

GOOD GOVERNANCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: RECONCILING THE STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Peace A. Jiboku and Joseph. O. Jiboku

Department of Political Science, Olabisi Onabanjo University, Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria
Department of Industrial Relations and Personnel Management, Olabisi Onabanjo University,
Ago-Iwoye, Ogun State, Nigeria

Corresponding Author's email: jibokujoe@yahoo.com



Abstract

The anticipated social transformation and political development that was expected after independence was achieved in many African countries still remains unrealised. Independence was expected to bring about defining and qualitative improvements in the lives of the people in African countries. However, these countries continue to be bedevilled with several social, political and economic challenges while the continent has remained slow in its development trajectory. Scholars agree on the urgent need to develop effective governance structures and institutions in African countries towards achieving much needed socio-economic development in Africa. Drawing from the explanations of the Social Contract Theory of the state, this paper advances the case of civil society empowerment for effective participation in governance and development processes in Africa. This would entail deliberate efforts aimed at addressing human security and human capital development issues towards reconciling the state and civil society without which good governance and socio-economic development will remain a defining challenge in Africa.

Keywords: African States, Civil Society, Good Governance, Social Contract Theory, Socio-Economic Development

Introduction

Good governance and socio-economic development are cherished goals of all nations, both developed and developing and there is a growing consensus on the symbiotic relationship between the two concepts, one impacting positively on the other (See NEPAD, 2002; Aredo and Adal, 2009; Ikejiaku, 2009; Alemazung, 2011; Landsberg, 2012). However, while other continents have made progress in governance and development generally, Africa lags behind. Although few African countries at particular periods have had good leaders and have been fairly prosperous (Uzodike, 2009), showing positive economic growth trends, the reality is that overall, socio-economic, political and leadership indicators are poor in Africa (See Ngambi, 2011). Despite the different economic programmes and development initiatives formulated by successive African governments at the national, sub-regional and regional levels, human security and human capital development challenges persist. These are pointers that development initiatives are yet to impact positively on the lives of majority of the people. Even though policy outcomes may be uneven across and within African countries, African governments and policy makers appear to have failed in prioritising the effective implementation of policies that take into account the needs and challenges of the African populace. Moreover, Africa's civil society who are supposed to be

participant in development processes and who are supposed beneficiaries of government policies are not actively involved in decision making processes. Thus, popular participation, as a key attribute of good governance is yet to take its firm root in African politics while development processes in most African countries have continued to be elite driven.

The view is expressed that underpinning many development problems in African countries is, first and foremost, the crisis of governance – the crisis of the African state (Adeniji, 2000; Onyeoziri, 2002; Aredo and Adal, 2009; Maipose, 2009; Poku and Mdee, 2011). For instance, Ake (1996) has argued that African leaders are responsible for a perverse alienation, poor government and civil society relations, a weak sense of national identity and the perception of the government as a hostile institution. African leaders have proved themselves to be “incompetent as state managers” (Poku and Mdee, 2011:1). It is believed that many of the solutions to the myriad of problems confronting the African continent could be found at the country level given effective and visionary leadership committed to the implementation of dynamic domestic economic policies. Therefore, the discourse on good governance in Africa, although has aroused several contentions among African scholars, centres on the need for political and economic reforms in Africa towards reconciling the African state and its civil society.

The state in Africa has variously been described as imported, alien, powerful but weak, irrelevant, dependent and illegitimate, having no roots in the society (See Jackson and Rosberg, 1982; Sorenson 1997; Osaghae, 1998; Onyeoziri, 2002; Poku and Mdee, 2011). The gap between the state and society is yet to be bridged and therefore is an impediment to development. Africa’s civil society is yet to effectively occupy its position in governance and developmental processes in the continent. This paper contributes to the discourse of good governance and socio-development in Africa and calls for effective state-society relations. It is a desktop research and examines the literature on issues of governance and socio-economic development in Africa. Its probing questions are: Why has good governance become a topical issue and how is it connected to state and society relations in Africa? How does the civil society contribute to promoting good governance and socio-economic development and to what extent has it been involved in Africa? What challenges confront Africa’s civil society organisations and how can civil society be reconciled to the state in Africa? In order to address these questions, the paper has been structured into nine sections. Section two explains the research method adopted while section three discusses the Social Contract Theory and how it is connected with issues examined in this paper. Section four examines the nature and dimension of crises in Africa. In section five, the concepts of governance and good governance are clarified and in section six African states and issues of governance are discussed. Section seven is titled: An overview of Africa’s response to the challenge of governance and socio-economic development while section eight explores the role of civil society and the challenges and prospects of civil society participation in governance and development processes in Africa. Section nine is on the conclusion of the paper and also presents the suggestions of the authors to inform policy.

Research Method

This is a theoretical paper and based on desk research incorporating the work of scholars who have written extensively on issues with regards to Africa’s governance and socio-economic dilemmas. Secondary data were obtained from relevant texts, journal articles, conference, workshop and seminar reports and institutional lectures. Secondary data obtainable from reliable internet sources were also used. The researchers undertook a thematic discourse analysis in order to explore salient economic and political issues analysed in the paper. Discourse analysis is a “methodology for analysing social phenomenon that is qualitative, interpretive and

constructionist” (Hardy et al. 2004:19). The interest in undertaking discourse analysis is exploring social reality and, in doing so, focusing on the relation between text and context. It enabled the researchers to connect the issues examined in this paper with previous discourses.

The Social Contract Theory of the State

From time immemorial, man has been in a quest for order and peace as a vehicle for the socio-economic transformation of his society. The emergence of the state as an institution for the coordination of the affairs of men for collective benefits and welfare has also helped in strengthening the quest for order.

The enlightenment philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, J.J. Rousseau, Montesquieu and others helped to concretise the relationship between the state and the civil society under the notion of “social contract” (Appadorai, 1975; Laskar, 2013; Mukherjee and Ramaswamy, 2007; Sabine and Thorson, 1973). The social contract theory, as read from the works of Plamenatz (1966), was based on the notion that men had originally created the state by means of a social contract to which each individual had consented. The state, according to the social contract theory, was created by a number of individuals who voluntarily entered into a contract, the terms of which provided a political authority. As a voluntary association, however, it differed from any other because it provided for the exercise of sovereignty, the supreme power to control by coercive means, if need be, the conduct of its members. The political obligation to submit to that authority is binding upon the individuals for the very reason that they voluntarily accepted it (Deng 2010; Laskar, 2013; Nbeta, 2012).

The idea of a “social contract” presupposes a situation whereby the state and the civil society have a “mutual” and “reciprocal” relationship. The civil society submits their individual freedom and liberty to the state, while the state offers protection. Essentially, as long as the civil society remains committed to the state, the state offers protection from every form of arbitrariness. This mutual respect for the roles of each other helps in sustaining the contract.

In modern society, the idea of contractual relationship can be subsumed under the wellbeing of the state and welfare of the citizenry (Nbeta, 2012). Adam Smith (1869) identified three purposes of the state as follows: the duty of protecting society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies; the duty of protecting subjects from injustice, that is, the duty of enabling a system of justice; and the duty of erecting and maintaining certain public works and public institutions (see also, Turan, 2010). Laski (1967) sees the state not as an end itself, but merely as the means to an end. It exists to enable the majority of men to realise social good on the largest possible scale. The state is a means to the enrichment of individual personality. It exists to enable men, at least, to realise the best in themselves. According to Laski (1967), therefore, men can be enabled to realise the best in themselves only if the state provides rights, such as the right to work, to education, to basic freedoms -- speech, press, association, and religion, to vote, and to stand as candidate for election.

