The Success Stories of Developmental State Paradigm from Botswana and Mauritius: Lessons for the Contemporary African Countries

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Abstract
Since the onset of the global economic crisis in 2007/08, the key trend that has made is the reconceptualise of the role of state intervention or developmental state to address the market failure problems and to accelerate the development process of developing countries. The conventionally accepted wisdom of free market-led (neoliberal) development model as a necessary condition for transforming backward economies to high level can no longer taken at face value. The ultimate goal of the developmental state paradigm is to accelerated economic development that substantially raises the per capita income of the citizenry with a focus on structural transformation. To materialise this, African countries should adopt the developmental state paradigm based on the respective contexts given their committed political leadership, competent bureaucracy and well-functioning institutions rather than based on "one-size-fits-all" approach imported from the outside based on different tied terms and conditions.
Keywords: Africa, Development, Developmental state, Institutions

1. Introduction

Most post-colonial African states are underdeveloped and many of them described as developmental failures (Edigheji, 2005). Debates to accelerate and sustain development in the post-colonial African state were a major pre-occupation for the new African leaders. The debate ranges between proponents of state intervention as a strong agent of development and advocates of a free market economic system (Stark, 2010). The concern with the role of state in economic development indeed does not require any justification more than the past and present experiences of different countries around the globe. The evidence shows that state intervention aimed at boosting economic transformation and industrialization. In contrast, there is lack of evidence for the proposition that less state intervention facilitates more economic transformation and industrialization both in developing and developed countries in a sustainable manner (Kohli, 2004). The central argument in statist literature informs that successful state intervention often involves close cooperation between the state and private sector. At a more scholarly level, the idea expressed as "embedded autonomy" being a precondition for the success of the developmental state paradigm. An idea that does not only suggests close cooperation between the state and society but also insulation for the bureaucratic elites to minimize corruption and rent seeking practices and state capture by interest groups (Evans, 1995).

The recent economic crisis proved that unregulated markets are unworkable and unsustainable in the long-term, the proposition of markets is not always self-regulating rather state-market integration is crucial to address market failures. The economic crisis has given credibility for the vital role of state intervention and has made developmental state paradigm more convincing paradigm in latecomer developing countries (Edigheji, 2010; UNECA, 2011). Getting the "prices wrong" from a free market perspective may well create conducive ground for renewing or evolving the notion of developmental state paradigm for sustainable development. State ideology and institutions are crucial which among the determinants of the political capacities of a developmental state. State with a strong commitment to economic growth, a close alliance with economic agents, and well-developed professional bureaucrats tend to be more capable of defining and implementing an agenda of economic transformation. Without having a coherent development ideology and effective institutions it would be difficult to pursue development goals/objectives; for instance, predatory states which have lack of developmental ideology faced such challenge in many developing countries (Evans,1995).

Transforming African economy from the existing low-income agrarian to high-income industrial economies remains a major development challenge and it would be a prime agenda of development. In the present global situation, the conventionally accepted wisdom of free market-led (neoliberal) development model as a necessary condition for transforming backward economies to high level can no longer taken at face value, particularly in the after math of the 2007/08 global financial crisis, which left many western economies in shambles (UN-Habitant, 2014). To strengthen the role of market and proper resource mobilization in developing countries; an unprecedented state intervention would require to correct widespread market failures and accelerate the development process. Accordingly, this paper addressed the need of developmental state paradigm based on

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the success stories of the past developmental states of Botswana and Mauritius from Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) region. Consequently, some of the questions that addressed are: Is the developmental state paradigm a viable paradigm for Africa? What would be the nature of state-society ties in the emerging developmental state? What are the opportunities and challenges of the emerging developmental states in Africa?

2. Botswana's Success Story of the Developmental State

2.1. The initial conditions of Botswana at the independence

The traditional economic activity was cattle rearing dominated at the time of independence and modern sectors were non-existence. Botswana is characterize as a land locked country; over 84% of the landmass is largely uninhabited Kalahari Desert and 80% of the Botswana people live along the fertile Eastern border. Only about 4% of the land is cultivated and majority of land used for cattle grazing since cattle is consider as its primary wealth of the nation. Most commentators on its economic prospects at the time of independence concluded that the country's growth prospects were dismal (Beaulier, 2003; Kiiza, 2006; Amegashie & Kamara, 2008). At independence Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world and ranked amongst the least developed countries of the world with a per-capita GDP of less than USD100 (Acemoglu, et al., 2003; Beaulier, 2003; Dassah, 2011; Eriksen, 2011). Initially, there was little hope for Botswana to become one of a successful state in the continent. The central government had limited ability to govern and the state apparatus were too small (Acemoglu, et al., 2003).

In spite of these adverse circumstances, the new leadership that came to power at independence was determined to pursue a policy aimed at economic growth. The strategy deployed to achieve economic growth was pursued market-conforming developmental state paradigm that state played a crucial role. Therefore, the political leaders of Botswana laid the foundation for stable and relatively effective public institutions by: "Resisting the pressure of localize technical and professional levels of the public service; insulating the public bureaucracy from political intervention; clearly demarcating the political and economic boundaries within which policymaking must operate" (Beaulier, 2003; Dassah, 2011; Eriksen, 2011). The strengthening administrative capacity of the state had seen in terms of both process and output. In terms of process, the state in Botswana is characterised by both high degree of coordination of policies and most notably by a relative absence of corruption and clientelism. In terms of output, the country's infrastructure and service provision had expanded to facilitate the development process (Hazleton, 2002; Beaulier, 2003; Sebudubudu, 2005; UNDP, 2005). The ruling regime in Botswana has described as an elite alliance, composed of political leaders, civil servants, private sectors, traditional leaders and cattle owners. Within the ruling coalition, cattle owners[2] and civil servants were the most important sections who dominated policy formulation and decision-making (Acemoglu, et al., 2003; Taylor, 2005; Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011).

The ruling regime and the cattle owners had an economic interest in strengthening the state institutions. The ruling elite had vital interests in the cattle industry because it was the main productive sector of the economy before the mining sector became dominant (Acemoglu, et al., 2003). At independence, Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world but within three decades. Botswana had transformed into an upper middle-income country and into one of the fastest growing economies in the world even in 1980s and 1990s when most African countries suffered with serious economic crisis (Acemoglu, et al., 2003; Beaulier, 2003; Dassah, 2011; Eriksen, 2011; African Economic Outlook, 2013). The state in Botswana has managed to promote both economic growth and state building in spite of unfavourable initial conditions in terms of economic and institutional capacity at the time of independence (Robinson & Parsons, 2006).

Possible positive factors for Botswana's success story

Analysts have identified several factors as attributable to Botswana's impressive economic and political performance. Factors, which contributed to Botswana's economic and political success, are varied but they are interconnected and reinforced each other. Some of the factors are: its geo-political location, its socio-political structure, mineral (diamond) endowment, adopted market-friendly institutions and development policies, small and really homogenous population, relatively skilful, less corrupted, transparent and committed political leadership and good relations with international institutions all are played their role (Hazleton, 2002; Beaulier, 2003; Rotberg, 2003). In particular, strong and competent state that provides with visionary political leadership played a curial role. Politically, the pragmatic ruling party with overwhelming rural support managed to consolidate its grip on state power via building electoral security and confidence over its development policies (Maipose, 2008). Consequently, the ability of committed political leadership that promoted inclusive and

[2] After independence, cattle owners were the most important interest group and they were politically influential. The close ties between the cattle owners and the ruling party has played a key role in Botswana's development. At independence, the only real prospect sector for development was ranching. This done successfully by exploiting the European Economic Community market, and a great deal of infrastructure development had the effect of increasing ranching incomes. Moreover, the elite had invested in the main export sector that the marketing board (the Botswana Meet Commission) gave the ranchers a good deal to benefit from their cattle wealth (Acemoglu, et al., 2003).

acceptable democratic developmental state ideology is considered as one of the prominent factors for the success story of Botswana. Botswana's political leadership also promoted relatively good in economic management, which is a distinctive feature of the country (Tsie, 1996).

