest that the state should disengage from the economy. It is here that convergence and reconciliation begins to emerge. Against this background, #1N argues that "NEPAD assumes a strong state with the private sector".

Thus, in reality, the architects of NEPAD seem to have understood that neo-liberalism does not mean that the state should be passive in the economy. “[I]t performs specific required functions for a self-regulating market society” to emerge (Radice, 2008, p.1160). In fact, Chalmers Johnson argues that:

The issue is not one of the state intervention in the economy. All states intervene in their economies for various reasons [...] The United States is a good example of a state in which the regulatory orientation predominates, whereas Japan is a good example of a state in which the developmental orientation predominates (Johnson, 1982, pp.17 &19).

For Evans (1999, p.10),

Sterile debates about “how much” states intervene have to be replaced with arguments about different kinds of involvement and their effects. Contrasts between “dirigiste” and “liberal” or “interventionist” and noninterventionist” states focus attention on the degrees of departure from ideal-typical competitive markets. They confuse the basic issue. In the contemporary world, withdrawal and involvement are not alternatives. State involvement is a given. The appropriate question is not “how much” but “what kind.”

#5N affirms that “the role of the state should be to create conditions” for the African economy to flourish. The leaders who initiated NEPAD promised to create these required conditions, namely, democracy, good governance, infrastructure, and also legal and regulatory frameworks for financial markets, health and education (NEPAD, par. 49). That is what #4N called the political economic approach which balances the neo-liberal approach to economic development. The fulfilment of the above “required conditions” calls for an active and even a strong state, which certain architects referred to as “developmental”. It should be noted that the same conditions are increasingly prescribed to developing countries by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund which also championed the Washington Consensus.

Thus, the idea of a strong and active state peculiar to the East Asian developmental state model (Woo-Cummings, 1999, p.1) was not meant to be incompatible with the neo-liberal theory presumed to have informed NEPAD. Instead, it served as a complement that provided the

conditions required for the free market economy to flourish. In other words, the neo-liberal and developmental state approaches were made to be complementary in NEPAD as an African strategy of economic development although the neo-liberal voice remains predominant in the NEPAD document.

To reiterate this point, the empirical findings lead to a conclusion other than the one reached in the theoretical conclusion. NEPAD is not wholly premised on the neo-liberal theory. Rather, the architects seem to have been eclectic and considered both the neo-liberal and the developmental state models of economic development. Accordingly, NEPAD may be what Hugo Radice (2008) calls the *Developmental State under Global Neoliberalism*. In the *Economic Report on Africa 2011: Governing development in Africa*, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) reiterated the need to marry the two approaches in Africa's economic transformation as thus expressed:

Since free market forces will not drive economic transformation on their own, the developmental state must play a central role in resource allocation and in efficient coordination of crucial economic activities. This is particularly relevant to developing infrastructure, human capital, and the financial market and setting up production facilities in the agricultural and industrial sectors (ECA, 2011, p.7)

Nevertheless, even if both the neoliberal and developmental state models might have informed NEPAD on an equal footing or otherwise, the central claim of this research that the philosophical basis of the LPA and NEPAD is not African would not be seriously damaged. In effect, neither the neo-liberal theory nor the developmental state model is premised on the African value system. This being the case, the issue is still that although NEPAD was produced in Africa, its philosophical basis is not African.

The second set of conclusions pertains to the issue of whether the LPA and NEPAD are expressions of African beliefs and values. This requires an interpretation of the following three findings outlined earlier, namely:

- LPA and NEPAD are true expressions of what Africans believe and values because they are development strategies produced by African leaders and intellectuals;

- LPA/NEPAD are true expressions of what Africans believe and value, but not comprehensively; and
- issues dealt with in LPA and NEPAD are universal economic issues.

I shall consider these findings in the same sequence as listed above.

The first finding is that ‘the LPA and NEPAD are true expressions of what Africans believe and value because they were African documents produced by African leaders/intellectuals’. This finding needs to be taken seriously, not only because it opposes the central thesis of this research, but also because African planners and policymakers often proceed in that way in devising strategies for economic development. It corresponds with the first reason of the theoretical findings in which it is presumed that the state or the market can alone achieve the desired economic development independently of the cultural context (cf. Chapter four).

The role of the leadership in the search for the best ways in which African people can be economically developed cannot be disputed. That the leadership has the explicit or implicit mandate to do so cannot be disputed either. However, what is disputable is the claim that an agenda of development is an expression of what people believe and value simply because it is produced by their leaders and the intellectual elite. People have often compromised or rejected strategies for development because these do not meet their deep beliefs and values. Furthermore, the leaders have often sought to implement strategies for development which are not original to them but which are rather plans imposed from outside and asked people to accept them as their legitimate programs. And when these strategies fail because they are incompatible with the ontological make-up of the African people, the failure is justified on the ground that “African people are enemies of development” (Ake, 1996, p.15).

The flaw of the claim lies in the elitist, top-down approach to development which tends to regard the rest of the people as incapable of understanding the dynamics and the foundations of development policies; or to limit their role to political participation by which certain leaders ascend to power (where this is the case). It is a clientelist kind of development whereby African leaders and their advisors establish themselves as monopoly providers of development benefits to their people. As a result people are made patients rather than agents in their development. In the process, people’s beliefs and values are ignored or neglected. The point is

that people must participate in the development processes in the same way as they participate in the political process of electing and giving the mandate to those who lead them. It is this democratisation of the development process that could lead to the corroboration of what people believe and value in terms of policies of development.

The second finding is that LPA and NEPAD are true expressions of African beliefs and values, but not comprehensively. Three major reasons why this is the case were highlighted, namely, extroversion in African planning for development, shaping Africa's development according to the global economy as if the African reality does not matter, and finally the reference to African culture without any follow through in terms of how implementation should be made. Although it is already evident in the problem of extroversion, one may underline strongly the fact that most African planners and policymakers are trained in value systems other than the African one to the extent that it is difficult for them to appreciate fully the importance of African beliefs and values in the process of African economic development. Thus to a certain extent, this claim confirms the thesis of this research that the African value system is neglected when devising Africa's strategies.

The third finding is the claim that issues dealt with in the LPA and NEPAD are universal economic issues. This claim needs to be highlighted because that is exactly where African economic strategies often go wrong in most cases. It agrees with the second reason given in the theoretical findings, namely, the fact that the architects who designed LPA and NEPAD did so against the background of what economics does and not what it is (cf. Chapter Four). In the claim that "issues dealt with in LPA and NEPAD are universal issues", African beliefs and values are not just neglected, but they are also ignored. African policymakers and planners presume that because certain economic issues such as poverty, health, education, and infrastructure are universal, therefore there is one universal way of dealing with them.

There must be a balance between the universality of development (global policy) and its particularity (local feasibility). It is true, indeed, that poverty is poverty everywhere, the need for health, education, and infrastructure is the same need everywhere. However, the ways of responding to them differ. It cannot be held that these issues can be dealt with without considering the beliefs and values that matter on the ground. That is what Cooper and Vargas (2004, p.343) refer to when they talk of "the cultural feasibility of sustainable development". It is this aspect of feasibility that is ignored or neglected in the two plans of development.

Thus, the three conclusions put across the point that African beliefs and values were neglected and/or ignored in the two plans of development being investigated. They were ignored on two aspects. The first aspect is that strategies of economic development are the validation of African beliefs and values not in the anthropological sense but in so far as they are produced by African leaders and/or intellectuals. The second aspect is that certain issues are universal economic issues which can be dealt with without reference to cultural feasibility. Furthermore, African beliefs and values are neglected in so far as they are mentioned without any follow through on how they should be implemented in the development process. Such neglect is a consequence of the extroversion in African planning and the attempt to shape African plans according to the global economy.

6.4 Conclusion

So far, this chapter has dealt with the process and findings of the empirical research and their comparison with the earlier theoretical conclusion. The empirical research consisted in engaging with certain architects who designed LPA and NEPAD on the issue of whether these two strategies of economic development are premised on the beliefs and values that structure the ontological make-up of African people. This was done by first considering the theories of economic development which informed LPA and NEPAD.

The results obtained confirmed that LPA was informed by the dependency theory despite certain nuances. On the contrary, in the case of NEPAD, the results showed that there were at least two contending theories of economic development at work in the process of designing NEPAD. The theoretical findings showed that NEPAD was informed by the neo-liberal theory of economic development, while the empirical findings suggest that NEPAD was also informed by the developmental state approach. This seems to contradict the earlier conclusion that NEPAD is solely premised on the neo-liberal model of development. The reading of the NEPAD document shows indeed that NEPAD was informed by the neo-liberal theory of economic development. Nevertheless, the suggestion that the developmental state was also crucial in the design of NEPAD can be given the benefit of the doubt. NEPAD could be seen as a strategy of economic development of the “developmental state under global neo-liberalism” as noted earlier. Yet, even if both approaches were shown to have shaped NEPAD in the process of its design or the final document, the central claim of this research would not be

undermined. In other words, although NEPAD was produced in Africa, its philosophical basis is not African. This is because neither the neoliberal approach nor the developmental state model is premised on the African value system.

The use of these theories to inform African strategies of economic development has implications for the link between culture and economic development in Africa. The result of the empirical research led to the conclusion that African beliefs and values have been neglected even to the extent of being ignored.