The implication of the assertions above, therefore, is that all states are expected to perform said functions, and to the extent that a state does not effectively carry out the expected functions, that state is seen as having failed in its own part of the social contract. As such, the citizens have a moral right to withdraw their loyalty to the dictates of the social contract. To what extent, therefore, is the social contract valid in Nigeria? The social contract theory is used in this paper to examine the conditions of governance and socio-economic development in Africa. The concern is that the civil society in Nigeria has not had a good bargain with the state as poverty pervades the land with dire consequences on the entire fabrics of society. Nigeria continues to be confronted

with different socio-economic problems. The state seems to have failed in promoting the interests of its civil society and most citizens have lost interest in participating in the activities of government. The authors argue that the apparent collapse of the contractual relationship between the state and society in Africa is what has led to different vices experienced within the polity which have impeded development in Africa. Addressing the issue of the social contract between state and society in Africa will go a long way in re-enacting the values and demands of the contract in the minds of Africans for them to work towards the wellbeing of the state and their own welfare.

The Nature and Dimension of Crises in Africa

Africa presents a continent of contrasting trends. The continent is blessed with enormous natural, material and human resources (much more than other regions), yet has remained slow in its development trajectory harbouring most of the least developed countries of the world. With the end of colonial rule in most parts of the African continent six decades ago, there were hopes and expectations of good governance and economic prosperity for African countries. These expectations have since been dashed as Africa has continued to suffer constant and serious setbacks and most of its countries experience political and socio-economic challenges among others. Thus, some African countries are in actual fact, poorer today than they were on the “eve of independence” (Ndulu, 1998:4). Africa’s political liberation has not been accompanied by the economic liberation critical for people-centred, sustainable human development (Matlosa, 2010).

According to the Millennium Development Goals Report 2014, sub-Saharan Africa is one of the continents in which a “majority of the people [are] living on less than \$1.25 a day” (see, United Nations, 2014:9). Majority of Africa’s population reside in rural communities where they find it difficult to enjoy the benefits of national social service policies and some are not even aware of these services (Ngambi, 2011). Life expectancy at birth remains low (WHO, 2014) and unemployment has remained a common problem in many African countries. Moreover, Africa houses a large percentage of the world’s refugees (Africa Renewal, 2016-2017), and accounts for majority of the people who live with HIV/AIDS (WHO Factsheet, 2017). Also, a significant number of Africans still die from malaria, cholera and other related ailments which could possibly be prevented or cured (see Rull, 2015). Sub-Saharan Africa contains a significant percentage of the world’s malnourished people as food insecurity remains a problem in the continent (FAO, IFAD and WFP, 2014:12). The effects of poverty and rampant diseases are further exacerbated by environmental challenges such as drought, desertification, deforestation, and poor agricultural practices (Penny, 2009).

In light of the human security challenges listed above, it is not surprising that Africa is a weak player in the international economic system; the continent’s resources continue to be exploited by non-regional actors. The continent’s record in terms of major indices such as trade, foreign investment, educational advancement and skilled labour force, the use of information and communication technologies, and others, has been disappointing (Rugumamu, 2001).

The persistent and costly conflicts in many parts of the African continent, over the years, present another issue of serious concern. In 2017, for instance, fifteen African countries were either “involved in war or [were] experiencing post-war conflict and tension” (African Sun News, 2017). The net effect has been that national and collaborative initiatives, investments and long-term planning have been retarded or non-existent.

While many have blamed colonialism for the inability of African leaders and their people to achieve development generally, more recently, African leaders began to emphasise the implications of bad governance, corruption and other negative political impediments on the continent's socio-economic development processes (See, Ngara, 2011). Weak state and civil society relations have also impacted negatively on Africa's development agenda as most policies implemented by government have failed to address the needs of the population. These problems, as argued in this paper, could be mitigated if African leaders and policy makers promote good governance, democracy, effective and responsible leadership, and the implementation of deliberate and appropriate policies. Some useful lessons could be adapted from the experiences of growth and development achieved by the Association of Southeast Asian countries (ASEAN) as well as China. These countries exemplified that effective governance is a pre-condition for socio-economic development. Through empowering their citizens, collective self/indigenous effort and committed leadership, some of the Asian states compete effectively in the global economic arena (Deng, 2010; Page, 1994).

This paper furthers the argument that good governance will continue to remain elusive in Africa without a vibrant and well-equipped civil society effectively prepared to contribute to socio-economic development in Africa in a particularly globalising world economy. It thus assesses the roles of Africa's civil society in promoting good governance and the prospects of socio-economic development in the continent.

Defining Governance and Good Governance

Governance refers to: "the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority at all levels to manage a country's affairs. It comprises the mechanisms, processes, and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences" (UN DESA, UNDP, UNESCO, 2012:3). Berhany (2009:109) opines that "governance can be understood as the legitimacy of the state, its structures and institutions, and the *modus operandi* of government". Governance is a more embracing concept than government. It is the practice of good government (Bratton and Rothchild, 1992:267). Governance can be understood as the legitimacy of the state, its structures and institutions, and the *modus operandi* of government (Berhany, 2009:109).

The concept of 'good governance' has become popular in daily usage and has been applied in various instances in corporate organisations. This concept however, has taken an additional meaning with reference to the management of public affairs (Worldegiorgis, 2019). It has been variously defined by scholars as embodying several positive elements. Rwomire (2009:67) notes that the principles of good governance are "neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive, they are also complementary and mutually reinforcing". According to the World Bank (1989:60), good governance is "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development". Where good governance prevails, there are mechanisms for effective state and civil society collaboration in the management of public affairs. A new relationship exists which is beneficial to both the state and its civil society (Yu Keping, 2018). Thus, good governance is closely associated with the principles of democracy (OSSREA, 2009; See also Worldegiorgis, 2019). It entails: promoting transparency and accountability in the public sphere, government operating within a constitutional democratic process, the constitution should provide for democratic principles such as the rule of law, separation of powers, popular participation and protection of human rights, effective and efficient public service (Gisselquist, 2012). These conditions, it is argued, would create the enabling environment for realising development objectives (Landsberg, 2012; Poku and Mdee, 2011). Thus, good governance and

socio-economic development are cherished goals of all nations, both developed and developing and most development institutions today say that promoting good governance occupies a central place in their agenda (Gisselquist, 2012).

Good governance, scholars and writers emphasise, embodies the various discourses of citizen participation (OSSREA, 2009; Venter, 2009; Bing-Pappoe, 2010; Poku and Mdee, 2011). It has been argued that good governance, cannot be achieved without a “viable, strong and informed civil society” (UNDP, 1997:11; see also, UNDP Civicus, 2011:17). As Ogom (2010/11:38) opines, “civil society represents the lubricants of state-society relations, the engine without which development and effective governance and democratic consolidation would stall”. Evidence supports the fact that in countries where civil society is allowed to operate freely, they have experienced peace, stability and economic progress (ECA, 2010/11; Hamam and Quedraogo, 2012). Alence (2004:163-187) analysed the impact of political institutions on governance quality in a sample of 38 Sub-Saharan African countries and his findings revealed that a combination of democratic contestation and institutional restraints on governments’ discretionary authority, substantially improves developmental governance. These findings reflect the nature and dimensions of the development crises in Africa.