Therefore, there is almost a consensus by analysts that Botswana achieved spectacular economic performance is because of adopting relatively good development policies under the appropriate development paradigm from early morning after independence[3] (Acemoglu, et al., 2003; Eriksen, 2011; Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011). A combination of these deliberate policy decisions and actions directly or indirectly contributed to Botswana's development success and development in Botswana was both "state-led" and "directed". One way state played an active role in economic development was to establish "pilot institutions" that propelled long-term development process. One such important pilot institution in Botswana is the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (MFDP). The pilot institutions served as "the economic high command, in generating policy and also played a key role in the country's planning system and directed and ensured that resources are available, thus linking planning to the country's budgeting system"(Leftwich,1995:412). Development planning in Botswana is not an academic exercise of little operational value rather it is a means of enforcing accountability of political elites. Development planning in Botswana done through a broad-based consultative system of committees from the grassroots to the top levels in a more open process with the ruling party and other stakeholders sufficiently involved in plan preparation (Maipose, 2008).

The planning process in Botswana's developmental state was not a mere public relations exercise to attract donor funds and to buy cheap popularity via ignored actual practice, rather it became a central part of development process. Botswana was very careful in the planning process only accepting worthwhile projects and avoiding "white elephant schemes" that affected even other African states (Maundeni, 2004). Another important aspect is the ability of the leaders to wisely blended traditional and modern institutions via a system of democratic governance, which is not practiced in other African countries (Sebudubudu & Molutsi, 2009). For instance, the tribal institutions (Tswana institutions) that encouraged broad-based participation, and a number of important and farsighted decisions by the post-independence political leaders, in particular Seretse Khama and Quett Masire played decisive roles (Acemoglu, et al., 2003; Eriksen, 2011; Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011).

The relative ethnic homogeneity is also another factor that may have contributed to Botswana's success where ethnic conflicts due to heterogeneity are common in most of African countries (Manatsha & Maharjan, 2009; Rotberg, 2003). However, there are other comparable countries such as Somalia, Lesotho, and Swaziland, which have not enjoyed the same stability and success as Botswana yet (Rotberg, 2003). This indicates homogeneity alone does not bring stability and success unless accompanying with appropriate development ideology and social benefits. In addition, the policy choice or decision by the political leaders to centralize key natural resources under the control of the state (Sebudubudu & Molutsi, 2009) positively contributed for economic growth of the country. This is one of the best policy decisions ever made by the Botswana's developmental state, which is heavily reliant on minerals. The political leadership made minerals a "strategic resource" for economic growth and development of a country (Beaulier, 2003; Rotberg, 2003). The large revenues from minerals have not induced domestic political instability or conflict over control of this resource. However, without a "conscious and disciplined political leadership, no amount of diamond revenues would have been sufficient to make Botswana an African miracle" (Acemoglu, et al., 2003; Eriksen, 2011; Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011).

The government sustained the minimal public bureaucracy structure that it inherited from the British and developed it into a meritocratic, relatively non-corrupt, and efficient bureaucracy. Moreover, the government invested heavily in infrastructure, education and health based on its prudent fiscal policy (Acemoglu, et al., 2003; Eriksen, 2011; Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011). Furthermore, smooth international relation also played its role in Botswana's success. Of all SSA nations, Botswana has been the only one free from international political influence since independence. Botswana has grown with little direct assistance from the IMF/World Bank in contrast to the rest of SSA countries. Since gaining its independence, Botswana attracted large amounts of FDI; especially, as Botswana improved its credibility and lowered mining taxes to 10%, large amounts of FDI poured in and investors gained confidence. The discovery of diamonds and rapid post-colonial growth helped Botswana cut its financial ties with ex-colonial, Britain, as well as with international financial institutions (Beaulier, 2003).

[3] The most plausible causes of relatively good development policies, therefore, appear to be that the underlying institutions in Botswana, the modern political and economic institutions are good and workable through building a cohesive relation with the tribal institutions. Good and workable institutions as corresponding to a social organization that ensures broad-based participation of the society in formulation and implementation of development policies and strategies to achieve the development project of the developmental state. The quality and efficiency of the institutions are depending on the status quo of the economy and the institutions considered as the first-order determinant of economic performance. Therefore, these good economic policies and institutions could be causes and outcomes of development (Eriksen, 2011; Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011).

2.2. Some development outcomes of the developmental state in Botswana

Botswana maintained a functioning one-party dominant multiparty democracy by African standards since independence and it labelled as one of the longest known multiparty democracy in Africa (Rotberg, 2003; Botlhomilwe, et al., 2011). This multiparty democracy together with rapid economic growth often compared to those of the East Asian developmental states (Carroll & Carroll, 1997). Botswana surprisingly went on to the fastest growing economy in the world over the last three decades of the 20th century. Thus, analysts generally describe Botswana as a successful "democratic developmental state" (Leftwich, 1995; Tsie, 1996). "Botswana is the paragon of leadership excellence in Africa whose remarkable record has been widely documented. Because of its impressive record Botswana regarded as a successful African state that can offer some lessons to its peers" (Rotberg, 2003:29) in the region. Therefore, Botswana's remarkable high economic growth rate was resulted through the prudent use of its natural resource (i.e. diamonds) under the committed political leadership accompanied with good development policy direction, which has paradoxically been a curse for other resource rich SSA countries. Mineral (diamond) is the most dominant contributor to its GDP growth. The contribution of diamond to GDP has increased from around 10% in 1974 to 42% in 2006. Prior to 1978, agriculture was the dominant sector and it is interesting there has been a transformation from a predominantly agrarian economy to a predominantly mining economy (Amegashie & Kamara, 2008).

The country's success emanated from prudent economic management (especially natural resource, minerals) and utilization that made it possible to avoid the adverse long-term effects of "Dutch disease"[4] and volatility mainly because of well-institutionalized good state management (Maipose, 2008). The political elites have not stolen revenues from mineral (diamond) wealth (Kiiza, 2006). They have been channelled to productive investment and public sectors such as in health and education, infrastructure, and government took measures to boost productivity and promoting export-oriented development policies (Corden & Near, 1982); thanks to the developmental attitude of both politicians and bureaucrats (Kiiza, 2006). In addition, "the government has been undertaking efforts to promote economic diversification dating back to 1968, with the enactment of the 'Industrial Development Act'. Since then, the authorities have put in place diverse policies, strategies, and incentives to promote economic diversification over the years" (African Economic Outlook, 2013).