The next chapter will consider certain philosophical guidelines that should lead the planning of economic development that takes seriously what Africans believe and value. These guidelines will be formulated within the framework of Sen's capability approach which defines development in terms of "the ability of people to lead the life they value and have reason to value", human agency, as well as the expansion of the real freedoms people enjoy.

7 CHAPTER SEVEN

PHILOSOPHICAL PREMISES FOR AFRICA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter Two, I argued that although LPA and NEPAD were designed in Africa, their philosophical basis is not African. This argument was defended by excavating the theories of economic development alleged to have informed them as well as the value systems in which they are rooted. In Chapter Three, I retrieved the ontological structure of the African value system that should constitute the ground of any African plan of development. Chapter Four dealt with how the architects who designed the two strategies neglected the African value system by failing to achieve a balance between the universality and particularity of economic development. I contended that participation is an important factor that should mediate between plans of economic development and what people believe and value, and thus translates the universal conception of economic development into local feasibility. Chapters Five and Six consisted of the empirical research. The findings confirmed that, despite some nuances, the LPA was premised on the dependency theory. In the case of NEPAD, the findings suggested that NEPAD was not only shaped by the neo-liberal approach as argued earlier in the theoretical part, but also by the developmental state model which, as I argued, originated in South-East Asia. The suggestion of NEPAD being also informed by the developmental state was given the benefit of the doubt. However, this conclusion does not undermine the central claim that although NEPAD was produced in Africa, its philosophical basis is not African. In effect, neither the neoliberal approach nor the developmental state model is based on the African value system. Furthermore I found that the use of these theories in African planning of economic development led to African beliefs and values being neglected to the extent of being ignored.

The present chapter will outline the philosophical assumptions that should inform strategies for economic development in order to ensure that they are grounded in what Africans believe and value. These philosophical guidelines will be developed against the background of Sen's

capability approach. The relevance of the capability approach for Africa's quest for economic development lies in the fact that its ultimate foundation is not culture, but rather the ability for people to be "all they can be and do" (Feldman, 2005, p.3). The capability approach serves as a guide to how development could be achieved in particular cultural contexts. Development itself is defined in a way that fits with different cultural contexts. Sen defines development in terms of "the ability of people to lead the life they value and have reason to value", "agency", as well as "the expansion of the real freedoms people enjoy" (Sen, 1999: pp. xii, 1 & 18). The ability of people to lead the life they value, agency and the expansion of the real freedoms people enjoy could be seen as the characteristics of *umuntu-w'-ubuntu/umuntu-mu-bantu*. This latter concept refers to the African community as a locus of essential participation. Thus these characteristics will help to link economic development with the African value system. The structure of economic development that results from this link is a "triangle of solidarity"⁴⁸ of which the dimensions are the state, the people, and the market. I will suggest that the interaction between the three components is a participatory process which could be achieved thanks to what Sen calls public discussion or public reasoning.

Thus, this chapter will consist of three sections. The first section outlines Sen's capability approach and its main aspects. The second section discusses the philosophical premises that should inform African economic development. The third section is the conclusion.

7.2 Sen's capability approach

The capability approach is increasingly regarded as the cornerstone in the definition and the assessment of economic development as well as in the methods and policies that should lead to it (Nelson, 1996, p.35; Atkinson, 1999; Gasper, 1997, p.286; 2000, p.435; Feldman, 2005, p.2; Crocker, 2008). According to Clark (2009, p.21, see also 2000),

Capability approach (CA) has emerged as a leading alternative to mainstream economic frameworks for conceptualising and assessing human well-being and development.

⁴⁸ I borrowed this concept from the Government of Costa Rica (Central America) that used it to mean the type of governance involving the state, civil society and the link between them.

In the same vein, Smith and Seward (2009, p.213) argue that “capability approach (CA) has inspired much theorising and research that seeks to better understand and evaluate the status and process of human development”. For Robeyns (2006, p.352; see also 2000, p.2),

It [the capability approach] can also be used as an alternative to mainstream cost-benefit analysis, or as a framework to develop and evaluate policies, ranging from welfare state design in affluent societies, to development policies by government and non-governmental organisations in developing countries.

In particular, since 1990, the capability approach has inspired a new way in which the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) assesses Human Development (Sen, 1999, p.318 note 41). Hitherto, the focus was on Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the human capital, suggesting that “economic development was not human-centred and that, ‘development’, was in practice, inadequately conceived and operationalised as economic growth” (Gasper, 2002, p.442). In this practice, human beings were/are seen as the means rather than the end of production (Sen, 1999, p. 293).

The capability approach was first formulated by Amartya Sen in the late 1970s and further developed by Martha Nussbaum. In particular, Nussbaum (see 2000, p.13) argued that “Sen never attempted to ground the capabilities approach in the Marxian/Aristotelian idea of truly human functioning⁴⁹”. Subsequently both Nussbaum and Sen (1993) have linked the capability approach back to Aristotle’s reflection on the conditions for human flourishing. Sen argues that the capability approach is related to Aristotle’s analysis of the good of human beings, leading to an examination of the functions of a person as well as an exploration of life in terms of activity (Sen, 2003, p.4; 1992, p.5).

Sen also linked the capability approach to Adam Smith and Karl Marx (Sen, 2003, p.4). For Sen, both Smith and Marx discussed the importance of human activity and the capability to function as the determinants of well-being. Marx’s political economy conceived the success of human life in terms of fulfilling the needs of human activity (thus linking back to Aristotle). Sen shows that the focus on freedom that the capability approach reflects, featured in Marx’s claim that there is a need to replace the “domination of circumstances and chances over

⁴⁹ Functioning is a technical concept in Sen’s reflections, meaning “being in activity”. It will be explained in detail below.

individuals by the domination of individuals over chance and circumstances” (Marx in Sen, 1997, p.497, see also Sen, 2003, p.4). Smith emphasised the need of appearing in the community without shame, an achievement which is valued in all societies (Sen, 1992, p.115).

However, Sen and Nussbaum differ substantially in their respective definitions of capability. In particular they differ on the issue of whether there is a fixed set of capabilities and how this set should be arrived at. For Nussbaum there is a fixed set of capabilities that should be arrived at through an overlapping consensus (Nussbaum, 2000, p.76)⁵⁰. Accordingly, she outlined ten capabilities which she sees as the heart of this overlapping consensus. She argues that “any life that lacks any one of these capabilities, no matter what else it has, will fall short of being a good human life (Nussbaum & Glover, 1995, p.85). By contrast, for Sen, there is no such fixed set of capabilities. Sen argues that the determination of what capabilities should be considered is a matter of public debate. The following table (Table 7-1) provides an overview of the differences between Nussbaum and Sen on the issue of capabilities.

⁵⁰The concept of overlapping consensus came from Rawls (1996, p.133ff) who used it while attempting to answer the question of the possibility of a stable and just society, given the conflicting and incommensurable religious, political and philosophical doctrines.

Table 7-1: Comparison between Sen and Nussbaum on Capability

Adapted from Ortrud Lessmann 2007.

(N.B. In the Nussbaum column, the capabilities in bold are as found in Lessmann's table. Their elaboration is as found in Nussbaum and Glover, 1995, pp. 76-79, 83-85)

CAPABILITIES	
<i>Nussbaum (Method by which they are arrived at: Overlapping consensus)</i>	<i>Sen (Method by which they arrived at: Public debate and reflection)</i>
Life: not dying prematurely	Avoiding escapable morbidity and premature mortality, longevity
Bodily health: having good health, having opportunities of sexual satisfaction, being able to move from place to place	Being adequately nourished, being in good health, being free from malaria, being well-sheltered
Bodily integrity: Ability to avoid unnecessary pain and non-beneficial pain, to have pleasurable experience	Move about, travelling
Senses, imagination and thought: access to information, education, etc	Being literate, cultural and intellectual pursuits
Emotions: ability to have attachment to things and persons outside ourselves	Being happy, being close to people one would like to see
Practical reason: being able to form a conception of the good and engage in critical reflection, being able to seek employment and participation in political life.	Taking part in the life of the community
Affiliation: ability to live for and to others, concern for others, social interaction, capability for justice and friendship	Ability to entertain and visit friends, being close to people one cherishes, self-respect, appear in public without shame
Other species: concern for and in relation to animals, plants and world of nature	
Play: being able to laugh, play, enjoy recreational activities	Vacationing
Control over one's environment: ability to live one's life and nobody else's, freedom of association, integrity of personal property, being able to live one's own life in one's own surroundings and context	Ability to entertain and visit friends, vacationing, travelling, being employed, being decently clothed ⁵¹

As can be seen from the table (Table 7-1), Nussbaum has a fixed list of capabilities which, in her understanding constitute a “good human life”. She considers them to be “central human capabilities” or the moral entitlements of every human being (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 71; 2003, pp. 41-42). As highlighted earlier, Nussbaum claims that these central capabilities are a result of an *overlapping consensus*⁵²: “The list represents the result of years of cross-cultural discussion and [...] the input of other voices has shaped its content” (Nussbaum, 2000, p.76). She further argues that

⁵¹ In Sen's understanding, what Nussbaum sees as affiliation, play, and control over one's environment could end up generating the same capabilities if suggested to public debate and reflection. It might be for this reason that Lessmann duplicates the two capabilities, namely, ability to entertain and visit friends and vacationing.

⁵² Italics as in the original

part of the idea of the list is its *multiple realizability*⁵³: its members can be more concretely specified in accordance with local beliefs and circumstances. It is thus designed to leave room for a reasonable pluralism in specification (Nussbaum, 2000, p.71).