Good governance in essence, refers to a minimal state, corporate governance, and new public management. It also embodies a broad reform strategy and a set of initiatives to strengthen the institutions of civil society, with the objective of making government more accountable, legitimate and more responsive to the needs of the citizenry (Maipose, 2009:9). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) advocates that a “viable, strong and informed civil society is central to good governance ... and should be (an) effective partner in the process of development” (UNDP, 1997:11). Good governance is facilitated under the condition where there are means by which citizens can participate in the political process and thereby express their preferences about public policy; how well these preferences are aggregated for effective policy-making; and hold the leadership accountable for their decisions and actions. Political leaders in their role as public trustees ensure the openness of public policy-making; are ready to share information with citizens; and adhere to the rule of law (Hyden, 1992:15-16; Venter, 2009:30). Importantly, the different groups in the state demonstrate tolerance of one another in the pursuit of politics, and voluntary associations transcend the boundaries of kinship, ethnicity or race (Hyden, 1992; OSSREA, 2009; Venter, 2009:30).

Following the above explanations, it is an obvious reality that good governance is a precondition for socio-economic development (NEPAD 2002; Aredo and Adal, 2009; Ikejiaku, 2009; Landsberg, 2012). This assertion not only reflects the inseparability between politics and economics but also expresses the explicit link between development, peace, security, governance and democracy (Moore, 2003; Landsberg, 2012). While governments are instituted in order to alleviate and, if possible, resolve many of the conflicts and problems faced by the members of a society and provide the framework for development, the cost, the priorities and the policies of governments can themselves constitute serious problems for citizens and may actually reduce a society’s capacity for problems solving (Abernethy, 1988). This is the situation in many African countries where the concept of governance is still evolving and as a result socio-economic development remains a challenge.

During the 1950s and 1960s after independence was achieved, states were the main agents of development. The dominant roles assigned to the state led to a strong centralisation and executive dominance, a common feature deliberately built in the constitutions of newly independent (African) countries (Maipose, 2009:8-9) However, poor leadership with its

associated consequences in most African countries, among other factors, led to a rethink on the state-led development strategy in favour of the private sector and the emphasis on good governance since the 1980s (Maipose, 2009). The 1989 World Bank Report identified personalisation of power, prevalence of unaccountable and authoritarian governments, violation of human rights, rampant corruption, absence of the rule of law, state intervention in the economy, and lack of decentralisation as primary causes underlying the crises in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 1989:7). The failure of the African state to promote good governance is associated with the poor state of socio-economic development in Africa.

African States and Issues of Governance

Most African states share similar characteristics and problems. They were mostly colonial creations foisted on the African people by the colonialists and, as such, did not evolve from within society. The boundaries of the state were drawn artificially without due recognition of geographical elements such as size, population, and natural resources endowments; social demographics such as ethnic affinities, culture, or economic conditions of different societies (Adogamhe, 2008; Olivier, 2010). African states were hurriedly instituted by the colonialists to facilitate their political administration. To this end, the colonial boundaries that were created not only divided groups that were formerly homogenous entities but also brought together, within the same geographical space, different groups, which in many cases, did not share common interests (Akokpatri, 2008; Aiyede, 2010/11). These boundaries were inherited by African leaders at independence and were accepted by these leaders when the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed in 1963. Thus, a particular issue of concern has to do with how African leaders are committed and able to manage these diversities (Adogamhe, 2008).

Englebert (2000:1823) asserts that, "Africa is the region with the highest proportion of countries where the process of state creation was exogenous to their societies and where the leadership, or ruling class, inherited the state rather than shaping it as an instrument of its existing or developing hegemony". African states, as colonial creations, did not command the loyalty of the people as their own state. There was a "divide" between the state and society. The state was alien to the people who had already built confidence in their ethnic formations which existed in the pre-colonial African setting.¹ Post-independence African states were thus considered to be illegitimate states (See, Jackson and Rosberg, 1982:1-4; Osaghae 2003:6-12; Aiyede, 2010/11:55-56; Deng, 2010:1-7). These states "suffered from a dichotomisation between power and statehood" (Englebert 2000:1821-1823). The issue of concern in this paper is that post-independence African leaders have been ineffective in managing the affairs of their states. National integration has proven to be a challenge in many African countries in the face of endemic poverty, inequitable distribution of national resources, poor governance, political corruption, ethnic fractionalisation, ethnocentrism, and nepotism -- with consequent political-economic implications for national, sub-regional and regional development (Adogamhe, 2008; Salawu, 2010; Ikejiaku, 2009; Alemazung, 2011). Lack of shared political, economic and social interests, norms and values undermine national development and the spill-over effects are felt at the sub-regional and continental levels (Adediji, 2002).

Clearly, there are a number of political problems in most African countries which have continued to affect the realisation of development objectives. In Nigeria, some ethnic groups cry of

¹The phrase, 'Two Publics', formulated and made popular by Peter Ekeh was written to show how African civil society reflected the characteristics of the post-independence African state. (For details, see P. Ekeh, 1975)

marginalisation in the political affairs of the country; there are problems associated with tribalism and nepotism, revenue allocation, lack of trust in political leaders, election rigging, restiveness/militancy as witnessed in the Niger Delta, ethno-religious violence, inter-ethnic violence, political instability, among others. There is, therefore, the problem of eliciting loyalty, sympathy, support, dedication and commitment among citizens in a divided society (Canci and Adekoya, 2016; Akinyemi, 2017). Also in Rwanda, democracy and political governance arouse several questions as individuals are reluctant to express their views on public matters; the constitution tends to discourage forums for dissenting ideas and opinions about politics but adopts a consensus rather than a competitive approach in making political choices (AU/APRM, 2006; BTI, 2012). Despite the progress which the country has made after the period of genocide in 1990 (See IMF Report on Rwanda, 2014), scholars and observers report the 'fragile' nature of Rwanda's democracy (Chene and Mann, 2011; BTI, 2012). Furthermore, the case of South Africa is notable. Despite the economic progress recorded since the beginning of its democracy in 1994 (See IDC/DRI Report, 2013), persisting challenges in the country include: poverty and racial inequality in accessing services and public wealth, unemployment, weak capacities and human capital base particularly at the local level making for rural-urban dichotomy, corruption, high rate of crime and violence, HIV AIDS among others (AU/APRM, 2007; Mbelle, 2010). These problems have been linked to the characteristics and workings of African states and their institutions of governance (Kefale and Aredo, 2009:89; Salawu, 2010:348; Ngambi, 2011:6-19; Poku and Mdee, 2011:1-3). In most cases, lack of effective political leadership, poor governance, corruption, socially divisive politics, weak economic policies, and lack of concern for the needs and welfare of citizens have given rise to intra-state and inter-state conflicts which negatively impact on Africa's development processes.

As a result of their weak internal legitimacy, the continued existence of post-independence African states was based mainly on the formal recognition bestowed on them by international law as sovereign entities (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982:3-4). African elites in the post-colonial period, have since found it a hurdle to restructure the African state to drive the development process and satisfy the functions associated with modern states (Poku and Mdee, 2011; Cilliers and Schunemann, 2013). It is therefore argued that the political and socio-economic challenges experienced in Africa not only reflect the nature of the state in the continent, but also that, "the character, material and historical circumstances and the nature of politics affect how these problems occur and are addressed in terms of policy statements and actions" (Aiyede, 2010/11:55).