To stimulate the manufacturing sectors, for instance, the developmental state introduced the "Botswana Development Corporation" in 1970 and the "Financial Assistance Policy" in 1982 to subsidize industrial ventures. Though those have not led to large-scale industrialization, it is significant that manufacturing has stayed at around 5% of GDP. However, the transformation and diversification into manufacturing sector is not successful and its economy remains depend on primary resource dominance economy (Acemoglu, et al., 2003). Botswana has delivered rapid and sustained growth without significant structural transformation (Kiiza, 2006). From the perspective of avoiding the 'Dutch disease', the developmental state of Botswana invests the revenue from diamond exports in providing public services to improve the well-being of the nation. The revenue had not used to line the pockets of politicians and not invest in luxury investment, like a few resource rich SSA countries. Instead, it used to create the modern infrastructure required to facilitate economic growth (Lewin, 2011).

Therefore, Botswana's economy is one of the safest economy and comparable with the Asian tigers. The level of infrastructure development is also high and the country's socio-economic indicators are impressive. For instance, the literacy rate is estimated at around 90%. Life expectancy increased to 67 years by 1991 it only reduced to 56 years, largely due to high incidences of HIV/AIDS. According to the World Bank, by 2007 its per-capita income was about US$5,600 (Sebudubudu & Molutsi, 2008). Furthermore, at a time when most African countries have a huge debt burden, Botswana's foreign debt was only 14% of its GDP. The country has no internal debt and is a net exporter of capital (Jefferis & Kelly, 1999; Kiiza, 2006). Botswana had not huge debt burden because of diamond "windfalls" and has managed it effectively. Another important success in Botswana is the interaction of state and civil society which characterised by mutual criticism in each other's presence. The

[4] "Dutch disease refers to what happened in the Dutch economy after the discovery of oil in the North Sea. Due to the sharp increase of resource exports, the exchange rate appreciates and damages the export market of domestically produced goods. Manufactured goods, agricultural products, and even local services become more expensive, which initiates the tendency of high resource exports and limited diversification" (Kelley, 2012:36). The revenue generated from mineral exports undermining the competitiveness of the country's manufacturing or tradable sectors. Hence, the real appreciation caused by mineral exports is resulted deindustrialization contributing to poor long-run economic performance (see Corden & Near, 1982). The prevention of Dutch disease in the developmental state of Botswana consisted of three key components: encouraging fiscal saving to limit current consumption and reducing pressure on domestic price inflation, a surplus on the current account of the balance of payments and heavy government investment in infrastructure and human capital. Most significantly, government investment in public goods and infrastructure contributed to growth without crowding out the private sector investment development, and helped to boost productivity in both sectors. Together these policies limited the erosion of domestic productivity and competitiveness that can result from the appreciation of the real exchange rate due to increasing income from mineral (see Lewin, 2011).

willingness and ability of state officials to meet and exchange views with leaders of the civil societies, and the media's role reminding the contestants to meet and exchange views (Maundeni, 2004). These indicate committed leadership played an enabling role and contributed to a remarkable improvement in the overall performance of the economy.

Accordingly, the role of state in Botswana is, in many respects, similar with the development success story of the East Asian miracle where the state has been strategically interventionist rather than "crisis-driven" like under a capitalist market economic development approach. Nevertheless, the institutional context of rapid growth in Botswana such as aspects of its own tradition and multi-party democratic system of government offer a sharp and refreshing contrast to authoritative regimes of the East Asian developmental states (Maipose, 2008). Other differences between Botswana and the Asian tigers are; the Botswana's growth driven by the export of capital-intensive primary commodities, minerals, while the growth of the Asian tigers had driven by the export of labour-intensive manufacturing commodities. Government also use contests to reward performance and to stimulate competition amongst firms. For instance, they rewarded firms that had better performance relative to other firms by providing them with access to capital and foreign exchange (Stiglitz, 1996).

It is noteworthy that the East Asian economies educated large numbers of skilled engineers in order to absorb and adopt the most advanced technology. Governments promoted technology programmes and science centres that identified new products and provided research and development for firms. However, Botswana lacks behind in such areas and due to this, there was low worker productivity and a substantial shortage of qualified technical and supervisory personnel in the manufacturing sector. This situation highly affected for diversification and transformation of its economy (Stiglitz, 1996). This implies though the rate of growth was exceptionally high in Botswana, yet there is extreme shortage of skilled human capital related to science and technology, which is critical to diversify the economy and boost productivity. Therefore, Botswana must invest in human capital development that is appropriate and responsive to the demand of the private sector and to high-tech economic sector. This helps to diversify and transform Botswana's economy from its heavy dependence on mineral (diamond) into manufacturing and service sectors. In general, Botswana is often cited as a leading example of developments state in the continent. The country has earned itself a notable reputation for its sound management of mineral (particularly diamond) resources revenues. In this context, the country moved from one of the world's poorest countries in 1966 to upper middle income status, within 30 years.

2.3. Challenges and limitations not proceed by the success story

A growing GDP may be a necessary condition but if not sufficient condition to realize meaningful economic and social development (Hazleton, 2002). Although Botswana has undoubtedly done well both economically and politically compared to most SSA states, there are serious challenges the country faced. Some of these are poverty, inequalities, unemployment, and failure to diversify its economy in acceptable manner away from mineral dependency and the highest adult incidences of HIV/AIDS that affected the human capital. For a country that has done so well in terms economic growth, one would have expected levels of poverty, inequalities, and unemployment to be low yet this is not the case in Botswana (Hazleton, 2002; Acemoglu, et al., 2003; UNDP, 2005; Martin, 2008; Lewin, 2011; Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011).

It is obvious that, "mineral resources and in particular diamonds have been the main contributors to Botswana's economic growth and transition from an extremely poor country to an upper-middle income country" (Jefferis, 2009:61). For instance, in 2000, minerals of which diamond represented the lion's share in the economy, contributed more than 30% of the country's annual GDP, 79% to total exports, 60% of total government tax revenue and but created only 3%-5% to formal sector employment. Government is by far the largest employer in the economy, employed over 40% of the labour force. This is possible based on only revenues received from the mining sector where the employment impact of the mining sector has been indirect. Therefore, in pure economic terms, diamonds have resulted in Botswana having higher economic growth rates than any other country in the world over the past three decades, though it did not directly address the unemployment problem because of its capital-intensive nature of the sector (Hazleton, 2002; Acemoglu, et al., 2003; Jefferis, 2009; Lewin, 2011; Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011).

The mineral sector did not generate much employment opportunity unlike agriculture, manufacturing, and service sectors due to typically operating at high levels of capital and skilled labour productivity (McMillan & Rodrik, 2012). Therefore, unemployment remains high, especially migrant workers from rural areas is very high, it was about 21.5% in the 1990s and declined to 15.8% in early 2000s. Botswana's unemployment problem is emanated from a diversification problem in other economic sectors such as agriculture, manufacturing, and service sectors. Consequently, unemployment is very high and remaining the main challenge to the contemporary Botswana's economy despite its impressive growth (Hazleton, 2002; Acemoglu, et al., 2003; UNDP, 2005; Amegashie & Kamara, 2008; Lewin, 2011).