Nussbaum claims that the ten capabilities are universal and can be made concrete or specified when they are applied to local context. According to Lessmann (2007, p.13), Nussbaum follows a top-down (deductive) approach, starting by drawing up a comprehensive list, and she leaves the task of putting the elements in their concrete form to those who want to apply the approach. In other words, as Robeyns (2006, p.355) argues, the list is formulated at an abstract level, and the translation to implementation and policies should be done at a local level, taking into account local differences.

However, critics argued that Nussbaum has no authority to speak on behalf of the people to whom the list would apply, and that her list lacks legitimacy (Robeyns, 2006, p.355; Stewart, 2001). Menon (2001, pp. 152 &153) calls it the universalism without foundation. In particular, Nussbaum's critics worried - and I concur - about the lack of democratic legitimacy and agency in Nussbaum's approach (Robeyns, 2003; Crocker, 2008). Even if the list were "open ended and humble" as Nussbaum (2000, p.77; 2003, p.42) responded to her critics, the problem is still that there is insufficient scope for democratic deliberation and public participation in her capabilities approach:

The problem is not with listing important capabilities, but with insisting on one predetermined canonical list of capabilities, chosen by theorists without any general social discussion or public reasoning. To have such a fixed list, emanating entirely from pure theory, is to deny the possibility of fruitful public participation on what should be included and why (Sen, 2004, p.77).

Sen continues the same argument by saying:

[...] pure theory cannot "freeze" a list of capabilities for all societies for all time to come, irrespective of what the citizens come to understand and value. That

⁵³ Italics as in the original

would be not only a denial of the reach of democracy, but also a misunderstanding of what pure theory can do, completely divorced from particular social reality that any particular society faces (Sen, 2004, p.78)

Thus, contrary to Nussbaum's approach, Sen proceeds inductively, in a bottom-up manner. For him, the various capabilities given are but illustrations of the kind of doings and beings a human being may achieve, and therefore are not exhaustive. The list of capabilities that can be drawn reflects only a view of what is valuable and what has no intrinsic values (Sen cited by Lessmann, 2007, p.13). Thus, rather than a fixed or complete list, Sen talks of "elementary capabilities" (for instance, being nourished), and very complex capabilities or personal states (for instance, taking part in the life of the community or appearing in public without shame).

As far as the process of arriving at various capabilities is concerned, Sen suggests Rawls' idea of public reasoning or public discussion which is central to deliberative democracy (Rawls, 1996, pp. 1-1vii; 1999, pp. 131ff; see Crocker 2008:18). "Public discussion and reasoning can lead to a better understanding of the role, reach, and significance of particular capabilities" (Sen, 2004, p.80).

Thus, although Nussbaum's central or basic capabilities have a "moral claim" in so far as they structure "the good human life", the dogmatism that surrounds them and the approach itself does not seem to be compelling for the purpose of this research. Nussbaum's approach lacks what really matters, namely, the good of public discussion which is inclusive and participatory. It is on this ground that I have supported Sen's approach instead.

I shall now turn to the concept of capability more closely.

What does the concept "capability" mean? According to Sen, capability refers to the ability of people to lead the lives they value and have reason to value. The concept of capability has two aspects which are central to Sen's philosophy of development, namely: functioning and agency.

I shall begin with “functioning”. The concept “functioning” comes from the ordinary verb “to function”. To function is to be involved in activity. For Aristotle, the well-being or the flourishing of people depends on their ability to function, that is, to be involved in activity either actually or potentially. According to Sen, “[A] functioning is an achievement of people, that is, what they manage or succeed to be or to do” (Sen, 1987, p.7). More precisely, functionings are physical or mental states (beings) and activities (doings) that allow people to participate in the life of their society.

Functionings range from the elementary physical ones such as being well-nourished, being in good health, being clothed, and sheltered, avoiding escapable morbidity and premature mortality, being literate, to the most complex social achievements such as being happy, taking part in the life of the community, having self-respect or being able to appear in the public without shame (Sen, 1992, pp.5, 39 &110).

In relation to functionings, capability

represents the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that a person can achieve. [...] a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting the person’s freedom to lead one type of life or another (Sen, 1992, p.40).

Put differently, capabilities are the functionings which a person has the potential to undertake (Jackson, 2005, p. 103). Capabilities indicate the extent of the freedom that people have in pursuing valuable activities or functionings (Drèze & Sen, 1989, p. 42). Capabilities may include such abilities as reading and writing, being well-informed, having realistic chances of participating freely in the life of the community- in short all those aspects of life that allow one to fully function as a human being individually and in community (Sen, 1999, p.233).

The second important aspect is the concept of agency. In fact, one cannot talk of functioning without agency. Agency is a person’s capability to act. Sen talks of seeing people as agents rather than as patients of development. He refers to an agent as “someone who acts and brings change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives” (Sen, 1999, p.19). Or again, agency consists of the realisation of the goals and values one has reason to pursue (Sen, 1992, p. 56).

Sen (1992, pp.57-58) distinguishes between “realised agency” which is more generic and “instrumental agency” which is more specific and participatory. In realised agency, one’s objectives may be achieved as a result of someone or something else being the cause or the source of action. The realised agency is peculiar to the top-down conception of development and the conception of development in terms of economic growth where the focus is on human capital. Thus, this kind of agency is not helpful as far as the validation of what people believe and value in terms of economic development is concerned. As I highlighted in Chapter Four, it is limited to accidental participation. In contrast, instrumental agency is participatory and requires that people themselves either bring things about by their own efforts or play an active part in some collective action (Crocker, 2008, p.153). That is the kind of agency that essential participation presupposes and, therefore serves the purpose of this research.

The concept of agency should not be understood as applying to single individuals or to a group of people collectively only. It could also be applied to the three major actors in the process of economic development, namely, the state, people and the market⁵⁴. The three actors must all be seen as agents in the process of development, each with a bundle of capabilities to be expanded (cf. Mbaku, 2004, p.3). In the history of economic of development, each of these components has worked in isolation to the neglect of others, claiming to have the means and the power to do so. Considering each of the three actors as an agent allows for the recognition of their respective strengths and for the overcoming of their limits.

Rather than taking the state as one of the agents in the process of economic development, certain economic thinkers who hold it in high esteem for various reasons (see Keynes, 1936; Polanyi, 1944; Gerschenkron, 1962, p.122; Evans, 1995; Innis cited by Boyer and Dracher, 1996, p.11; Chang & Grabel, 2004, p.13) tend to side-line the market and the people. In this state-dominated framework, the people are deprived of also being agents in development and are only expected to enjoy the fruit of the state-engineered economic development. In the same way, the market is deprived of being an agent in development because it neglects certain important aspects such as culture, nature, social justice and values; being concerned with the

⁵⁴According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Economics*, the market is “a place or institution in which buyers and sellers of a good or asset meet”. To refer to the market in terms of “place” would not serve the purpose being pursued in this research since the concern is on the market as an actor. An actor is personal whereas “place” is impersonal. Thus in what follows, I shall refer to the market as an “institution” which consists of economic operators or the business community. The concept of market will be developed later in more details.

accumulation of individual wealth rather than development as the higher goal; and being a source of economic crises.

In response to its marginalisation by the state, proponents of the market tend to elevate it to the level above politics to free it from political interventions of any kind (Mudge, 2008, p.715; Lal, 1985; Lal & Myint, 1996). They see the market as a repository of economic efficiency, while the state is the root of inefficiency. Hayek (1948) argues that the market is an effective means of making people take part in the economic order. Williamson (1993, p.1330) argues that “market is freedom” and further holds that “the Earth is flat” to mean that there are (or should be) no borders restriction to the market. Pennington (2011) vigorously challenges the many arguments against classical liberalism in contemporary political economy, in particular communitarianism and egalitarianism, and re-affirms the place of the minimal state in the economy. The market thus defined tends to work as the sole agent in the process of economic development and to deprive the state and the people of being agents in this same process.

The tension between the state and the market in the process of economic development gave birth to what is referred to as alternative development, also referred to as bottom-up or autonomous development. Alternative development is not concerned with structural macroeconomic change of the state or market kind. Instead it focuses on people (people at the grassroots, civil society groups, popular organisations) and their agency; that is, their capacity to effect social change (Pieterse, 2010, p.85; Anand, 2009, p.7; Cameron, 2000, p.632). For Nerfin (cited by Pieterse, 2010, p.85), alternative development is the field of the “third system” or “citizen politics” in so far as it is a reaction to both failed efforts of state and market-led development respectively. The state and the market are accused of having disregarded indigenous knowledge and popular participation (Brohman, 1995, p.130). Against this background, the people proceed as if the state and the market were not equally agents in the process of economic development.

Thus each of the three actors (the state, the market, and the people) tends to make each other patients rather than agents in the process of economic development. As a result, each of the three actors sees its freedom undermined rather than expanded. This is contrary to what Sen’s capability approach suggests but also contrary to the structure of the African value system as will be seen later.

Based on this concept of agency, the capability approach has been accused of being individualistic, insofar as Sen emphasises individual capabilities and seemingly ignores the way communities affect individuals (Evans, 2002; Jackson, 2005; Stewart, 2005). According to Jackson (2005, p.102), the reason why Sen emphasises individual capabilities rather than collective capabilities is that, his reflection is inspired by the liberal political philosophy rather than by social or cultural theory. Jackson pursues his argument and points out that although Sen takes an interest in how social circumstances affect the individual, his starting-point is the individual (cf. Nussbaum, 2000, pp. 13 & 59). Thus, certain scholars such as Ibrahim (2006), Ballet et al., (2007), and Cleaver (2007) have responded to such criticism by developing a perspective of collective capabilities.