Consequently, the post-colonial African state appears to have failed in effectively addressing the social, economic and political needs of the people (Aiyede, 2010/11:55-56). Akokpari (2008:90-103) examines the state's failure in terms of its inability and incapacity to handle carefully the challenges and difficulties associated with diverse groups co-existing together. The issue of concern is that the post-colonial African state has not maintained its position as an impartial agency in the allocation of national resources to the various groups which constitute the state and which compete for such resources (See, Onyeoziri, 2002). Rather, as Aiyede (2010/11:55) asserts, "in most African countries, regional cleavages have coincided with group or sectional inequalities providing fertile ground for political entrepreneurs, who turn regional differences and inequalities to political capital". Thus, the autonomy of the African state has been questioned.

Attempts made by successive African governments to deal with issues of ethnic diversities and regional cleavages and to promote national consciousness, democracy and good governance have been less than successful as most African states have continuously been affected by political

crises, instability and insecurity (Akokpari, 2010/11:71-75). These challenges are fuelled by the lack of effective leadership, poor governance, weak state-civil society relations and dissatisfaction with government policies. In most cases, however, the political settings of most African states have been characterised by violent competition for national resources including the quest to control political power. Hence, politics has become a “do-or-die” affair (Onyeoziri, 2002; Akokpari, 2010/11:71-75; Alemazung, 2011). The violent contestation for political power led to an outbreak of military coups experienced in some African countries -- Benin, the Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Ghana, Togo and Upper Volta -- a few years after they were granted independence (See, Nwolise, 2000:8-13; Cilliers and Schunemann, 2013:1-3). Internal conflicts continue to be characteristic of a number of post-independence African states.

The intense competition for political power arises out of the reality that the post-independence African state is the major allocator of state resources (Akokpari, 2008:90-103). The state is the major employer of labour (see, Filmer and Fox, 2014). Yet, the African state fails to meet the needs of its citizens. Therefore, viewing the occupation of political offices as an avenue to control state resources could be mirrored in the light of the underdeveloped nature of the African state and poverty which pervades the society (see, Poku and Mdee, 2011). Accordingly, most African governments, once they occupy public offices, do not wish to hand-over power (Sikod, 2008:202). Indeed, some governments “pervert” democracy, rig elections and engage in politically corrupt activities (Venter, 2009:39). Consequently, as Ikejiaku (2009:19) argues, “political corruption has been identified as one of the major causes of poverty”. It is associated with the failure of development in third world countries, particularly in Africa. Corruption, especially in the realm of politics, has become a common feature, visible in the African state. Political corruption is endemic and severe and perpetuates Africa’s crises of leadership and governance. Corruption permeates all aspects of Africa’s societies and therefore is the bane of Africa’s development (Ikejiaku, 2009; Uzodike, 2009; Cillers and Schunemann, 2013). The assertions of Uzodike (2009:4-5) particularly captures the scenario in Africa:

Basically, no other region of the world has been as poorly led and governed by so many leaders for so long. In a continent where many among the super-rich are often directly in politics or (if in business) prime beneficiaries of the distributional arrangements that derive from political linkages, accountability and the rule of law are usually empty phrases that do not apply to the political and business elites. Governance structures and access to political power are widely seen not as opportunities to serve one’s country or community, company or colleagues, church or congregants but as conduits for pilfering state assets and amassing wealth (for oneself, friends and associates) with the sort of impunity that renders hollow any pretensions about the relevance of accountability and the rule of law. In some African countries, the feeding frenzy is so unmitigated by any visible or credible legal or moral strictures that perpetrators of this financial violence typically go unhampered and unpunished – even when identified.

Africa's Response to the Challenge of Governance and

Socio-Economic Development: An overview

African leaders accept that the very concept of governance is highly 'contested' and that its 'application' is not without problems (NEPAD, 2007:7). They however acknowledge that the continent 'faces grave challenges which can be effectively addressed only through democracy and good governance (NEPAD, 2002:3-4). Good governance in Africa, it is argued is inconceivable without a robust civil society (Aredo and Adal, 2009). These were the motivations for the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s to promote democratisation processes on the continent. There were, in addition, both internal and external pressures for change based on the idea of a more participatory development paradigm (Aredo and Adal, 2009:133). Beyond the efforts by individual African governments to ensure that national policy making frameworks are inclusive and integrate social development issues (Motsamai and Zondi, 2010), there were other regional development initiatives. Instructively, a major driving force in the establishment of the African Union as a replacement for the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 2002 was the need to create an organisation that would bring the African people into the development process and make it less elitist, less leadership driven and less remote from the people (Adejumobi, 2009). The wide acceptance that there is a correlation between governance and development and the growing belief that bad governance is at the root of Africa's underdevelopment is reflected in continental development initiatives of the African Union – the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). These programmes were outcomes of the Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of the African Union in 2002 on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. The declaration was adopted based on the recognition of the imperatives of good governance for human security, political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration (APRM, 2008).

As regional programmes, NEPAD and APRM aim to contribute towards building effective and developmental states that will transform the African continent. Although NEPAD provides a framework for supranational social policy interventions in Africa, its full implementation nationally has the implication of providing a fresh impetus to national and regional social policy initiatives that have largely been ignored (Motsamai and Zondi, 2010:2). NEPAD embodies Africa's development goals and its programmes address challenges which are social in nature such as: poverty eradication, human development, people-centred development, gender development, health, education, food security and social partnerships (Motsamai and Zondi, 2010:4-5). With the APRM as a programme of the African Union under the aegis of NEPAD, Africa tried to articulate a developmental notion of governance, a notion that explicitly links between the political and economic imperative of development (African Union, 2004). As Landsberg (2012:8) asserts, APRM advanced the idea that governments and civil society actors jointly had to determine the state and health of political and economic governance in African states. It broke with the taboo that governments were the only and even most important actors in African politics – the status of civil society was elevated to key players in world affairs.

As much as these objectives are laudable and signal practical efforts in the quest for good governance and socio-economic development in Africa, Adedeji (2002:9) noted that "they may not be achievable if the people in the region do not have shared visions, shared values and shared social economy in which the welfare of the people and the community is paramount and the transformation process is socially unjust, not politically participatory and culturally vibrant". People are the means and end of development (Adejumobi, 2009:418) and need to be

empowered through acquisition of education, training and adequate skills which will be harnessed for developmental purposes. As such, social policies that address human security and human development issues need to be prioritised and effectively implemented. It is only when government policies expressly reflect and address the needs of the people that they would be empowered and become partners with government in contributing positively to national development. It is expedient, therefore, that all stakeholders be fully engaged in policy formulation, implementation and monitoring of policy outcomes. African governments, at the national level, must learn to yield space – adequate and ample space – to the private sector and civil society in order to maximise their effectiveness (Adedeji, 2002). This will also impact positively on development processes at the regional level, the African Union, NEPAD and APRM because lack of inclusiveness and popular participation in policy making processes is a major cause of policy failures in Africa. Adejumo (2009:418) notes for instance, that “the discourse on the African Union is often restricted to political leaders, civil society leaders (especially international NGOs), and a few other elitist categories. Farmers, peasants, artisans, scholars and students, women organisations, and social movements are completely disconnected from the discourse”.

While the national governments of the African region must no doubt be in control of the commanding heights of the economy and must lay down policies and guide the direction of change, ample opportunities should be provided for the active participation of the African people in the development process (Asante, 1986:201). A pre-condition for Africa’s development therefore, is the mobilisation of human resources: governments, entrepreneurs, farmers, religious groups, and what Asante (1986:202) describes as the agents of socio-economic activity ...business, industrial and financial enterprises and institutions and their organised associations like the chambers of commerce and industry and professional associations. It will however require the collective will of African countries to transcend identified challenges and implement sub-regional and regional programmes at the national level.