In relation to income distribution, Botswana is one of the most economically unequal countries in the world, on equivalence with Brazil and Colombia. Inequality in Botswana is higher than South Africa (Good, 1999). The Human Development Report shows, "the richest 10% in Botswana got 56.6% of the national income while the poorest 10% got 0.7% of the national income, and the richest 20% commanded 70.3% of the national income while the poorest 20% received only 2.2% of the national income" (UNDP, 2004:148&162). "Inequality gap in the cattle sector was also wide, among traditional farming households, 47% of the farming households have not cattle, and 24% of them have between one and eleven. At the other extreme, the wealthiest 2.5% of farming households own 40% of the national herd as of 2005" (UNDP, 2005:17). Then, inequality is remarkably high and the Gini coefficient is greater than the cutting point that is about 0.63 although the economic growth has been rapid and sustains (UNDP, 2004). The existence of unemployment and inequality in the given economy indicated the existence of poverty in that economy therefore; Botswana's economy does not escape from such problem.

In Botswana, high percentage of the population living below the poverty line, along with highly skewed income distribution. While the country's per-capita GNP is high (it classified as upper middle-income country by the World Bank), the Human Development Report shows that 33% of the population live on less than US$ l per day (UNDP, 2011). Botswana is still a mineral-based economy; it has not much succeeded significantly in diversifying the economy away from diamond. Mining still contributed a lion's share to GDP and relatively dwarfing the contribution of manufacturing and agricultural sectors and government remains the largest employer of the active workforce (Hazleton, 2002; Acemoglu, et al., 2003; UNDP, 2005; Lewin, 2011). It is of course true that revenues from minerals have invested in physical infrastructure, education, and health services, among other things. However, some social welfare programmes financed through diamond's revenue (like Drought Relief Programme) have only succeeded in creating a culture of dependence on the state while having little effect on the overall improvement standards of living (Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011).

Therefore, the economy of Botswana begs for diversification, which is not yet successful. Though state has tried its best to diversify the economy away from its export base of minerals and towards manufacturing, it is found this to be problematic yet. This scenario raises serious questions about the fate of the economy when diamonds get exhausted (Hazleton, 2002; Taylor, 2005). An issue warrants urgent attention through diversification of the other sectors to address the fundamental problems such as unemployment, inequality, and poverty, if the country's credentials as an "African success story" or "African miracle" to be maintained (Sebudubudu & Botlhomilwe, 2011). Obviously, the purpose of development is to reduce evils of development such as unemployment, poverty, and inequality and improve standards of living therefore Botswana should address these development challenges via diversifying its economy into manufacturing and services from the current mineral dominated economy.

3. Mauritius's Success Story of the Developmental State

At the time of independence 1968, the initial conditions of Mauritius were characterise with some serious problems such as excessive dependent on sugar monoculture economy (accounted for 93% of exports and 94% of all cultivated land), a rapidly growing population, lack of technical skills and capital for investment, and high unemployment. In addition, the early years of independence were characterised by a stagnant economy and a narrow domestic market (Meisenhelder, 1997). Through recognized these development problems the so-called "Meade report" included recommendations for economic diversification into labour-intensive manufacturing, as well as measures designed to hold wages down and reward workers through the provision of public services and build skilled human capital to exit from such stagnant economic situation (Meade et al. cited in Meisenhelder, 1997). Majority of these recommendations had adopted by the Mauritius Labour Party (MLP) government and placed at the centre of its development plans, which formulated in a domestic context (Meisenhelder, 1997).

The rationality of Mauritian planning seems to have been to boost sugar production in order to accumulate both private and public capital to serve as a source for industrialisation. Following the recommendations from scholars i.e. the "Meade report", the government decided to tax sugar exports and to use public revenues to provide jobs through a public work programme and state supported economic diversification (Dommen, 1996; Meisenhelder, 1997). The enacted sugar tax applied to the large estates, while small cane growers assisted and subsidised by the state. Such agricultural priority was in part due to the need of the new leaders to be responsive to their own constituencies and to consolidate their legitimacy and credibility (Meisenhelder, 1997). The development programme of Mauritius modelled on the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) East Asian countries especially Taiwan, which has achieved comparable rates of economic growth (Alladin, 1986; Kearny, 1990).

Mauritius, as Singapore and Hon-Kong confronted a near absence of natural resources but like South Korea and Taiwan, it had significant potential in agricultural sector for diversification and transformation. However, the problem for Mauritius was a monocrop sugar economy and the government quickly enacted policies to promote foreign investment to enhance manufacturing and tourism sectors (Kearny, 1990) via put in place attractive investment incentives. The Mauritian policy makers have been "pragmatic, progressive, innovative", and closely attentive to the NICs good experiences and constructing the three legs of the Mauritian economy in their transformation process. The first leg is agriculture remains heavily dominant by sugar; the second leg consists of manufacturing; and the third leg that heavily promoted service sector (Sandbrook, 2005). In the area of agriculture, diversification has had two effects on sugar sub-sector such as modernization of sugar industry and land previously under cane cultivation is released for other purpose. This indicates modernization made the sugar sub-sector more productive and effective via spur new cane seeds, irrigation infrastructure, fertilizer and other new technologies introduced to increase productivity and production (Alladin, 1986).

Therefore, committed and visionary leadership, adopting appropriate development ideology, effective and efficient public institutions in providing effective administrative services, managerial, and technical expertise, investment in human development are among others played the critical role for Mauritius' success story (Zafar, 2011; Kieh, 2015). Mauritian developmental state possessed a cadre of educated officials and planners operating in a secure organisational environment defined ideological consensus. Furthermore, government policies in education and other social services had resulted in relatively cheap, skilled, and stable labour force that was so crucial for boosting exports of locally manufactured goods and structural transformation (Meisenhelder, 1997). Based on such conscious development planning measures over the past three decades of the 20th century, Mauritius has undergone noticeable structural transformation of its economy. Efforts at economic diversification have been successful, allowing the country to move from sugar dominated economy to manufacturing (i.e. textile) and a broader service economy (tourism, banking, and ICT). Mauritius' reliance on export-led development has helped the country to achieve respectable levels of export performance and sustain economic growth. Along the way, human development indicators have improved substantially which are a key for transformation and sustain economic growth. As a result, the nation moves from a "low-income" country status to "upper middle-income" country status (World Bank, 2009; Zafar, 2011; African Economic Outlook, 2013). The structural change in Mauritius has been growth enhancing and deriving by the highly productive sectors such as manufacturing and service sectors. It has managed to grow its tertiary sector based on high productivity activities that absorb significant amount of labour (McMillan & Harttgen, 2014).

Initially, the government and its bureaucrats recognised the success of the sugar sector, which had resulted in a sizeable local accumulation of capital that might attracted to the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) based on the experiences of the East Asian development states. Having studied the success of EPZ in East Asia, a group of visionary policy makers in Mauritius put forth the idea that the country's small economic size and distance from large developed markets presented a potential opportunity to develop export-oriented textile industry (Zafar, 2011). The Mauritius EPZ was setup by government in collaboration with a number of local and foreign entrepreneurs to create new job opportunities and to provide necessary motivation to import substitution domestic industries as well as export-oriented industries and diversification process. In 1970, Mauritius passed the EPZ Act, which provided considerable incentives to manufacturers catering to foreign markets and it expanded since mid-1970s via subsidised and guided by the developmental state (Meisenhelder, 1997; Zafar, 2011).