Robeyns (2004, pp.21ff, see also 2000, pp.16-18) scrutinised the charge that Sen's capability approach is individualistic, and that he does not consider individuals to be socially embedded. She does this by distinguishing between ethical individualism on the one hand and methodological and ontological individualism on the other hand. Ethical individualism claims that only individuals are units of moral concern in evaluating exercises and decisions. Methodological individualism claims that whatever is explainable can be explained by reference to individuals and their properties only. Finally, ontological individualism claims that only individuals and their properties matter, and all social entities and properties are identifiable by reducing them to individuals and their properties.

Robeyns (2004, p.22) argues that Sen's capability approach cannot be charged for being methodologically and ontologically individualistic in that Sen himself recognises that "the options that a person has, depend greatly on relations with others and on what the state and other institutions do" as well as "those [individual] opportunities that are influenced by social circumstances and public policy" (Drèze & Sen, 2002, p.6).

Robeyns believes that Sen's capability approach fits with ethical individualism. She argues that,

a commitment to ethical individualism is not incompatible with an ontology that recognises the connections between people, their social relations, and their social embedment (Robeyns, 2004, p. 22).

I concur with Robeyns especially as she would be comfortable with the Bantu conceptual framework in which I distinguish between *umuntu-w'-ubuntu* (who is aware of what counts in evaluative exercises and decisions) and *umuntu-mu-bantu* that refers to the individual's embeddedness in social relations. Where I may distance myself from Robeyns though, is in the fact that her social relations characterise the community conceived of in the context of a Kantian or Rousseau's social contract rather than the ontologically derived community characteristic of the African value system.

Thus, as Robeyns argues, the critique of Sen being individualistic in his capability approach is not wholly warranted. I see two perspectives from which Sen addresses the individual and the communal dimensions of capability. The first perspective is that of culture to which he alludes frequently (Sen, 1999; 2005; 2006; 2009b). The consideration of culture is dictated by the fact that neoclassical economics is done in a way that would make one believe that people live in a culture-free context.

The second perspective is the liberal philosophy of which the extreme version could deprive the individual of the awareness that activities are undertaken in society. Hence Sen's major concern is how to address economic and social circumstances that affect the individual. This concern brings him to consider not individualism but agency (see Jackson 2005). Agency becomes an answer to the question of how individuals participate in the life of their community while at the same time preserving their individual autonomy. In fact, to make sure that this individual autonomy does not undermine the life of the community, Sen distinguishes between agency freedom and agency achievement in relation to community as well as to individual well-being. "Agency achievement refers to the realisation of goals and values she has reasons to pursue, whether or not they are connected with her well-being" (Sen, 1992, p.56). Well-being here means wellness, personal advantage or personal welfare. Agency freedom refers to "an increase in one's ability to promote goals that one has reasons to promote" (Sen, 1992, p.60). He argues that agency and well-being are distinguishable and separate, but thoroughly interdependent:

A person as an agent need not be guided only by her own well-being. [...] If a person aims at, say, the independence of her country, or the prosperity of her community, or some such general goal, her agency achievement would involve evaluation of states of affairs in the light of those objects, and not merely in the

light of the extent to which those achievements would contribute to her own well-being (Sen, 1992, p.56).

This understanding of agency shows that people can go as far as sacrificing their personal well being in the search for the prosperity of the community. Thus Sen concentrates on individual capabilities along with the fact that the individuals are embedded in the society. He makes it clear that:

Individuals are socially embedded agents who interact with their societies and flourish fully only by participating in political and social affairs of their societies (Sen, 1999, pp. xi-xii; 2002, pp.79-80).

Nevertheless, Sen is aware of the tension that exists between the individual and the community as well as between universal norms and the particularity of cultures as is obvious in his reflection on culture and human rights, social choice and individual behaviour, individual freedom and social commitment (Sen, 1999), and more recently in his reflection on *Culture and Development* (2005), as well as in *Violence and Identity* (2006) and in *The Idea of Justice* (2009b).

But why the capability approach? What is its *raison d'être*? The capability approach arose as a response to approaches used to define and measure economic development such as the economic growth model, and the methods used to assess equality of opportunities as well as inequalities. But more fundamentally, Sen developed the capability approach to address the limits of utilitarianism (Sen, 1987, p. 16; 1992, p.6), as well as the limits of Rawls' theory of justice, which gives priority to liberty and emphasises the distribution of the primary goods (incomes, wealth, and opportunities) (Sen, 1992, p.8). For Sen, these theoretical frameworks are not sufficiently comprehensive to account for all the potentialities and possibilities of the human being. Thus, Sen's suggestion is that development should be defined and evaluated in terms of agency and the expansion of the real freedoms [capabilities] that people enjoy (Sen, 1999, p.3). These freedoms include the freedom people have to engage in the process of development which, in turn, expands their freedom. It is against this background that Sen's capability approach will help in formulating philosophical premises that would guide Africa's economic development as a validation of what Africans believe and value.

Having outlined Sen's capability approach, I shall now consider the philosophical premises that should lead economic development in Africa. These philosophical premises will address four major problems which make it difficult to ground development in Africa's value system, namely: extroversion, the conception of development as an autonomous process whose end-product is delivered to people, development as the expansion of people's capability, and how to achieve the involvement of all actors as agents in development.

7.3 Philosophical premises for Africa's economic development

The contention of this research is that, although African strategies for economic development are crafted in Africa, their philosophical assumptions are not African. Hountondji (1992) explains this state of affairs in terms of the spirit of extroversion that has pervaded Africans. Extroversion consists in not being able to appreciate one's beliefs, values, and potentialities; thus leading to an adoption "tout court" of foreign ideas and values which prove to be sterile in the African milieu (Ajei, 2007, p.6). This spirit of extroversion is often explained in terms of the colonial legacy and domination which robbed Africans of their self-confidence and self-appreciation (Ake, 1996, pp.18-23; Wiredu, 1996, pp.146 ff; Sindima, 1997, pp.13-23). The human self-transcendence requires that Africans move beyond those accidents of history which they tend to make an important part of their ontological make-up.

Furthermore, there is a tendency among African policymakers and planners to conceive of economic development as a project of which the end is the people. In other words development becomes an end result that has to be achieved for the people, but without the people. Behind this approach, lies the conception of economic development as an autonomous process independent of, *inter alia*, the cultural framework (Ake, 1996, p.12). Consequently this autonomous process is often used to justify the powers and liberties of leaders and those who advise them to design strategies of economic development without the involvement of the rest of the people. When these strategies fail, the failure is explained in terms of African people being enemies of progress - including their own progress. Yet this "ready made progress" is rejected simply because it is incompatible with the beliefs and values which structure the African identity (N'Dione, 1994; Ela, 1998; Matthews, 2004).

Thus, the philosophical premises that will be outlined must serve a triple purpose. The first aim is to reverse the spirit of extroversion in Africa's policymaking and planning. The second aim is to challenge the way African policymakers and planners of economic development conceive and proceed in devising strategies of economic development. The third is to structure development in a way that responds to the African value system. With these three aims in mind, I concur with Ake (1996, p.125) who argues that:

[Economic] development is not a project, but rather a process by which people create and recreate themselves and their life circumstances to realise higher levels of civilisation in accordance with their choices based on their beliefs and values.

Such is the kind of conception of development which meets the African conception of the person as *umuntu-w-ubuntu/umuntu-mu-bantu*. What does this mean in terms of Sen's capability approach? First of all, in relation to the issue of extroversion, it is imperative to reconnect with Sen's idea of capability as the freedom of people to lead the kind of lives they value and have reason to value. Secondly, in relation to the issue of economic development as autonomous and an end product delivered to people, it is imperative to reconnect with the fact that the capability approach makes people the agents of their own development. Thirdly, in relation to development in itself, it is imperative to reconnect with Sen's definition of development as an expansion of people's capability, that is, capability liberates development, and the development achieved fosters further people's capability which, in turn, stimulates further development. People's freedoms are expanded to create and recreate themselves. Fourthly, in relation to the African value system, it is imperative that the process of economic development be conceived in terms of baking the cake together⁵⁵ which involves the participation of all the actors as agents, namely the state, the people, and the market. I shall consider each aspect in turn.

⁵⁵ The idea "baking the cake together" comes from my discussion (on the link between African development and Sen's capability approach) with Professor Georges Enderle from the University of Notre Dame. I am grateful to Professor Enderle for his enlightening insight.

7.3.1 From extroversion to the freedom of Africans to lead the lives they value

The first philosophical premise consists of the shift from extroversion to the freedom of Africans to lead the lives they value. The issue at stake is how capability as “the freedom of people to lead the lives they value and have reason to value” could help Africans to escape from extroversion so as to ground their economic development in what they believe and value. Basically, the ability of people to lead the life they value starts by questions of self-definition and this, in turn, leads to self-awareness, the awareness of context, as well as the potential people have. These are such fundamental questions as: Who are we as a people? How should we live, given who we are? What could be the best ways to face our own situation and the circumstances of the world we live in? These questions are about people’s identity and their unique way of living, their conception of the world around them, and their way of being and doing things. This unique way includes the ability of people to envisage economic development on their own grounds as well as the freedom to do so.