Exploring the Role of Civil Society: The Challenges and Prospects

The discourse of civil society empowerment for wider participation in government has become a prevailing component of international political and development forums over the last two decades (OSSREA 2009:3). Good governance is portrayed as a necessary condition for development and with democracy taking its root slowly in Africa, civil society organisations are in a better position to demand that leaders be accountable and implement policies. Africa’s civil society needs to be proactive and organised to be able to exploit the opportunities provided by Africa’s regional economic communities (RECs), the African Union, NEPAD, and APRM to contribute to governance and socio-economic development at the national level. The questions that need to be asked however are: How prepared and effectively organised is the civil society in Africa to influence governance and development processes? What are the political and economic challenges facing civil society organisations in Africa and how could these be addressed? What support is the government giving to civil society organisations to encourage their involvement in governance?

The reality on the ground in Africa is that there is a legacy of widespread, weak civil society (Aredo and Adal 2009:135). Africa has one of the weakest civil societies and this negatively affects the transparency of the state and its institutions (Leon 2010:4). Most African countries often claim to be democratic and open to citizen’s participation in governance but in reality practise what Nyamnjoh (1996:732-758) refers to as ‘face-power’ democracy. Also, while many of Africa’s RECs’, African Union’s as well as NEPAD’s and the APRM’s provisions make lofty commitments to the idea of popular and civil society participation, the commitment of member states and the

institutions that have been set up for such participation have remained weak (Landsberg 2012:10). This is where the civil society² is an important agency in holding governments accountable and committed to implementing protocols signed by them and to fulfilling the promises they make in international forums towards ensuring good governance and socio-economic development in Africa. Civil society organisations, it is expected, could play a 'watchdog' role over state actions, spending and legislation (Ranchod 2007:3). Their engagement with the state is a part of public political participation – opening of social and political spaces for ordinary people to participate in decision-making processes and their own development (M'boge and Doe, 2004). Civil society participation at all levels is therefore a crucial element in the achievement of the objectives of African Union's NEPAD and APRM initiatives.

Civil society represents the public realm that is distinct from the state (Kefale and Aredo, 2009) and plays a number of roles towards societal development. Civil society organisations at different levels, contribute to poverty reduction; assist in addressing socio-economic challenges triggered by health crisis and the AIDS pandemic; and partake in delivering services to the community. Some civil society organisations are involved in policy advocacy for the implementation of social policies to improve the lives of the ordinary people. Others are engaged in monitoring elections and ensuring adherence to democratic principles and good governance. It can be inferred that popular participation and engagement of civil society organisations and the state are goal-directed and seek to improve society at large (Ranchod 2007:3).

At the regional level, therefore, it is imperative for the civil society to ensure Africa's ownership of development initiatives of the African Union, NEPAD and APRM which aim at promoting good governance and popular participation in governance and development processes in Africa. This could be achieved by effectively participating not only in debating the strategies of implementation and achieving their laudable objectives, but also in the aspect of monitoring to ensure that good governance prevails in the continent. It is instructive to note that "good governance is realised when civil society countervails the power of a state government, and when it acts as a school that teaches democratic values to the community" (Mohammed 2009:176). This is possible because civil society may enjoy some autonomy and legitimacy from a community although some civil society organisations may hinder the realisation of democracy and good governance because they are autocratic and extend their roles beyond formal boundaries (Mohammed 2009:176).

The roles of civil society in promoting good governance and development can be summarised as follows:

²Civil society is used here to refer to the arena of un-coerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith-based organisations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups ("Defining civil society" at <http://www.areda.ch/P22E.html>; See also, K. Ranchod, "State-civil society relations in South Africa: Some lessons from engagement". Policy: Issues and Actors, 20(7), (Johannesburg, South Africa: Centre for Policy Studies, 2007), 2.

1. **Enhancing the performance of the state:** the quality and effectiveness of public services and expenditures are integral to good governance. Civil society organisations can contribute here by working directly with government in shaping, financing and delivering public services and expenditures integral to good governance.
2. **Social justice, rights and rule of law:** The advocacy role of specialist human rights organisations in pressing for implementation of existing laws, as well as fresh legislative initiatives and institutional reforms to improve the functioning and accountability of state.
3. **Transparency and information:** Civil society organisations are thought to contribute to better governance by improving transparency and increasing the availability of information about the making and implementation of government policy (adapted from: University of Sussex good governance and civil society concept paper 1998; See also, Kefale and Aredo, 2009:85-103).

There is an agreement among scholars that the civil society have key roles and contributions to make in promoting good governance and national integration which are necessary conditions for socio-economic development. The non-state mass media, for instance, is a significant component of civil society that is instrumental in promoting social, economic and political development in any society (Isike and Uzodike, 2009). The media would ensure the development of a well-informed citizenry, act as channels between the rulers and the ruled, ensure probity and accountability in governance by exposing corrupt acts, and generally act as parliament and ombudsman of the people (Isike and Uzodike, 2009). The media also has the responsibility not only of reporting African affairs but educating the people about regional goals, benefits and objectives; their obligations and duties as Africans and the need to facilitate access to official information (Akinterinwa, 2002). In the same vein, academics, especially the social scientists have continued to take special interest in African affairs in their research and in carrying out in-depth analyses on the strategies of implementation of regional programmes (Akinterinwa, 2002). By disseminating relevant information on governance in Africa through the educational system and communication media, supplemented by group discussions, people from different social strata and institutional settings would become enlightened on how they can exploit the benefits and opportunities provided by Africa's regional development initiatives at the national level (Asante, 1986).

The civil society can also explore various opportunities for building networks across Africa's sub-regions in every facet of human activity as a way of mobilising Africa's human resources for developmental purposes. The efforts of the CSOs in African countries: Justice, Development and Peace Commission of the Catholic Archdiocese, Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa (EISA); Institute for Security Studies (ISS); The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) and others, are commendable in this regard. These organisations not only work with African civil society, others are involved in teaching, research and publishing on African issues and through the information they disseminate are making significant inputs in government decision making processes, giving a voice to the African people, engaging with the state on behalf of the masses and contributing to critical issues of leadership, peace, security and socio-economic development in Africa.

However, as much as the civil society in Africa has awakened to the call for popular participation in governance and in taking advantage of regional programmes to promote Africa's development, they are faced with numerous challenges. The nature and relevance of civil society organisations in Africa is highly contested and conceptualising civil society has also been difficult in the African context (Kefale and Aredo, 2009:87-88). This is expected considering the 'colonial' nature and

workings of post-colonial African states and the implications on state and civil society relationships. Apart from the fact that most African governments fail to provide for, or tend to ignore constitutional provisions that respect the freedoms and rights of individuals and groups, they see an informed citizenry as a threat to their power and are inclined to be hostile toward political opponents, to domesticate the media either through direct government ownership and control, or by means of draconian press laws (Nyamnjoh 2009:37-38). In addition, African governments tend to 'ban, stifle or discourage open party politics, and to eliminate and sidestep institutional checks and balances' (Nyamnjoh 2009:37-38). Undoubtedly, civil society organisations across the continent are currently struggling to define their distinctive features and roles in the face of continuous moves by many of African states to suppress or co-opt them (Kefale and Aredo 2009:88).