By 1990, hundreds of firms, which concentrated in textiles and garments were employed almost one-third of the total labour force, and they accounted more than 60% of gross exports earnings and 15% of GDP (Meisenhelder, 1997; Zafar, 2011). The job opportunities offered by EPZ played a significant role reducing unemployment rate from 20% in mid-1970s to less than 5% in 1990 (Zafar, 2011). Revenues from sugar and textile have been used to facilitate service sector development in turn contributed to socioeconomic progress and higher standards of living. The structural move away from agriculture and into manufacturing and service sectors shows the success of the government's efforts at economic diversification. In particular, there was significant interaction between sugar sector and EPZ. Much of the start-up capital for EPZ firms, technical and managerial expertise came from the well-established sugar companies. EPZ benefited from the inflow of local capital and indigenous managerial capacity, which had partly incubated under import substitution policies (Zafar, 2011).

The Mauritian EPZ is geographically dispersing legal zone, so that not all firms are concentrated in one area and government invested heavily in infrastructure needed to setup EPZ (Meisenhelder, 1997; Zafar, 2011). Hence, generated employment opportunities spread throughout the country and offer an unusual degree of linkage with other sectors of the national economy. This shows the extent to which export-led industrialisation has relied on the capability of a developmental state that directs economic relations domestically and externally with foreign capital or markets. The developmental state policies are used to guide and direct but not replace the markets (Meisenhelder, 1997); i.e. the developmental state works on the principle of state-market integration. As the work of Peter Evans and others confirm, the developmental state characterised by a capable and autonomous bureaucracy that uses the market, formulates national goals independent of the direct influence of the interest groups, and has competence and resources to implement these development goals (Evans, 1995).

Accordingly, Mauritius recorded prominent achievements since its independence such as economic diversification, broad-based prosperity, a wide range of free public services and benefits, safety nets targeting vulnerable groups, relatively equal distribution of income, and a vibrant and democratic political system, which derived from an effective practice of developmental state paradigm. This indicates as other African states have disintegrated economically, the Mauritian state remained coherent and strong democratic developmental state. Its authority and administrative capacity have derived from unusual colonial experiences and benefited from progressive and competent political leadership (Sandbrook, 2005). As a result, the state emerged as a major player in the economy especially during the first decade of independence by spending substantial amounts of public resources on social welfares related to employment, healthcare and education as well as subsidies to smallholder farmers and public pensions (Zafar, 2011).

Mauritius accelerated its economic growth through the combination of political stability, good development policies, strong institutional framework, low levels of corruption, and favourable regulatory environment, and its open trade policies have been the key in sustaining growth and transformation. Furthermore, the government functions as a parliamentary democracy and the country owned efficient administrative capacity that is both technically competent and adaptive to the changing global situations. A set of formal and informal institutions guide the interaction between the public and the private sector and helped to the private sector to play a "seminal role" in the policy formulation and implementation process. For instance, Mauritian delegations to international organizations include a private sector member. Indeed, cooperation between the public and private sectors has a long history in Mauritius (Zafar, 2011).The role the private sector plays in the formulation and implementation of economic policy is crucial under the development state paradigm.

This indicates the existence of strong domestic institutions, healthy relationship between public and private sector have contributed substantially for the success of Mauritius and considered a good candidate for underlying explanations of the Mauritian miracle in SSA. Compared with the East Asian developmental states, Mauritius practiced democratic developmental state paradigm which is participatory and with inclusive institutions. Its development strategy was one of the "heterodox" policy interventions, especially on exports that implemented in the context of favourable trading environment externally accompanied with strong economic and political institutions domestically (Subramanian, 2009). In particular, the strategy of export-oriented manufacturing sector, continuously modernizing its sugar industry and gradually diversifying into tourism and service sectors accelerated its economic growth (Nath & Madhoo, 2004; Zafar, 2011). For instance, by the 1967 sugar accounted for 95% of total export earnings, over 30% of GDP, and about 35% of total employment. However, the ratio of exports decline to about 60% in 1979 and 37% in 1987, and the contribution to GDP decline to 20% in 1979 and less than 14% in late 1980s (Kiiza, 2006).

Within three decades, the economy of Mauritius transformed from a monocrop (dependent on sugar) economy to a diversified one comprising the manufacturing and service sectors. For instance, the share of agriculture in GDP declined overtime from 38.85% in 1970-74 to 10.7% in 1990-97. On other hand, the share of industry increased to 33.2% and the share of service sector increased to 56.1% in 1990-97 (Collins & Bosworth, 1996; O'Connell & Ndulu, 2000). The agricultural sector (particularly the sugar sector) generated substantial surplus for investment in other sectors of the economy, i.e. it is the base for diversification and transformation of the economy. The service sector, which initially dominated by tourism then qualitatively changed in favour of the higher value-added banking and ICT services, is now the dominant feature of the economy; i.e. this indicates there has been a strong structural change. Therefore, Mauritius has achieved East Asian type of rapid and sustained growth, backed by the structural transformation of the economy from colonial commodity production (sugar) to higher value-added manufacturing and service sectors (Kiiza, 2006).

Furthermore, as Zafar (2011) indicates overtime the sectoral composition of the Mauritian economy has changed profoundly. For instance, "between 1976 and 2010 the share of primary sector production declined from 23% of the overall economy to 6%, while the secondary sector increased from about 23% to 28%. The tertiary sector grew from just over 50% to nearly 70% of GDP". Therefore, the structural transformation away from agriculture to manufacturing and services shows the success of the government's efforts at economic diversification. The share of manufacturing exports coming primarily from EPZ, which is a politically constructed developmental institution crucially contributed to GDP, employment, and export earnings (Kiiza, 2006). Therefore, Mauritius through the creation of EPZ and attracted FDI from Hong-Kong and other countries enjoyed a FDI-export-led in labour-intensive manufacturing of clothing and textiles (Nath & Madhoo, 2004). FDI inflows coupled with new business ideas, technologies, and managerial skills became successful. The combination of adaptable institutions and rich interface between the public and private sectors has ensured effective economic policy (Zafar, 2011).

The sugar sub-sector, for instance, diversified from being a sole producer of "raw sugar" into production of value-added products such as "refined sugar" and "specialty sugar" as a means to increase government revenue. Mauritius is now the largest exporter of "specialty sugar" to the European market. The textile sub-sector also dynamically growing due in part to support by policy reforms that aimed at reducing the cost of labour and supporting to absorb new workers in the economy. Therefore, despite the Mauritius's natural resource constraints, the developmental state through its targeted policy measures able to maximise the benefits from the available scarce natural resources (African Economic Outlook, 2013). Export-led industrialization fairly attributed to the developmental state's economic success and transformation. For instance, East Asian developmental states achieved their economic success via export-oriented development approach. Export-oriented industrialization strategy was hardly a product of the unregulated market under the proper guidance of state; rather it depended on the decisions and resources of a capable and relatively autonomous developmental state bureaucracy (Evans, 1989). As a result, in Mauritius the EPZ spearheaded impressive export-led industrialization and economic growth that facilitated the overall transformation of the economy. Its success reflected manufacturing had replaced sugar as a country's largest earners of foreign exchange since mid-1980s (Kearny, 1990).