In the recent literature about Africa’s development situation, there is a question that occupies the minds of African and non-African scholars and leaders: “What is wrong with the continent?” (Caliderisi, 2006, p.2; Niang, 2006; Mills, 2010 among others). I suggest that “what is wrong” is not asking and engaging with the above fundamental questions about “the ability of Africans to lead the lives they value and have reason to value”. In this process of questioning, Africans would bring into their awareness the beliefs and values that define them and which are the deep source of their inspiration. This is what I could refer to as the recovery of people’s spirit as a ground for their creative pride. The recovery of this spirit is in itself a source of empowerment for action, *a fortiori*, economic development.

Thus, the first philosophical premise consists of “capability as the freedom of people to lead the lives they value”. This assumption is aimed at dealing with the issue of extroversion which does not allow Africans to appreciate their own beliefs and values in the process of economic development. Its relevance relates to two aspects. Firstly, capability as the freedom of people to lead the lives they value would stir Africans’ awareness of their ontological make-up and the beliefs and values that constitute it as a basis of their economic development.

Secondly, capability as the freedom of people to lead the lives they value could stir the independence of the spirit of African people as a basis of their “*élan spirituel*” and their creative pride (Ntibagirirwa, 2008). These two aspects constitute the wealth which Africans would bring to what Sen (1999, 2009) calls public discussion or reflection on plans and policies that should shape their process of economic development. This public discussion means that people are already exercising that agency to which I shall now turn.

7.3.2 From development as an autonomous process to agency-based development

The second philosophical premise has to do with agency. It consists of the shift from the conception of development as an autonomous process to agency-based development. Agency describes better *umuntu w’ubuntu/umuntu-mu-bantu* in that the concept refers to people in action from within themselves and with others. The link between economic development and agency concerns the relationship between people and the economic development they desire to achieve. It entails changing the conception of economic development as autonomous and an end product offered to people without their participation to people being the starting point of their economic development that empowers them in return. The key to this conception of development and people is the concept of agency. In his *Development as Freedom* (1999), the central point Sen makes is that (economic) development must be conceived of in terms of human agency.

Agency refers to agent and agent means a person in action. However, the concept of agent can be understood from two points of view. First, the concept of agent is used “to denote a person who is acting on someone else’s behalf [...], and whose achievements are to be assessed in the light of someone else’s (the principal’s) goals” (Sen, 1999, pp.18-19). Secondly, agent refers to “someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives” (Sen, 1999, p.19). It is this second understanding that is considered here in so far as I am concerned with the agency role of the individuals as members of the community and as participants in the processes that lead to their development.

Agency entails two things which are interlinked, namely, the ability to act, and autonomy. First of all, by definition agency implies the ability to act; that is, “people are seen as being actively

involved in shaping their destiny, and not just as passive recipients of the fruits of cunning development programs” (Alkire, 2003, p.15). A lack of agency means not acting, being passive, or a recipient, and allowing others to act on one’s behalf to the extent of being dependent. A lack of agency may arise because one is naturally not disposed to act or is not given the opportunity to act.

In normal conditions (when people do not suffer from mental or physical deficiency), it is hard to say that people can be “in a natural disposition” of passivity. The human being is created with the ability of incessantly going beyond oneself. To echo Heidegger (1962), the human being is a being-ahead-of-itself; that is, the human being is characterised by self-transcendence. In Aristotle’s thinking, which Sen espouses, human flourishing is not achieved once and for all. It is a horizon which people keep tracking. This pursuit characterises people’s self-transcendence. However, external circumstances such as exclusion, poverty, powerlessness, exploitation, and a lack of things such as education, health and food, which increase people’s spiritual and material capability, can deprive people of such ability (see Sen, 1999, pp. 87ff & 137ff).

Focusing on the deprivations which poverty can cause, Alan Gewirth (2007) argues that people do lose their capacity to act as agents because their freedom and well-being are undermined by their lack of the means of subsistence. They are led to make decisions they would not make if their basic socio-economic needs were being met. This is what has been referred to as realised agency. This leads to another aspect which is important in the definition of agency, namely, autonomy.

Agency presupposes that people who act are aware of their autonomy. According to Gasper (1997, p.298), autonomy can be understood from two points, namely, the critical and the substantive points of view. The critical perspective of autonomy has to do with the ability to form, not just adopt, one’s own conception of the good. Here autonomy has to do with the individual decision-making on various matters of one’s society, including the policies of economic development.

Secondly, autonomy is understood in a substantive way. The substantive autonomy refers to the content of agency. According to Black and Mooney (2002, p.198),

substantive autonomy emphasises the processes of formation of an agent's desires, beliefs and emotional attitudes, including attitudes and beliefs about herself.

There are two issues to be considered here. The first issue is how to differentiate the agent's informed desires from mere preferences. Informed desires means that agents reason about the implications of their desires not only for themselves but also for others. As far as preferences are concerned, agents tend to supply reasons for choosing this or that option without reference to others. Given this tendency, the question is how to make sure that, effectively, people do not fall into mere preferences whose implications do not involve other people. This leads to the second issue.

The second issue is how to deal with the desires, beliefs and preferences that foster the agent's life but which could endanger the public good in the long run. Thomas Scanlon (1993, p.187) recalls what Harsanyi referred to as the "principle of preference autonomy", that is, 'the principle that, in deciding what is good and what is bad for a given individual, the ultimate criterion can only be his wants and his own preferences'. Such wants and preferences could be misled if they advance the cause of the individual only. But the concept of preference is more complex than it appears at first sight.

Sen (1982, p.41; see also 2002, pp.300ff *inter alia*) argues that autonomy, preference and commitment must be linked. In this respect, he distinguishes three aspects of preferences: subjective preferences which reflect the personal welfare of agents, objective preferences which represent agents' choices when their welfare is not affected by their decisions, and meta-rankings which refer to the fact that the agents choose what they judge to be most appropriate. In this distinction, Sen interprets preference not in terms of the satisfaction of selfish choices and desires, "but in terms of values that individuals may generally accept in the context of some social exercise" (Sen, 2002, p.309).

Thus both critical and substantive autonomy are important aspects of agency and give substance to what has been referred to earlier as instrumental agency. The critical aspect of agency helps people to make sure that nothing is imposed on them. In other words, people must understand the state of affairs that is presented to them and discuss it on the basis of the beliefs and values they hold. Substantive autonomy helps individuals to be aware of how they

are affected by the realities of their own cultural framework. This awareness may even bring people to adjust their realities to new contexts or to transform these realities in order to be able to confront the future.

Agency as ability to act and autonomy provide the grounds upon which to build participatory development. As in the definition of capability, agency leads people to the awareness of themselves, the beliefs and the values they hold in esteem. What has not been the case in Africa is seeing people as both the end and agents of development:

If the people are the agents of development, that is those with responsibility to decide what development is, what values it is to maximize, and the methods for realizing it, they must also have the prerogative of making public policy at all levels (Ake, 1996, p.126).

According to Kabede:

When human agency is involved and given priority, development becomes an issue of human capabilities [...] and shifts from development economics to issues of entitlements⁵⁶ and empowerment (Kabede, 2004, p.110).

So far, I have analysed human agency as the second philosophical premise. The relevance of this premise lies in the very definition of the concept of agency: people in action. As such, people must be involved in the process of their economic development. In fact, they are entitled to participate in the development. Thus development itself is not conceived of as an autonomous process, but a process whose starting-point and end-point is the people.

I shall now turn to development as the expansion of capability, or as Sen puts it, “the expansion of the real freedoms which people enjoy”.

⁵⁶ Sen (1999, pp. 38-40) outlines five of these entitlements which he refers to in terms of instrumental freedoms. These include the political entitlements (encompassing opportunities of political dialogue, dissent and critique, voting rights and participatory selection of legislators and executives); economic entitlements (income, wealth, availability and access to finance, conditions of exchange, access to markets and fair prices; social entitlements (literacy and numeracy, effective participation in economic and political activities, access to information); transparency entitlements (basic trust, right to disclosure leading to preventing corruption and financial irresponsibility, for instance); and finally, protective security entitlements (a social safety net to prevent people from being objects of misery, starvation or death, unemployment benefits).

7.3.3 From development as an end product delivered to people to development as the expansion of capability

The third philosophical premise is the conception of development as the expansion of capability. The basic idea of Sen's *Development as Freedom* is that development has to be assessed in terms of the expansion of capability or the real freedoms people enjoy; that is, in terms of how development enhances the freedom of people to lead the lives they value and have reason to value on the one hand, and how these freedoms, in turn, stimulate further development.

The definition of development as the expansion of capability can be interpreted in three ways. The first way is to see the expansion of capabilities as an actual achievement of a given policy of development. In Sen's terms, it would be the issue of whether such a policy of development enhances people's substantive freedoms, that is, elementary capabilities (being nourished, being housed, avoiding morbidity and premature mortality, being literate or numerate), political participation, freedom of speech, etc. If Sen's definition were to be understood only from this perspective, and the planning of development done accordingly, the expansion of capability would only be a determined objective which would not necessarily involve the people's agency. The implication would be that people would remain in a state where they were patients rather than agents of their development, as in any top-down approach to development. People could be given food without participating in food production, or they could be educated yet not be allowed to use the knowledge and the skills acquired; or in the global economy they could be consumers instead of being both consumers and producers. This is, for instance, the case with institutions dominated and controlled by centre elites, that is, political leaders and civil servants often referred to as "state custodians" (Mbaku, 2004, p.3)

Thus, one cannot think of the validation of what people believe and value without reference to people's agency. Obviously that is not the kind of expansion of capability Sen is referring to since he conceives development as "the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, social deprivation, as well as the over-activity of oppressive states" (Sen 1999: 3). Sen was echoing Denis Goulet who observed that:

Participation of some sort is quite easy to obtain when it is induced by power wielders at the macro level. Strong governments easily "mobilise" large masses

to lend the appearance of support to their policies or leaders (Goulet, 1989, p.168).