Although several African scholars affirm the importance of civil society organisations for democratisation and governance in Africa, many of these organisations are poorly organised in their engagements with the state. Civil society in Africa are often accused of out-rightly criticising the policies and programmes of government and always positioned to negatively oppose governmental decisions. While this argument does not hold in all cases, Rukato (2012:95) noted for instance, that "by rejecting NEPAD outright, and consistently criticising its efforts, civil society formations in Africa lost an opportunity to energise the NEPAD process. It is therefore not surprising that the more civil society criticised NEPAD, the more its leadership became suspicious of the motives of such relentless criticism" (Rukato 2012:95).

Lack of adequate funding is a problem and civil society organisations rely on donor funds to survive. Most of them are often duplicative in their objectives and try to focus on specific projects to attract international funds. As such, the projects they undertake may not really centre on issues of concern to the masses and donor funds often come with conditions attached. Added to this is that the heavy reliance on external financial sources has, in many ways, helped regimes to associate civil society organisations with external powers and interests especially when these organisations trespass on sensitive issues (violations of human rights, official corruption, and authoritarian political dispensation) (Kefale and Aredo 2009:88).

There are also increasing accusations that civil society organisations are becoming conduits for financial transfers to African elites who dominate society through the formal structures of the state or the emerging civil society sector at the expense of addressing the plight of the poor that constitute the majority in almost all the countries of Africa (Kefale and Aredo 2009). These challenges however do not detract from the fact that the real strength and success of national, sub-regional, regional and continental programmes in Africa will be determined by the extent to which they empower people and create opportunities for them to improve their lives (Landsberg 2012). Hence, in a region confronted by several political and socio-economic challenges, the civil society can effectively contribute to addressing these problems if properly mobilised.

Conclusion and Recommendations

There is no doubt that the nature of leadership in Africa; its effects on governance, civil society empowerment and participation; socio-economic and political development comprise 'salient' issues in the discourse on African government and politics especially since the 1980s. Thus, the need for political and economic reforms in Africa as embodied in regional initiatives such as NEPAD and APRM are well intended towards bridging the wide gap between the post-independence African state and its civil society, building effective and developmental states that will transform the African continent. African states as they are presently constituted present challenges to the quest for good governance and socio-economic development, and considering

the links between governance and development, therefore, the nature and workings of post-independence African states are critical to understanding the reasons for slow economic progress, poverty, disharmony, ethnic factionalisation, civil strife, conflicts and lack of social cohesion among African citizens.

This paper has argued that good governance involving wider civil society participation, although has been popularised by the World Bank and other international financial institutions as pre-conditions for international aid, is imperative for Africa's socio-economic development. Good governance needs to be domesticated in Africa to address critical issues such as pluralism, adaptation of the democratic system which must emphasise accountability, transparent electoral system and the role of the civil society (Adeniji, 2000). Despite the significant steps that have been registered to promote good governance and sustainable development in Africa, the overall picture remains that more efforts still needs to be taken in this direction particularly in countries where the broader policy environment does not favour the development of thriving civil society groups (See OSSREA 2009).

In examining the various roles of the civil society as partners with government in development, the paper emphasised that encouraging the effective participation and involvement of the civil society in governance and development processes is a practical step towards consolidating development efforts in Africa. African governments therefore need to be politically committed to prioritising and implementing social policies aimed at addressing human security and human development challenges in Africa towards building capacity for a robust and vibrant society that guarantees good governance. As Masterson (2007:1) rightly asserts: "the discourse on good governance in Africa today would be incomplete without some form of recognition of the role that African peoples themselves play in determining and monitoring the manner in which they are governed". Bearing all these in mind, the authors make the following recommendations:

- i. African governments need to be more committed to prioritising the implementation of deliberate and articulate policies towards improving the lives and conditions of the citizens. More of government's intervention in human capital formation and development will go a long way to empowering African citizens to participate actively in developing the economy.
- ii. Government should provide the enabling environment and support for civil society participation especially in countries where civil society groups' activities are yet to flourish because as much as government cannot function effectively without the civil society, the civil society needs the government to exist. Moreover, democratic principle such as freedom of speech and association should be adhered to in relation to civil society groups handling specific issues in countries where governments feel they should be a domain solely for government intervention. The Freedom of Information Act in Nigeria, for instance, needs to be adequately enforced.
- iii. Government needs to see the African people and their organisations as partners in development and as such remove the unhealthy rivalry between the state and civil society. Civil society also needs adequate representations in all sectors of the society – health, education and economy.
- iv. On the part of Africa's CSOs, there is need to build networks across African countries in order to pool their resources and function effectively, more so, to avoid duplication of functions of such organisations. A corollary to this is the fact that CSOs need to share best

- practices and ideas in order to improve on their efforts. Civil society should endeavour to live up with the confidence bestowed on them by the people.
- v. Civil society needs to be properly organised in their engagement with the state as they are often accused of criticising the policies and programmes of government. CSOs need to rethink their engagements with the state and their prioritisation of particular engagements.
 - vi. There is need for a centralised form of regulation to ensure that CSOs are properly established with clearly defined objectives and adequate monitoring so that such defined objectives are being achieved.
 - vii. African civil society should be proactive and needs to own the processes of participation in order to be able to exploit the opportunities provided in regional initiatives of the African Union, NEPAD and APRM. This would be made possible more by African governments' willingness and commitments to own development initiatives formulated by them.
 - viii. Africa needs to develop its own concept of civil society and clearly define the exact make-up of the civil society. The roles of the civil society and their organisations need to be properly defined in Africa's regional initiatives.
 - ix. The authors recommend for improved working conditions and salaries for media workers such as journalists and reporters.

References

- Abernethy, D.B. (1988). "European colonialism and postcolonial crises in Africa". In: H. Glickman, *The Crisis and Challenge of African Development*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Adedeji, A. (1981) "Background notes on Africa's food situation and policies and strategies". Paper presented at the North-South Food Roundtable, Washington, D.C. 1981. In: A. Adedeji, (1989). *Towards A Dynamic African Economy, Selected Speeches and Lectures – 1975-1986*. England: FrankCass and Company Limited.
- Adedeji, A. (2002). "History and prospects for regional integration in Africa". Paper presented at the Third Meeting of the African Development Forum, Addis-Ababa. 5 March. 9.
- Adejumobi, S. (2009). "Popular participation and Africa's development Agenda: Projecting a citizen-based United States of Africa". *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*. 36(3). 403-422.
- Adeniji, O. (2000). *Essays on Nigerian Foreign Policy, Governance and International Security*. Ibadan: Dokun Publishing House.
- Adogamhe, P.G. (2008), "Pan-Africanism re-visited: Vision and reality of African unity and development". *African Review of Integration*, 2(2).
- African Peer Review Mechanism, (2008). Thematic Paper – Emerging Governance issues in Africa: Perspectives from the APRM process (15 November). 11th Meeting of the Africa Partnership Forum (APF), Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia. 17-18 November.
- Africa Renewal Online December (2016-March 2017). Africa Most Affected by Refugee Crisis. Retrieved from <www.un.org/africarenewal/december-2016-March2017/africa-most-affected-refugee-crisis> (Retrieved on 20 August 2017).
- African Sun News (2017). About Wars and Post-war Conflicts. Retrieved from <<http://www.africasunnews.com/wars.html>> (Retrieved on 25 August 2017).
- African Union (2004). *Strategic Plan of the African Union Commission, Volume 1 – Vision and Mission of the African Union*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Aiyede, R. (2010/11), "Human Security in Africa", in Adar, K.G., M.K. Juma, and K.N. Miti (eds.), *The State of Africa: Parameters and Legacies of Governance and Issue Areas, 2010/11*. South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa. 51-64.
- Ake, C. (1996). *The Marginalisation of Africa: Notes on Productive Confusion*. Lagos: Malthouse Press.
- Akinterinwa, B. (2002). "African Union and the challenges of development". *Thisday Newspaper*, 3 January 2002. 4.
- Akinyemi, T.E. (2017). "Socio-economic imperatives for democracy-development transition: Mass poverty and widespread illiteracy as impediments to functional franchise in Nigeria", in: A. Amtaika (ed.), *Socio-Economic Development in Africa: Challenges and Dimensions*. Austin, Texas: Pan-African University Press. 137-154.
- Akokpari, J. (2008). "You don't belong here" Citizenship, the state and Africa's conflicts: Reflections on Ivory Coast. In: A. Nhema & P. T. Zeleza (Eds.) *The Root of African Conflicts: The*

Causes & Cost – Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Kenya, Sudan, Uganda, the Horn of Africa (pp. 88-103). Oxford: James Currey.