The Mauritian economic transformation and diversification have constructed through coherent government planning within the context of favourable conjunction of circumstances and events. The export-oriented political economy has enjoyed wide consensus among the various political parties and elites since the early 1980s. Most importantly, government elites in Mauritius have been able to take a long-range approach in macroeconomic policy formulation and implementation (Kearny, 1990). The national bureaucracy is reasonably competent and relatively free of corruption. Mauritius is one in which confirms democratic developmental state paradigm in the 20th century. The peculiar interplay of class and ethnicity in Mauritius has separated political from economic power. Such separation of enabling Mauritius to build relatively autonomous post-colonial developmental state to achieve a significant degree of equity and growth in the economy i.e. it consolidated both its democratic legitimacy and bureaucratic capacity (Sandbrook, 2005).

Mauritius benefited from good macroeconomic management that was pragmatic and supportive of long-term growth aspirations. The economic rents generated from the economy were used to finance for capital accumulation for further diversification process. As a result, rapid economic growth has occurred in parallel with substantial improvement in human development indicators and decrease income inequality. Mauritius has recorded very high growth rates and sustained increases in human development indicators due to a combination of good macroeconomic policies and strong institutions. Further, poverty levels have fallen significantly. In 1975, 40% of Mauritian households were below the presumed poverty line, by 1992, the proportion had fallen to 11% and by 2010 further declined to less than 2% (Zafar, 2011). Inflation was not a serious concern and Mauritius had no debt-servicing problem; i.e. like Botswana, it avoided the need for huge external debts from the advanced states by prudently managing its financial and economic resources (Meisenhelder, 1997; Zafar, 2011; Kieh, 2015).

In general, Mauritius is one of a commonly cited successful developmental state, which moving from a low-income to a middle-income country. Structural change in Mauritius has been led by a highly productive services sector. The Mauritian economy is highly diversified into industrial and services sectors via boosting labour-productivity. The country's transformation has been backed by robust institutions, for instance, the Mauritius Export Development and Investment Authority (MEDIA) and the Export Processing Zone Authority (EPZA). These institutions ensure competitiveness, stability and re-investment of export earning in productive sectors. However, scholars explained their caution that an international recession would curtail demand for exports and depress the development of tourism sector. Increasing in wage rate will be an on-going challenge in a full employment and affecting the manufacturing sectors. Furthermore, environmental degradation and faltering government administration machinery are also the two serious but amenable problems if the government strengthening its implementation capacity. The environment of Mauritius is threatened by pollution from agricultural runoff, industrial operations (particularly the textile), and tourist hotels some of which discharge untreated wastes. Therefore, the Mauritian government pay due attention to address these observed problems in the economy in order to maintain and sustain the existing economy without interruption.

4. Lessons to SSA Countries to Build Developmental State Paradigm

The primary question here is how Botswana and Mauritius can exceptionally become successful developmental state or democratic developmental state in SSA region. There are different justifications given for the miraculous of the two countries. One among is environmental determinism, which emphases on the role of geography with natural endowments. Environmental determinism as a theory of economic progress makes two major claims. These are the geography proximity to the coast and distance from the equator is key determinants of economic growth. A variant environmental determinism asserts that Botswana that is rich in mineral (diamond) deposit; i.e. rich natural resource endowments. On the other hand, the coastal country Mauritius also using the opportunity to facilitated its development (Sachs, 2001). The question becomes here: why other resource rich and coastal SSA countries not as successful as Botswana and Mauritius? How has resource poor Mauritius from Africa and most of East Asian countries been able to successful economically?

The cross-sectional differences of countries economic development are not only a matter of resource endowments rather it is a matter of having committed political leadership, good developmental ideology, and well-functioning institutions or not. The answer for the above questions would basically lies either on having context specific developmental ideology backed by well-functioning institutions and committed political leadership or not. Therefore, the enabling institutions thesis of the heterodox institutionalism put the accent on the developmental ideology (good policies and strategies), well-functioning institutions, committed political leadership and insulated bureaucracy are the basic ingredients for the success of these developmental states (Evans & Rauch, 2005). Accordingly, both countries adopted market-conforming developmental state capitalism and attracted considerable amount of FDIs to their economies (Beaulier, 2003). This indicates the discrepancy between policy decisions and implementation how public resources have utilized for development that differentiates developmental states of Botswana and Mauritius from the rest of SSA sates/countries. Adopting appropriate or context specific development ideology and good developmental policy choices are the key instruments for the success story of Botswana and Mauritius. Therefore, if other SSA countries want to replicate such success story, they should adopt the development paradigm according their specific context and make good development policy choices to design their development projects. The question is where do good policies come from? Why are some more effective than others to achieve substantial development outcomes? The answer lies on having or not having context fitted developmentalist ideology and effective institutions (Beaulier, 2003).

In addition, both Mauritius and Botswana institutionalized developmental nationalism by building competent state bureaucracy; in particular, Mauritius maintains the institutions first thesis approach. The Mauritius Public Service Commission was setup to serve as an agency for meritocratic recruitment of civil servants. As a result, the Mauritian bureaucracy approximates the Weberian bureaucracy, particularly in comparison with the poor quality bureaucracies found elsewhere in SSA countries (Goldsmith, 2007). Institutional qualities are crucial more than anything is for the success of developmental state. Building vibrant institutions and competent state bureaucracy to formulate and implement successful development projects are crucial requirements and a priority agenda of the developmental state paradigm. On the other hand, in Botswana, the role of the bureaucracy has not been as effective as Mauritius; however, the bureaucracy has been clean, nationalist, and pro-development in comparison of the rest of SSA countries (Carroll & Carroll, 1997). This implies the developmental role of state bureaucracy in Botswana is, without doubt, weaker than Mauritius in economic diversification and transformation aspects. However, from the perspective of sustain growth in comparison to other SSA countries; Botswana has been an impressive performer, especially in utilization rents from natural resources. Botswana has had committed political leaders and talented bureaucrats committed to articulate and implement development policies and strategies given the developmental state ideology (Kiiza, 2006).

The crucial question is can SSA countries replicate success stories from Botswana and Mauritius based on their respective unique contexts. The possible answer is yes they can replicate the success stories of developmental state paradigm according their respective contexts. However, this does not mean all SSA countries should follow exactly the same footstep in policies and strategies what these countries adopted or does not expect all SSA countries adopt developmental state paradigm. Since each countries' socioeconomic, political, cultural, geographical, and historical circumstances are different, and then they can replicate these success stories based on their specific context.

Therefore, to replicate the success stories/good practices from Botswana and Mauritius as well the success stories from East Asian developmental states SSA countries would pay attention for the common characteristics of the developmental state paradigm. Some of the common characteristics are 'developmental-oriented and committed political elite leadership', building effective institutions and competent bureaucracy, 'broad-section of embedded state-society' or coherent state-society relations, relative state bureaucracy autonomy', and 'capacity and commitment to adopt market-friendly development paradigm'. Effective board-based state-society relations depend on the capacity of the state bureaucracy as well as on the existence of strong civil society organizations. The characteristics of state and society are considered as crucial elements to the politics of state-society relations in a developmental state. The existence of broad-based state-society relations is one of the essential instruments to achieve healthy transformation in the economy. From the discussion of the success story of Botswana and Mauritius as well as from elsewhere East Asian developmental states the following policy lessons would be crucial for the rest of SSA countries.