As Goulet himself would observe, the expansion of capability cannot rely on “mobilisation” by the very fact that mobilisation is inauthentic and could encapsulate manipulation and co-optation. Instead, expansion of capability involves “organisation which can truly empower people” (Goulet, 1989, p.168).

The second perspective can thus be formulated: structural institutions involved in the planning of economic development consider the expansion of capability as a means to achieve further development. In other words, policies of development should include the empowerment of people in order to allow them to participate in the process of development so as to achieve further development. This is the whole issue of the interaction between agency and structural institutions, that is, how they feed each other (see Table 7-2).

Although the involvement of people is possible, the risk of treating people as a means of development remains. Earlier in the Chapter Four, I referred to a situation of participatory implementation whereby the decision-makers determine the goals (the goal of development, for instance) and the means (the people) to achieve them. In this process, the role of the people is limited to implementing the goals being targeted and to deciding the tactics. People are thus allowed to decide tactics, but they cannot have what they believe and value validated in the process because they do not own the whole process in the first place. There is no proper public discussion involved in the process. Public discussion may require going beyond the traditional social theory which often gives precedence to structure over agency (Jackson, 2005, p.106). The risk of making people the means of development could be avoided if human agency and social structures are perceived as intertwined and mutually reinforcing (Cf. Jackson, 1999; Mouzellis, 1995; Giddens, 1984). The following table (Table 7-2) is a schematic representation of the interaction between (individual/collective) capabilities and the structural institutions.

Table 7-0-2: Interaction between capabilities and the structural institutions⁵⁷

		Structural institutions	
		Strong	Weak
Individual/collective Capabilities	Expanded	A People are involved in development (mutual reinforcement between the structural institutions and the people). As a result people fully participate and realise their potential.	B People individually have the basics, but structural institutions do not canalise their capacities, and even block them, if not blocked they can be manipulated.
	Decreased	D The basic needs are provided but people are patients of their development (provider state). Functional participation as people could be used for the sake of development.	C Both the structural institutions of the society and the people are absorbed by a sentiment of powerlessness.

The third perspective is the combination of the first and the second perspectives. The capability expansion is both the end and the means of development. Part A in table 7-2 gives the ideal type of this capability expansion: development planning, policymaking and execution are the business of both the structural institutions and the people; as the people participate in their development, they become involved in the structural institutions of their society; and as the structural institutions involve the people, these institutions work better. This is the social and political meaning of development (Williams, 2004).

As a result, the duality between top-down/bottom-up, leadership-people duality, which has often characterised Africa's development practice, is avoided. In Chapter Six, I referred to a group of participants who argued that LPA and NEPAD are true expressions of what Africans believe and value insofar as they are strategies of economic development produced by African leaders/intellectuals. This argument arises from the top-down approach which was mostly used in the state-led development. Certain proponents of participatory development reacting to both state-led and market-led development advocate a bottom-up approach. One flaw of this approach is that development is thought of in a way that tends to exclude structural institutions, particularly the state. By advocating an interaction between structural institutions and the people in the process of development, the aim is to transcend mutual exclusion among the actors involved in development. Anthony Payne is right when he defends the new political economy launched in 1996, saying:

⁵⁷ See *On the link between local cultural values and projects of economic development: an interpretation in the light of the capability approach*. Synthesis report of my fellowship at Notre Dame University (2009)

[...] the methodology we have in mind rejects the old dichotomy between agency and structure, and states and markets [...] and seeks instead to build on those approaches in social science which have tried to develop an integrated analysis (Payne, 2006, p.1)

So far the third philosophical premise consists of a shift from the conception of development conceived as an end product delivered to people to the conception of development as the expansion of people's capability. The expansion of people's capability is both the end and the means of development. When development is seen as the expansion of people's capability, the development planning and the policies thereof become the business of both the people and structural institutions. The benefit of this philosophical premise is that it makes it possible to transcend the various dualities in the process of economic development.

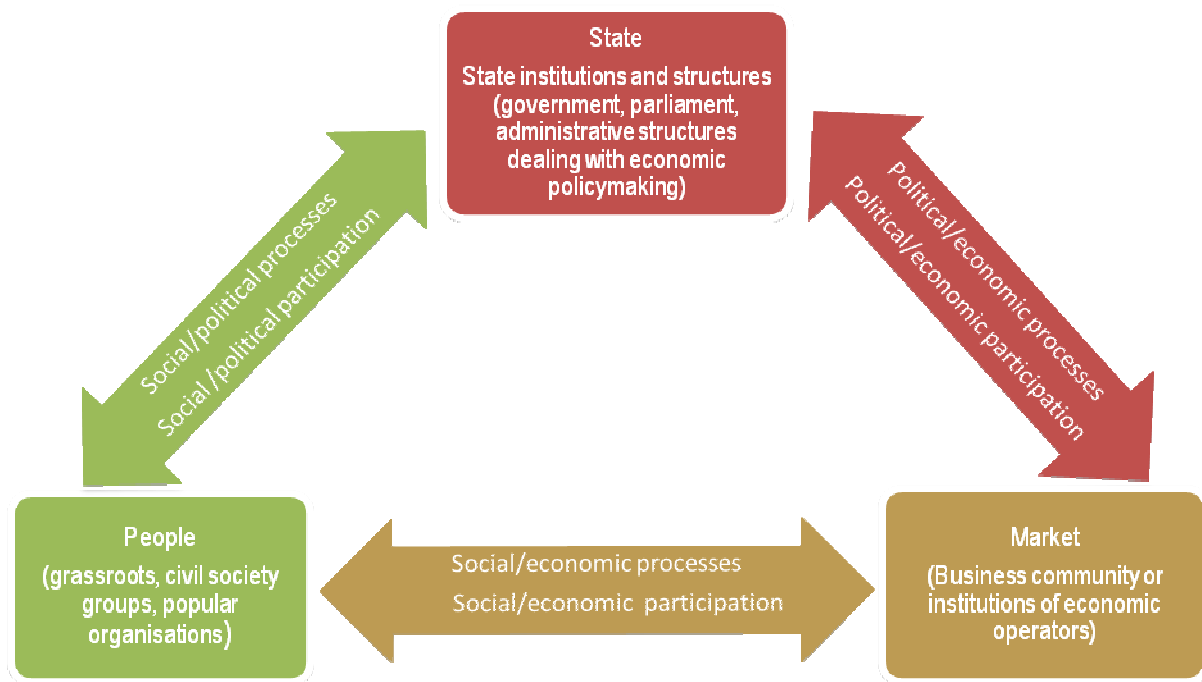
I shall now consider the fourth philosophical premise which will lead to the overall structure of economic development that fits with the African value system.

7.3.4 Baking the cake together: from capability to an inclusive process of economic development

The fourth philosophical premise is the principle of baking the cake together which concerns the involvement of all actors in the process of economic development. This principle is derived from the fact that the capability approach leads to economic development as an inclusive process. In the capability approach no one should be a patient of development. Furthermore, the idea of baking of the cake together expresses traditional African collaboration and cooperation towards a given end. The process of economic development is such that everybody has to contribute to the baking of the cake (that is, to economic development), and enjoy it not simply because it is good, but also because each one has contributed to its baking. Thus, the importance of this fourth philosophical premise is that it leads us to a structure of economic development that fits with the African value system. To recall, in this value system, no actors should be excluded in any process meant to involve them. That is the very meaning of the values of togetherness, collaboration and cooperation that are said to characterise African community.

As argued earlier, there are three major actors that structure the dynamics of economic development, namely the state, the people and the market. These actors must all be seen as agents in the process of Africa’s economic development. The following figure (Figure 7-1) represents the structure of an African economic development approach that responds to Sen’s capability approach and fits with the way the (Bantu) Africans conceive of themselves and the world around them.

Figure 7-1: The structure of economic development based on the African value system.



The triangle of the state, the market and the people may not seem new or original. The state-people-market relationship is featuring in the language of corporatism (Anand, 2009, p.9, Grant, 1985, pp.3-4). In the case of developing countries, Todaro and Smith (2009, p.573) argue that:

Successful economic development requires improved functioning of the public, private, and citizen sectors. Each plays essential and complementary roles in attaining balanced, shared, and sustainable development.

From 1998 to 2002, the government of Costa Rica used the model called the “Triangle of Solidarity” (ToS) in order to achieve participatory governance that could address poverty

(Smith, 2004, p.63; see also Smith, 2003, p.73). A similar approach is found in some other Latin American countries which aim at creating public spaces for political debate and what is called the economy of solidarity (Baiocchi, 2003; Souza, 2001; Jenkins, 2001; Kaufman & Dilla, 1997). Andreasson (2010, p.8) talks of “developmental nexus” which is thus described: “a site of political action where the state, market and societal actors converge and interact to produce policies aimed at socio-economic development”.