Akokpari, J. (2010/11), "Politics and governance in Africa", in: K.G. Adar, M.K. Juma and K.N. Miti (eds.), *The State of Africa – Parameters and Legacies of Governance and Issue Areas 2010/11*. South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa. 69-82.

Alemazung, J.A. (2011). "Leadership flaws and fallibilities impacting democratisation processes, governance and functional statehood in Africa". *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 5(1). January 2011. 30-41.

Alence, R. (2004). "Political institutions and developmental governance in Sub-Saharan Africa". *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 42(2): 163-187.

Appadorai, A. (1975). *The Substance of Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Aredo, D. and Adal, Y. (2009). "Indigenous institutions and good governance in Ethiopia: Case studies". In: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (ed.). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSREA. 133.

Asante, S.K.B. (1986). *The Political Economy of Regionalism in Africa: A Decade of ECOWAS*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 200-206.

AU/APRM, (2006), APRM – African Peer Review Mechanism, Country Review Report No. 2. Republic of Rwanda.

AU/APRM, (2007), APRM – African Peer Review Mechanism, Country Review Report No. 5. Republic of South Africa.

Berhanu, K. (2009). "Decentralisation and governance: The Ethiopian experience". In: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (ed.). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSREA. 109.

Bing-Pappoe, A. (2010), "Reviewing Africa's Peer Review Mechanism: A Seven Country Survey – South Africa, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Benin". Partnership Africa Canada.

Bratton, M. and Rothchild, D. (1992). "The institutional bases of governance in Africa". In: G. Hyden, and M. Bratton (eds.). *Governance and Politics in Africa*. Boulder, C.O: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 263-284.

BTI - Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index, (2012), 2012 Rwanda's Country Report. Gutersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.

Canci, H. and Odukoya, O.A. (2016). "Ethnic and religious crises in Nigeria (1999-2013)".

African Journal on Conflict Resolution, ACCORD, 29 August.

Chene, M. and Mann, C. 2011. "Sources of information on corruption in Rwanda", U4 Expert Answer, U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. 23 March.

Cilliers, J. and Schunemann, J. (2013), "The future of intrastate conflict in Africa: More violence or greater peace"? Institute for Security Studies Paper 246.

Deng, B. K. (2010). "The evolving concept and institution of sovereignty: Challenges and opportunities". Policy Briefing 28. Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa.

ECA, 2010/11. "The role of parliament in promoting good governance". Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: ECA, Governance and Public Administration Division.

Ekeh, P.P. (1975). "Colonialism and the two publics in Africa: A theoretical statement". *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17(1): 91-112. Cambridge University Press.

Englebert, P. (2000). "Solving the mystery of the Africa dummy". *World Development* 28(10): 1823.

FAO/International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and World Food Program (WFP) (2014). *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Strengthening the Enabling Environment for Food Security and Nutrition*. Rome: FAO.

Filmer, D. and Fox, L. et al (2014), Africa – Youth Employment in Sub-Saharan Africa, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, Report No. ACS8133. Washington, D.C: IBRD/World Bank.

Gisselquist, R.M. (2012), "Good governance as a concept, and why this matters for development". United Nations University-UNU-World Institute for Development Economics Research Working Paper No. 2012/30.

Hamam, D.M. and Ouedraogo, (2012), "Improving Africa's governance before it's too late: Peer review – Opening avenues for citizen engagement", in: NEPAD, The NEPAD Guide. Midrand, South Africa: NCPA.

Hardy, C., Harley, B., and Philips, N.(2004). "Discourse analysis and content analysis: Two solitudes?" *Qualitative Methods*, 2(1): 19-21. Hofmeister W, Grabow K 2011.

Hyden, G. (1992). "Governance and the study of politics". In: G Hyden and M. Bratton (eds.) *Governance and Politics in Africa*. Boulder, C.O: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

IDC/DRI – Industrial Development Corporation, Department of Research and Information, (2013), South African Economy: An Overview of Key Trends since 1994.

Ikejiaku, B.V. (2009). "The relationship between poverty, conflict and development". *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 2(1): 15 – 28.

IMF (International Monetary Fund) (2014). Press Release. Article IV Consultation and Second Review under the Policy Support Instrument, IMF Country Report 14/343. December 2014. Washington, D.C: IMF.

Isike, C. and Uzodike, U.O. (2009). "The role of the African media in the democratisation process: Leaders, martyrs or culprits?" *AFRIKA: Journal of Politics, Economics and Society*, 1.68-70.

Jackson, R.H. and Rosberg, C.G. Jr. (1982). "Why Africa's weak states persist: The empirical and the juridical in statehood". *World Politics*, 35(1): 1-24.

Kefale, A. and Aredo, D. (2009) "Civil society and governance in Ethiopia since 1991". In: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (ed.). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSREA. 87 – 88.

Landsberg, C. (2012). "The African Peer Review Mechanism: A political report on the AU's most innovative governance instrument". *Africa Insight*, 42(3): 104-118.

- Laskar, M. (2013). Summary of Social Contract Theory by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2410525>.
- Laski, H. (1967). *A Grammar of Politics*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Leon, T. (2010). "The state of liberal democracy in Africa – Resurgence or retreat?" *Development Policy Analysis* No. 12. 26 April. CATO Institute, Centre for Global Liberty and Prosperity, Washington, D.C. 1-24.
- Maipose, G.S. (2009). "Democratic governance and economic management in Botswana: Review of country experience and challenges". In: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (ed.). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSREA. 7 – 30.
- Masterson, G. (2012). "Defining civil society in the context of the African Peer Review Mechanism". Electoral Institute of South Africa (EISA) publications 2006. Retrieved at <http://www.eisa.org.za/EISA/publications/publications.htm>, August 2013.
- Matlosa, K. (2010). "Managing diversity and competitive politics: Dilemmas of nation-building in Africa". In: G.A. Korwa, K.J. Monica and N.M. Katabaro (eds.). *The State of Africa – Parameters and Legacies of Governance and Issue Areas*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa. 3
- Mbelle, N. (2010), "The APRM process in South Africa". Johannesburg: AfriMAP, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA).
- M'boge, F. and Doe, S.G. (2004). "African commitments to civil society engagements: A review of eight NEPAD countries". African Human Security Initiative (AHSI) Paper 6.
- Mohammed, K. (2009). "Interest groups, good governance and civil society in Uganda: Challenges of religious organisations 1962-2000". In: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (ed.). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSREA. 176.
- Moore, C. (2003). "Democratic governance and peace: Two sides of the same coin?" *Centre for Policy Studies, Policy Brief*, 27.
- Motsamai, D. and Zondi, S. (2010). "The social dimensions of the New Partnership for Africa's Development : An analysis". *Africa Institute of South Africa Policy Brief* Number 33. 1-9.
- Mukherjee, S. and Ramaswamy, S. (2007). *A History of Political Thought: Plato to Marx*. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.
- Nbete, A.D. (2012). The Social Contract Theory: A model for reconstructing a true Nigerian nation-state. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2(15).
- Ndulu, B., Gyekye, K., Mbembe, A., Aboyade, O. and Ouattara, B. (1998). "Towards defining a new vision for Africa for the 21st Century". Prepared in February-April 1995 under the auspices of the Global Coalition for Africa in Washington, D.C., *CODESRIA Bulletin*, Number 1. 1998. 4.
- NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development). (2002). NEPAD at Work: Summary of NEPAD Action Plans. Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance – Preamble; Democracy and Good Political Governance; Socio-Economic Development; African Peer Review Mechanism; Resource Flows. Pretoria: NEPAD Secretariat.

NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development). (2007). Governance in Africa's development: Progress, prospects and challenges. The 9th Africa Partnership Forum, Main Theme: Governance and Development, Algiers, Algeria, 12 – 13 November. 7.

Ngara, S. 2011. "Bennu: Africa innovating itself out of underdevelopment". *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies – Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity*, 6(11): 60-76.

Ngambi, H. (2011). "RARE leadership: An alternative leadership approach for Africa". *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies – Multi, Inter- and Trans-disciplinarity*, 6(1) June 2011. 6-23.

Nwolise, O.B.C. The Fate of Women, Children and the Aged in Contemporary Africa's Conflict Theatres: The Urgent Need to Revive Africa's Code of Honour. Text of Lecture delivered at the 2001 Public Annual Lecture of the National Association of Political Science Students (NAPSS), University of Ibadan Chapter, University of Ibadan. 15 August, 2001. 8 - 13.

Nyamnjoh, F.B. (1996). "Media and multi-party politics in transitional Cameroon". *Nord-Sud Aktuell*, 10(4), 1996. 738 – 752.

Nyamnjoh, F.B. (2009). "Media, good governance and civil society in Botswana". In: OSSREA (2009). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. In: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (ed.). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSREA. 37 – 38.

Ogom, R. (2010/11), "Indigenous organisations, social movements and the Nigerian State". In: K.G. Adar, M.K. Juma and K.N. Miti (eds), *The State of Africa – Parameters and Legacies of Governance and Issue Areas 2010/11*. Africa Institute of South Africa. 37-48.

Olivier, G. (2010), 'Regionalism in Africa: Cooperation Without Integration', University of Pretoria, URL:<http://hdl.handle/e.net/2263/16138.Repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/16138>. Part of the MERCURY PROJECT, funded under the European Commission's Framework VII Programme, 17-40.

Onyeoziri, F. (2002). *Alternative Policy Options for Managing the National Question in Nigeria*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers for Programme on Ethnic and Federal Studies (PEFS), University of Ibadan.

Osaghae, E.E. (1998) "Rescuing the post-colonial state in Africa: A re-conceptualisation of the role of the civil society". Paper presented at Abidjan, July 13 – 19.

Osaghae, E.E. (2003), "Colonialism and civil society in Africa: The perspective of Ekeh's two publics". Paper presented at the Symposium on Canonical Works and Continuing Innovation in African Arts and Humanities, Accra, Ghana, 17-19 September.

OSSREA - Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (2009). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSREA. 1-3.

Penny, R. (2009). "Desertification and deforestation in Africa". *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)*, 5. Developed under the Auspices of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Eolss Publishers, Paris, France.

Page, J. (1994). "The East Asian Miracle: Four lessons for development policy". Presented at the National Bureau of Economic Research, Ninth Conference on Macroeconomics. January, 1994, in: S. Fisher and J.J. Rotemberg (eds.), *National Bureau Economic Research Macro Economics Annals*, 9.

Plamenatz, J. (1966). *Man and Society*, 1. London: Longman.

- Poku, N.K. and Mdee, A. (2011). *Politics in Africa: A New Introduction*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Ranchod, K. (2007). "State-civil society relations in South Africa: Some lessons from engagement". *Policy: Issues and Actors*, 20(7): 1 – 20.
- Rugumamu, S.M. (2001), "Globalisation and Africa's future: Towards structural stability, integration and sustainable development", *AAPS Occasional Paper*, 5(2).
- Rukato, H. (2012). The New Partnership for Africa's Development: Past, present and future. *Africa Insight*, 42(3): 95.
- Rull, M. (2015). *Epidemics: Neglected Emergencies?* Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), Operational Centre, Geneva.
- Rwomire, A. (2009). "Economic growth, poverty and governance: The case of Botswana". In: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (ed.). *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: OSSREA. 66-67.
- Sabine, G.H. & Thorson, T.L. (1973). *A History of Political Theory* (4th ed.). New Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd.
- Salawu, B. (2010). "Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria: Causal analysis and proposals for new management strategies". *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 13(3):345-348.
- Sikod, F. (2008), "Conflicts & implications for poverty & food security policies in Africa", in: A. Nhema and P.T. Zeleza, *The Root of African Conflicts: The Causes & Cost – Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Kenya, Sudan, Uganda, the Horn of Africa*. Oxford: James Currey. 199-213.
- Smith, A. (1869). *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Volume II. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sorensen, G. (1997). "An analysis of contemporary statehood: Consequences for conflict and cooperation". *Review of International Studies* 23. 1997. 253 – 269.
- Turan Y. (2010). "The role of the state in Adam Smith's thought system and modern public finance theory: A comparative evaluation". *International Journal of Economics and Finance Studies*, 2(2). 87-94.
- UNDP (1997). *Governance for Sustainable Human Development*. New York: UNDP.
- UNDP Civicus, (2011), "The state of civil society in Rwanda in national development: Civil society index Rwanda report". Civicus Civil Society Analytical Country Report for Rwanda". March 2011.
- United Nations (2014). *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2014*. New York: UN.
- UN DESA, UNDP, UNESCO, (2012), *Governance and Development Thematic Think Piece*, UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda.
- Uzodike, U.O. (2009). "Leadership and governance in Africa". *AFRIKA: Journal of Politics, Economics and Society* 1.
- Venter, D. (2009). "Africa in the new millennium: Democracy, governance and leadership". *AFRIKA: Journal of Politics, Economics and Society* 1. 27-44.
- World Bank, (1989). *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*. Washington, D.C: World Bank.

Worldegiorgis, G.M. (2019), "What is 'good' in good governance?" Abyssinia Law, 9 June.

World Health Organisation (WHO) 2014. World Health Statistics, 2014: Large Gains in Life Expectancy. 21 May 2014. From <www.hst.org.za/world-health-statistics2014> (Retrieved on 10 May 2015).

World Bank 2015. Ending Poverty in a Rising Africa. From <www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2015/10/16/ending-poverty-in-a-rising-Africa.> (Retrieved on 20 August 2015).

World Health Organisation (WHO) Factsheet 2017. From <www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheet/fs360/en> (Retrieved on 20 August 2017).

Yu Keping, (2017), "Governance and good governance: A new framework for political analysis", *Fudan Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 11(1): 1-8.