- The need of committed and transformational political leadership and build efficient bureaucracy to adopt context specific developmental state ideology; a strong and effective national development planning institutions.
- Take initiation, courage and venture to adopt development policies and strategies that can fit to the countries historical, cultural, political and economic aspects rather than accepting any ideology coming from donor countries, which in turn exacerbates dependence and poverty.
- Build competent state bureaucracy and institutions with a critical mass of highly trained and competent civil servants via expand human development capacity as a key instrument of development strategies.
- Need to promote democratization and participatory approach via construct a viable social contract (i.e. broad based state-society coalition) as an integral part of the national development policies and strategies.
- Nurture adaptable and context specific institutions to build broad cross-section state-society or state-private sector to ensure effective economic development and transformation.

- Develop prudent macroeconomic fiscal and monetary policies preferably managed in order to minimise distributional conflicts and regional disparities in the economy. For instance, Mauritius benefited from pragmatic macroeconomic management that was supportive of long-term growth aspirations. The rents generated from agriculture (i.e. sugar farm) were used to finance for capital accumulation.
- Adopt pro-poor and pro-growth policy and promote public expenditure to expand public infrastructure; i.e. expand public investment in critical infrastructure to create conducive environment in the economy because public investment has emerged as a crucial source of growth in many countries.
- Recognize the benefits of economic openness at the early stage based on state-market integration, implementing effective sectoral policies and building a good investment climate to attract considerable FDI into the productive sectors and promote domestic private sector investments to contribute their part in the development process; nurture a dynamic domestic private sector at small, medium and large scale levels.
- Design appropriate social sector development policies to improve the well-being of the mass, which is one of the instruments of transferring economic (resource) rents into broad-based development approach to promote economic diversifications and structural transformation.
- Tackling rent seeking and corruption practices via educated the critical mass and put practical rules and regulations in place to punish for those who committed for such social wasteful practices.
- The regional and international cooperation should be based on mutual benefit in the form of “win-win” partnership approach to satisfy their national political and economic interests.

Building successful developmental state paradigm depends on the existence of committed political elites and competent bureaucrats via taking indigenous institutions into consideration, which help to consolidate modern state institutions, like the political elites of Botswana used the traditional institutions (Tswana tribal institution) as an instrument to consolidate their modern state institutions. It is not coincidence that the only two SSA countries that have posted consistently high rates of economic growth, which are also the only two countries practices uninterrupted democracies since their independence. These countries are the best model for the rest of SSA countries and emulating and replicating (of course based on the respective context) their good practices would be crucial for the renaissance of the region/the continent.

There is no any single blue print development model that recommended to every country and lead into success at the same pace. The best development model is the one that any nation adopt for itself based on its own specific context for the purpose of transformation and sustain development. However, the East Asian developmental state approach can indeed serve as a useful development model certainly more useful than the Euro-American development (neoliberal) model, for the current developing countries. This is because developmental state model has a room to adopt and implement policies and strategies according the country’s specific context. The developmental state model is not as rigid as a neoliberal model imposed based on terms and condition imposed from international financial institutions rather it is a flexible ideology, which can adjust or re-adjust based on specific contexts of the respective countries as well as based on the dynamic international political economy.

To sum, every African nation were at the same level of development status including Botswana and Mauritius during the post-independence period and need to identify reform paths that would be conducive to long-term economic growth and transformation. However, only Botswana and Mauritius made good policy decisions based on developmental state ideology and such wise choices made by their dominant ruling parties of the nations have kept them on a high growth path for more than three decades. Whatever the reasons, the essential point is that committed political leadership with the ability to adopt good policy choice is the key factor that determining the point of departure and destination of African nations. Therefore, the decision of political elites on good policy choices for growth and transformation would serve as a crucial milestone for the African nations. Even though it can be a bit bitter and challenging currently to get such levels of commitment due to different factors, it is also possible if political elites of the respective nations in Africa have started looking inward (recognise their internal problems) rather than outward (externalise their problems). They should have started to resist the pressures, which come from their former colonial masters and international institutions to hijack the national benefit on behalf of their own national interest under different tied terms and conditions.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

Africa needs sustainable growth and complete restructuring and transformation of its predatory/self-reliant political economy. It needs to determine its point of departure and destination based on its own unique context free from the external pressures that come via different tied terms and conditions. Africa should build its development foundation and the African internal affair should leave for African to determine their development point of departure and destination. Considerable human and physical resources are necessary for development and much of these resources should mobilize from the continent. Resources may mobilize from outside via bilateral and multilateral relations should be free from any tied terms and conditions that affect the internal affair. This implies leaving African internal affairs for African would be probably the very foundation on equality, mutual benefit, and "win-win" relationship approach. Africa's learning from the experiences of others should be with the aim of modifying their development strategies to meet its development agendas. States' genuine effort would be crucial to integrate the needs and interests of the poor sections of the society into the development process with the pro-poor and pro-development policies and strategies.

However, the development approaches deployed so far in many African countries have been inadequate to satisfy their economic and social development agendas. The failures of earlier state or market dominated development approaches lead to another approach, which is a developmental state paradigm that accommodates the role of state and markets for the purpose of diversification and transformation. Hence, African states need to consider the common characteristics of effective developmental states, the potential pitfalls of state intervention and free market, the role of different stakeholders, and other factors to practice/adopt the developmental state paradigm based on their unique features in a successful manner.

The analysis for an effective developmental state in Africa can consider as one that has the political will and the necessary capacity to articulate and implement policies to increase human capabilities, enhance equity, and encourage sustainable economic and social transformation. The common point to all the would be developmental states in Africa is the high level of dependency of future growth and development will be investments on human capital, physical infrastructure and the management of resource rents and efficient utilization of their resource rents to diversify their economy. The developmental state in Africa will struggle to build up human capital and physical infrastructure through public investment that are required for eradicating the widespread level of poverty (Swilling, 2010). Therefore, the developmental states would need to be focused on rebuilding and strengthening state capacity with a view raising its ability to expand human capability and promote equitable and efficient allocation of resources. The expansion of innovative human capability is considered as the ultimate goal and means of sustainable development and transformation. Nurturing far-reaching institutions at different levels will be crucial to achieve capability enhancing development process.

African political economy is constrained by different internal and external factors since their independence that contributed Africa remains a backward and hopeless continent for couples of decades. However, since recent time there is a firm stand among scholars, most African decision makers and planners looking and adopting alternative development paradigm (like the developmental state) to accelerate their development process via tackling these internal and external bottlenecks. Hope, the developmental state paradigm can generate strong and sustainable economic and social development for African nations if African nations adopted the paradigm properly based on their respective contexts. Achieving such robust as well as sustainable economic and social development thereby, reducing vulnerability to internal and external constraints of the continent. This will help to improve the continent's position in the global political and economic stage, and improve the lives of millions that live within poverty.

To materialize these and other development objectives, it needs to transform the existing predatory state or rent seeking political economy into a developmental state paradigm. To transform the existing predatory political economy into a developmental state one would have required the establishment of institutions of pluralism (i.e. accommodating all stakeholders in the process). It means, promoting civic engagement and values through a dense network of horizontal associations and eliminating vertical networks of patronage/clientelism. Vertical patron-client relations prevent effective political and economic participation and equality in the economy due to discrimination approach (Dia, 1996). Evidences show that, no political transformation possible nowadays without the participation of the whole groups of the society in the development process. To realize this, popular participation is indispensable and remains necessary. The crucial question is how the developmental state can ban such "patronage" and "rent seeking" situation in the initial stage of its developmental state building.