Like Andreasson (2010, p.9), Mbigi (2005, p.160-1) refers to the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) in South Africa and talks of the golden triangle of progress consisting of a tripartite alliance between government, business and civil society.

The representation of Africa’s economic development being proposed is, in certain ways, similar to Mbigi’s golden triangle, Andreasson’s developmental nexus, or the triangle of solidarity referred to by theorists of the social and solidarity economy. However, I differ from them by the fact that I arrive at this triangle as the result of validating the Bantu ontological make-up. The triangle I propose is meant to make the point that the process of economic development structured on the basis of the African value system must be inclusive. The cosmological and anthropological dimensions of the African community are such that their cohesion should be safeguarded and no aspect should be excluded or undermined.

The state, the people and the market must work inclusively to achieve a sustainable economic development. All of them must see the process of development as an expression of their capabilities and must see their capabilities expanded.

I now explain how the different components can work together. I begin with the state-people synergy.

7.3.4.1 State-people synergy: social/political processes and social/political participation

The problem that arose in post-colonial Africa’s development is that the people have come to view the prime duty of state authorities as “helping the people”, and people’s efforts as instrumental rather than political. The implication is a narrow view of public responsibility on the part of state institutions from which the people always expect “favours” and immediate

rewards for their vote or approval of leadership (Kurer, 1997, p.180). The social/political participation is intended to emphasise that the state and the people are distinct entities that interact not in view of favours and immediate rewards, but as agents in the process of economic development which, in return, empowers both of them.

As the above figure (Figure 7-1) shows, the state is understood in structural-functional terms. The state includes structures and institutions that shape the political life and the economic policymaking. To echo Handley (2008, p.7), those state structures and institutions include the cabinet, top-ranking politicians who deal with matters of economic policy, civil servants in the appropriate ministries, socio-economic commissions, and parliament. By the people, I mean the citizens in relation to the state apparatus and institutions. The people are often referred to as the general public, the population, or the masses. They include the people at the grassroots, local communities, the civil society organisations, and popular organisations.

The interaction between the state and the people is manifested in the participation in social and political processes. This participation consists of a public discussion on what, how, and why policies of economic development should be elaborated and implemented as well as the sharing of responsibilities. Thus, what brings the state and the people together in the process of economic development is the participation in the social and political processes that shape economic development. The process of economic development becomes democratic (cf. Sen 1999, p.34). Sen's capability approach to development requires that democracy be defined not just in terms of fair and free elections, but rather as a public discussion:

The issue of public discussion and social participation is central to the making of policy in a democratic framework. The use of democratic prerogatives - both political liberties and civil rights- is a crucial part of the exercise of economic policy making itself [...] (Sen, 1990, p.110).

Participation requires a mind shift in terms of power. Escobar (1984), Ferguson (1994), Williams (2004), to name but a few, discuss the issue of power and participation in the processes of economic development. For instance, Williams (2004:558) considers the aspect of the depoliticisation of development. He argues that subjects in participatory development are never controlled, even though participation may indeed be a form of subjection. It is not clear what Williams meant here. However one could interpret Williams as saying that participation

requires a certain organisation and discipline to which the concerned actors have to subscribe. Williams further investigates the participatory development's ability to open up new spaces for political action, and suggests the repoliticisation of participation in terms of an open-end and ongoing process of engagement with political struggles.

Ordinarily, the state assumes the position of power to the extent that the decision-making process tends to follow the top-down pattern. The people tend to assume a position of powerlessness and passivity, awaiting to execute the decisions from the top. The public discussion requires that the state move away from its self-centredness and the belief that it is the role of the state to plan and to run development. The state must challenge the preconception of itself as the sole agent of development (Theron, 2008, p.4; Pieterse, 2010, p. 25). Challenging its own self-centredness should lead the state to making the people part of the machinery of development governance (Cornwall, 2002, p.18). As far as the people are concerned, the mindshift requires them to develop a kind of self-confidence that moves them beyond the belief that they are there to enjoy the fruits of development produced and delivered by the state.

Thus, participation should neither be perceived as the depoliticisation of the state nor the repoliticisation of the people. Instead it must be seen as an opportunity for both actors, the state and the people to realise their agency. No state without the people; no people without the institutional organisation (cf. Williams, 2004, p. 558ff).

I now turn to the state-market synergy.

7.3.4.2 *State-Market synergy: political/economic processes and political/economic participation*

In the African political economy, the relation between the state and the market is as problematic as the relation between the state and the people. According to Kurer (1997, p.160), "African businesses operate constantly under conditions where market decisions are overridden by government". Accordingly, the reference made earlier in Chapter Six to leaders treating the people as their clients to whom they "deliver" development applies also to the market. Kurer rightly points out that:

Africa's political elite is [...] dominated by the exchange of material benefits for political support. This clientelist structure generates pressures to provide personal benefits to supporters, to expand the revenue base and to soften bureaucratic allocation. [...] The dependence of business on the support of the state to provide capital and profit opportunities prevents the emergence of a capitalist class with a secure power base outside politics (Kurer, 1997, p.169; see also Mbeki, 2009).

Hence, there is a need to delineate the state and the market as two distinct entities that must interact to achieve sustainable economic development. As I have already defined the state, I shall first define the market before proceeding with the participation in the political and economic processes. The concept of the market is not as simple as it appears at the first sight.

According to Rosenbaum (2000), to whom I am partly indebted for the following insights, the definitions of market can be classified into three categories. The first category consists of observational definitions. Firstly, the market is defined as a geographical area or a place in which exchange of commodities and services takes place between sellers and buyers (Hodgson, 1988, p. 173; Lipsey, 1983, p.69). Secondly, the market refers to people who exchange. Gravelle and Rees (1992, p.3; see also Jevons cited by Hedgesson, 1988, p.173; Marshall, 1919, p.182) argue that a market exists whenever people are prepared to enter into an exchange transactions, regardless of time and place. These definitions refer to the market in terms of what it is.

The second category is that of functional definitions. Here the emphasis is on the functions of the market or what it does. In orthodox economics, the market is a mechanism of resource allocation and the determination of prices by supply and demand (cfr. Boyer & Drache, 1996, p.3). In heterodox economics, the smithian invisible hand that allocates the resources and determines the prices is replaced by an institutional structure, - the state, which determines the price as well as the supply and the demand, based on either production or income effects.

The third category consists of structural definitions. The market is defined in reference to its mechanisms and structures. Hedgson (1988, p.174) argues that a market is a set of institutions in which commodity exchanges regularly take place, and are facilitated and structured by those

very institutions by means of contract agreements, property rights, and other regulatory mechanisms.

For the sake of this research, a synthesis of the three categories of definitions is needed. Thus aspects of the market considered in the structure of inclusive development processes must include: location, exchange, pricing mechanisms, resource allocation, transactions, and the people in terms of labour (both employers and employees), buyers and sellers. All these different components are but aspects of the market as an organised business; more precisely, a business community. The structural institutions intervene in terms of participation in the market processes and are part of the market, although only extrinsically.

Figure 7-2 shows that the interaction between the state and the market consists of participation in political and economic processes. As in the case of the state-people interaction, participation must be premised on public discussion in/on the process of economic development. However, the achievement of the synergy between the two entities in development presupposes a prior premise: the recognition of an intrinsic interdependence of the state and the market as agents involved in shaping developmental policies (cf. Andreasson, 2010, p. 53). Underhill and Zhang argue that the state and market agents, despite the analytical distinction, evolve and exist symbiotically in practice, and that the developmental outcome of the whole is distinguishable from the interests of particular state or market agents (quoted by Andreasson, 2010, p.53).

Mbigi (2005, p.58) discusses the pathway of development and outlines two principles which could serve the purpose of this discussion, namely the market principle and the democratic principle. The market principle requires the state to recognise that every economic activity and wealth creation requires the market. The role of the state vis-à-vis the market is not simply to facilitate the market processes as is often suggested by the proponents of a minimal state involvement in the economy, or to catalyse or promote the market as suggested by proponents of the developmental state. Instead, market actors must be substantially involved in the political processes and strategies devised to shape economic development. The state must engage with the market to such an extent that the market achieves the goals of both economic growth and sustainable economic development.

Handley (2008, pp. 20-21) suggests that the interaction between the state and business should be seen in terms of timing and sequencing. She says:

It matters whether it is business or the state that emerges and consolidates the foundations for its political capacity first. In particular, if the state is able to consolidate itself [...], this can strengthen the hand of that state in subsequent interactions with business. [...] the ideological and policy flavor of the era in which local business community emerges will shape the nature of the state and its intervention in the economy, and hence will determine the kind of market in which business interests will have to function (Handley, 2008, pp. 20-21).

However, one must be aware of the power struggle between the two entities. This power struggle can only be avoided if there is public debate on the policies of economic development and the role each actors should play. The state and the market do not emerge separately, contrary to what Handley holds. Both the state and the market presuppose the existence of the people. Wherever there are people, there is also production and consumption, and exchange between people; and therefore, the market.

The interaction between the two agents requires a political space (Mohan & Stokke, 2000, p. 247). This political space must avoid two problems. The first is caused by the belief that the state can do it alone as has been the case in the state planned economy and the Keynesian model of economic development in the aftermath of the market failure. The second is caused by the belief that the market can do it alone, as has been the case with the free market economy in the aftermath of the failure of the state economy. Avoiding the two problems leads to dissolving the mutual accusation which often results in the intervention of the state in the name of market failure or the market self-imposition in the name of government failure.