Most probably, to tackle such challenges a stable and developmental coalition would establish by properly identify who would be the best coalition candidates can be. For instance, one group that cannot be the best coalition is the private sector. Because one of the defining features of the developmental state is that, "it must be autonomous from the influence of the private sector" but need to encourage the productive capacity of the private sector (Evans, 1995) via creating fertile business environment. Obviously, the role of private sector in Africa so far has traditionally been seen as weak and captured by rent seeking political economy and contributes less to economic dynamism of the continent. However, Afro-optimists believe this is changing and that we are witnessing a new generation of policy-makers and business leaders that hold the key to an 'Africa renaissance' in which a newly independent private sector plays a much more dynamic role in the economy (Radelet, 2010). Developmental states have the capability to manage the rent seeking political economy via reward and punish (based on "carrot" and "stick") mechanism depending on the performance or the activities of the private sector in the economy. Therefore, the question is who would be the right (best) candidate of a coalition in the emerging African developmental states.

Obviously, agriculture is and must be the engine to accelerate economic growth in Africa as elsewhere in other developing countries as well as developed world did initially in their development process[5]. As a result, the rural population can therefore be the solid base for a stable and broad cross-section of developmental coalition and will be a base for building indigenous democracy in many of African nations. The role of developmental state will thus consistent with the interests of the farmers and their social transformation in the economy. With the votes of the farmers who constitute the developmental coalition will need to rule democratically to ensure continuity and to eradicate patronage and rent seeking practices from the rural area. Eradicating the rent seeking political economy from the rural areas serves as one of crucial bedrock in building democratic developmental state paradigm. One mechanism for eradicating such political economy is agricultural "land reform" (i.e. agricultural land distribution), which may not much difficult to do so in most African countries except in a few of them.

Evidences confirmed that, one important policy tools that have been adopted by most developmental states to reduce poverty, transform the structure of their economies, and ensure equitable growth via assured equitable resource distribution. Agrarian reform comprises land and agricultural reform components they have the potential to transform both national economies and the structure of rural societies. For instance, successful developmental states in East Asia have focused on remarkable agrarian reforms that have reached a large number of people (Kim, 2009; van Donge, et al., 2012). Therefore, agrarian reform would be one of a sufficient condition for emerging developmental states in Africa to transform the rural economy, which has significant spillover effect in the overall development process. Equitable growth in agriculture can be seen therefore, as a key driver of egalitarian economic development in developmental states via proper forward and backward linkages.

As a result, the situations in rural areas could be conducive for the success of a developmental states version through implementing the rural development strategies and programmes that would benefits the majority. Eradication of patronage and rent seeking political economy from the rural area have positive spillover effect to build a healthy political economy and enable overall transformation and renaissance of the continent. Furthermore, the urban middle classes and workforces could also be members of such developmental coalition. Of course, they do benefit (partially) from patronage and rent seeking political economy in the context of what has called "urban bias policy direction". However, the benefit they may garner from such political economy would be much insignificant in comparison with what they could get from the fruit of the developmental state practice. Therefore, if the developmental state will also be democratic, the hegemonic nature of its development project would have to achieve in robust, rapid, and sustainable manner.

These lead for the feasibility of developmental state paradigm or democratic developmental state paradigm in Africa. The emerging democratic/or developmental state needs a favourable internal and external environment to be successful. At present, it is likely that the external environment would seems at least be permissive (if not sufficiently conducive) for the emergence of democratic developmental state (the role of state intervention) to narrow down the market failure problems. How the external environment is relatively permissive now for such paradigm shift? Some of the possibly reasons would be the neoliberal paradigm is no longer effective at this time not only in developing countries but also in its birth place. The existence of some good experiences from the East Asian developmental states in the last three-four decades of the 20th century delivered crucial lessons. The emergence of the economic powerhouse in the global South, which changes the existing traditional relationship between the developing countries of the global South and the developed countries of the West.

African countries need to democratize their governance not only because of the demand of democracy as a form of governance but also because it has become a condition for getting adequate policy legitimacy and credibility to sustain their developmental state paradigm. Implementing a successful democratic developmental state will have extensive advantages to build stable and egalitarian society/nation. Given the nature of African societies their social pluralism (ethnically and culturally) and the artificiality of national borders (i.e. their borders are conflict prone vulnerable) created during colonialism only handle through adopting democratic institutions and democratic principles. Therefore, establishing viable democratic developmental state in Africa by overthrown the rent seeking and patronage political economy is not an option rather it is necessary to accelerate the development of the continent; because without changing such political economy it would not only difficult but also impossible to achieve overall transformation. It would be important each nation state build national consensus around its development projects via deliberate participatory approach and make its development project hegemonic by all stakeholders. National consensus, it is one of the key instruments to

[5] Long-term growth prospects in Africa will depend on how well agriculture performs because in most countries, agriculture will be a source of foreign exchange and savings, an important source of inputs for domestic industry and a major market place for some of domestic industries. Increasing investment in rural infrastructure, extending accessibility markets, increasing extension services, expand rural credit and saving institutions, and expanding other institutions will be indispensable for promoting productivity and production of the agriculture sector (see Mkandawire & Soludo, 1999).

achieve sustainable development through inclusive/participatory approach in policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation processes; without building national consensus it would be impossible materialize sustainable development. Such inclusive approach in the developmental state will lead to create egalitarian society via creating development opportunity to all economic agents/stakeholders.

Today's African internal environment is also relatively permissive like the external one to adopt alternative developmental paradigm. The development paradigms that most SSA countries have adopted and practiced in the past were unsuccessful. These situations indeed enforced or motivated for looking alternative development paradigms. Therefore, we can say that the internal environment in many of the African countries can considered permissible for the emergence of developmental state paradigm. To make the condition more conducive for the emergence of developmental state, African states should start looking inward to address the internal problems and committed to decide their point of departure and destination free from the pressure of their ex-colonies and international institutions. African countries do not just wait for external players' suggestion rather they should have their own context specific polices and strategies to decide their development point of departure and destination. They allow the external players to act based on the national plan and directions rather than based on their own interest. However, this does not mean African countries would not have challenges to build developmental state. Some groups who benefit from the existing dysfunctional system have strongly counterattacked to the new development paradigm. In addition, they will also face external challenges from the developed countries and international organization because of their national and organizational interests.

In general, based on the overall assessment it is possible to build developmental state in many SSA countries today. The opportunity of or an attempt to build a democratic/or developmental state in SSA seems to be greater since the recent years. In this regard, what is crucial from a continental point of view is that a number of countries would show their interest to establish such a state to accelerate their development process through the right mix of the role of state and market (UNECA, 2011). This could then have a "flying geese" effect on the rest of the continent like the experience shown from the first and second-tiers of the East and South Asian developmental states. For instance, imagine the impact that a successful developmental state in Ethiopia or South Africa or Nigeria will have a positive spillover effect throughout Eastern, Southern and Western African countries in particular, and across the continent in general. Building a developmental state paradigm in Africa depends on the respective country's specific context and the existence of political leadership's committed to change the existing 'predatory' political economy. Hence, developmental stat paradigm cannot be adopted in the form of a single blue print or "one-size-fits-all" approach and cannot recommended for every country universally/synonymously throughout the continent; rather it is a more flexible, dynamic, or pragmatic development ideology and adopt based on their specific national context or interest.

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