I shall now turn to the last aspect of the structure, namely, the people-market synergy.

7.3.4.3 People-market synergy: social/economic processes and social/economic participation

As the state, the people, and the market have already been defined, I will move straight to the interaction between the market and the people. The interaction between the people and the market presupposes participation in the processes of economic development. This

participation cannot be fulfilled without a public discussion between the two actors. How can this public discussion be organised, who should organise it, and on which platform?

In ordinary language, to talk of the market is to talk of what is referred to as the economic elites also known as economic operators who dominate the exchange, pricing mechanisms, transactions and resource allocation. These are the major players who tend to dominate the market. The public discussion involves the people and those who play a major role in the market, coming together to reflect and discuss how and what policies of development should be shaped and implemented, and how each one should be empowered to do so.

Mbigi (2005, p.149) talks of economic liberation as consisting of the right to an economic vote, the right to economic opportunities, the right of employment opportunities, and the right to basic needs. The economic liberation has two aspects. The first aspect is the demarginalisation of the population, which tends to withdraw from the formal economy in favour of the economy of subsistence, so that they can also play a role in the market system and contribute to the overall economy. When they are withdrawn from their marginal position, the participation in the public discussion geared to devising policies of development is no longer a matter of rights in general, but what Sen has called “entitlements”, that is, participation becomes a legal right. The second aspect is to bring the economic elites to change their mind about seeing the people as passive consumers, when the economic entitlements is such that they must participate in wealth creation.

These two aspects lie in the midst of a legendary tension which exists between the people and the market and which the public discussion should deal with. There are various ways of expressing this rivalry and enmity. In the search for a way out of the Great Depression of 1929, Keynes complained about the market not being able to deliver the good. Andreasson (2010, p.15) talks of people’s aspirations to a better life clashing with the markets’ imperatives of accumulation and profits. I have already expressed the fact that people revert to themselves in the form of local development in which they feel self-confident, empowered and their participation taken care off. The post-Marxists talk of this empowerment as a matter of collective mobilisation of marginalised groups against the disempowering activities of both the state and the market (Mohan & Stokke, 2000, p. 248; see Castells, 1997; Friedmann, 1992). Escobar (1992, p. 424) observes the distrust of the market actors who regard the grassroots orientations as disrupting the link between development, capital and science, and thus

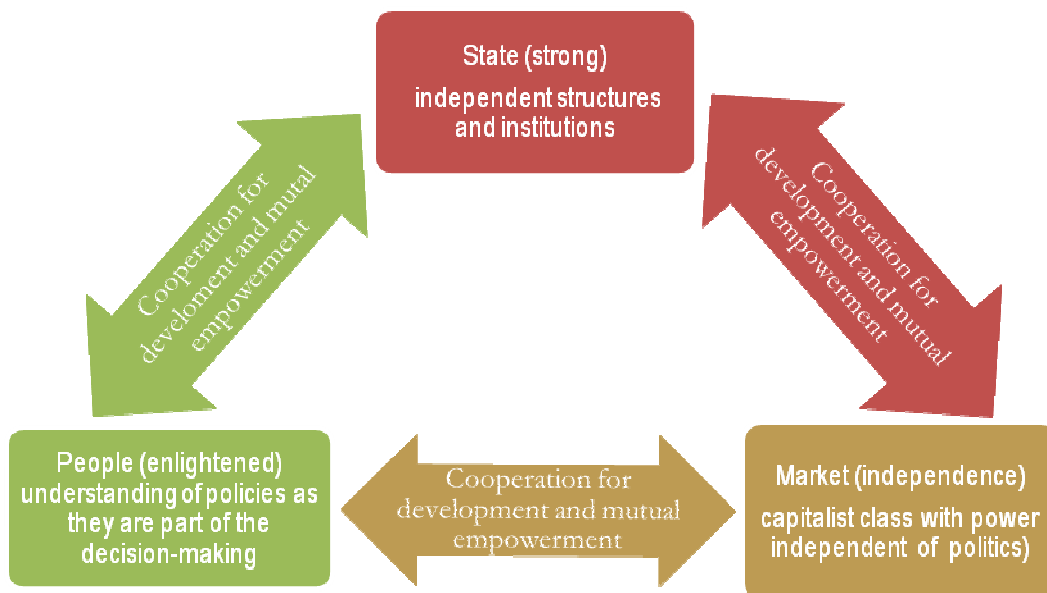
destabilising the machinery of the development apparatus. Others talk of unhealthy and unskilled people who neither participate effectively in development project and the market arena, nor have a full voice in these decisions that affect them (cf. Todaro & Smith, 2009, p.570).

The participation of the market and the people in the development process becomes an opportunity to escape from the abuses of the market power geared to accumulation and profits so as to take care of the grievances of the people. According to Streeck and Schmitter (1985, p.119), people often respond to such abuses by informal collusion and clientenistic arrangements. It is not clear what is meant by “informal collusion” and “clientenistic arrangements”. It is possible that Streeck and Schmitter are referring to such actions as demonstrations and marches against businesses on the one hand, and the tendency people have to associate with the state so as to weaken the negative impact of the market on them, on the other hand. A concrete example could be the recent South African Youth League march to the Chamber of Mines and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, (October 27, 2011) which seems to be a follow-up of the appeal for the nationalisation of certain sectors of South Africa’s economy. One could also refer to the 2011 march on Wall Street in New York and other major centres of business in the United States of America. Such acts could be perceived as an obstacle to the normal evolution of the market. Yet, according to Bowles and Gintis (2002), it is in this way that the people deal with what they consider to be the market failures that affect them.

In return the people could deal with the grievances of the market, so that they are both agents in the development process. The way the people could proceed is first of all by appreciating what the business community can do in the process of economic development. What the business community can do could include, among other things, to provide capital and support the funding for learning of sciences , to make available affordable health facilities and skills which people often lack for them to participate meaningfully in the social and economic processes. This appreciation should lead to people’s confidence and good faith in the market as the necessary ingredients for a stable economic exchange; while the market would provide the people with opportunities for sustainable production and consumption (cf. Streeck & Schmitter,1985, p.119). It is within this kind of interaction between the people and the market that a sustainable process of economic development could unfold.

So far, I outlined how the three actors could work together in Africa’s process of economic development on the principle of baking the cake together. I shall present schematically what the three agents become in the process and what links them (Figure 7-2). The state, the people, and the market are seen as distinct entities which cooperate for development and mutual empowerment. In the process of cooperation, each is empowered and achieves fully its identity: a strong state with independent structures and institutions, an enlightened people who understand development policies because they are part of the decisionmaking, and the market, consisting of a capitalist class with power independent of politics.

Figure 7-2: The three actors according to what they become in the process of development



So far I have dealt with the fourth philosophical premise which consists of the principle of baking the cake together. This principle echoes the idea of cooperation and collaboration in the African value system. Yet it is derived from the capability approach. Its relevance lies in the fact that it leads to a structure of economic development that fits with the African inclusive value system. The capability approach is such that all actors must be agents in the process of economic development. The state, the people and the market must be involved in the process of economic development as in the process of baking the cake together.

I shall now conclude this chapter.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the philosophical premises that should lead economic development in Africa. These premises must address three major problems which bedevil Africa's planning of development, namely the spirit of extroversion, the designing of plans and policies of economic development as if development were an autonomous process of which the product is delivered to people, and finally the problem of exclusion which leads each of the three actors (state, people and market) to proceed in development without involving others.

I outlined Sen's capability approach and indicated that its aspects - the ability of people to lead the lives they value and have reason to value, agency and the expansion of the real freedoms people enjoy, which could be seen as expressions characteristic of *umuntu-w'ubuntu/umuntu-mu-bantu*. I argued that these aspects do not only underlie the process of economic development, but that they are also aspects in relation to which development itself must be defined and shaped. Accordingly, based on Sen's capability approach I laid down four premises on which economic development in Africa should be based.

The first premise consists of shifting from extroversion to the freedom of Africans to lead the lives they value and have reason to value. The relevance of this premise lies in the fact that it allows Africans to appreciate their beliefs and values in the process of economic development.

The second premise consists of the shift from the conception of development as an autonomous process to an agency-based development. I argued that the relevance of this premise lies in the very definition of the concept of agency, namely the people in action. In other words, this premise is geared to getting people involved in economic development as a process whose starting-point and end-point is these same people.

The third premise is the shift from the conception of development as an end product delivered to people to the conception of development as an expansion of capability. The importance of this premise lies in the new understanding of development as the expansion of people's capability. This expansion itself is geared to achieving further development. Moreover, I argued that this premise provides the possibility of transcending the various dualities that are often observed in the processes of development so that development is the business of both the people and their structural institutions.

Finally the fourth premise is the principle of baking the cake together, derived from the fact that, in Sen's capability approach, none of the main actors (the state, the people, or the market) should be made a patient in the development process. The relevance of this premise is two-fold. First, its importance lies in the fact that it leads to a structure of economic development that fits with the African value system. Secondly, in the process of cooperation, each of the three actors or rather agents is empowered and achieves fully its identity.

The four premises should allow any African strategy of economic development to be rooted in what Africans believe and value. The next chapter is the general conclusion. It will present an overview of the macro-argument of this research, identify the implications of the research findings, and provide a critical reflection on the research project.