Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development
ISSN 2222-1700 (Paper) ISSN 2222-2855 (Online)
Vol.16, No.8, 2025

The Development in Africa: The State of development, Wins and Misses

Charles Ndalu Wasike
University of Juba, P.O. Box 82 Juba, South Sudan
*Email: ndaluwasike2006@gmail.com

Abstract
Africa is abundantly rich in natural resources, including timber and various minerals such as gold, gas, coal, copper, diamonds, uranium, and chromium. These valuable resources are widely distributed across the continent, making Africa a significant holder of sought-after commodities globally. Nevertheless, many African nations experience minimal benefits from these resources. To assess the development status in Africa, it is crucial to identify the factors contributing to underdevelopment and propose relevant policy measures. The research utilized an exploratory design, collecting both primary and secondary data from nine countries at varying levels of development. The development landscape in Africa is diverse. For instance, Seychelles is categorized among High-Income Countries, while nations such as Egypt, Algeria, and South Africa fall into the Upper Middle-Income bracket. Conversely, Sierra Leone, Eritrea, and Burundi are classified as Lower-Income countries. Despite Africa's rich natural resources, a youthful and educated population, a supportive culture, a resilient society, and a burgeoning middle class that could potentially enhance market growth, the continent faces significant challenges. These include inadequate leadership and governance, insecurity and civil conflicts, corruption, weak institutions, the enduring impacts of slavery, cycles of poverty, limited human resources, widespread diseases, and a reliance on debt and aid, all of which hinder progress. An econometric model developed in this study illustrates the connection between policy frameworks and economic development in Africa. Key policy shifts identified as impactful for driving development include industrialization, cooperation and economic integration, fiscal discipline, entrepreneurship, population growth management, and export promotion. In contrast, initiatives like import substitution and self-sufficiency in food security, although recognized, were found to be less significant in contributing to development.
Key words: Economic Development, GDP, governance and Integration,
DOI: 10.7176/JESD/16-8-06
Publication date: December 30th 2025

1. Introduction

Africa continues to exhibit a troubling development trajectory, lagging significantly behind the global average. While poverty rates have declined worldwide, largely due to rapid economic growth in countries like India and China, many African nations are witnessing an increase in absolute poverty levels (Sachs 2005). This raises the question: what factors are contributing to Africa's declining prospects despite its abundant natural resources?

The continent is exceptionally rich in natural wealth, holding a substantial portion of global resources, including 40% of the world's gold reserves and up to 90% of chromium and platinum. Additionally, Africa contains the largest reserves of cobalt, diamonds, and uranium globally. For example, Nigeria, a major player on the continent, derived over 80 percent of its export value from mineral fuels, oils, and distilled products in 2019, amounting to nearly 47 billion U.S. dollars (Statista, 2019). By 2021, Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) reached approximately $441 billion. Other affluent nations in Africa, such as Algeria, Egypt, and Angola, have economies that heavily rely on petroleum reserves.

According to Collier and Gunning (1999), Africa encompasses around 30,221,532 square kilometers, which constitutes about 20.4% of the total global land area. The continent is home to over 1 billion inhabitants, representing roughly 15% of the world's population. Africa is endowed with vast natural resources, producing about 50% of the world's gold, a significant portion of diamonds and chromium, 90% of cobalt, and 40% of potential hydroelectric power. It also possesses millions of acres of fertile but uncultivated farmland, along with abundant natural gas and crude oil reserves. Yet, paradoxically, the continent houses some of the world's most impoverished, malnourished, uneducated, and starving populations (Igwe, 2012).

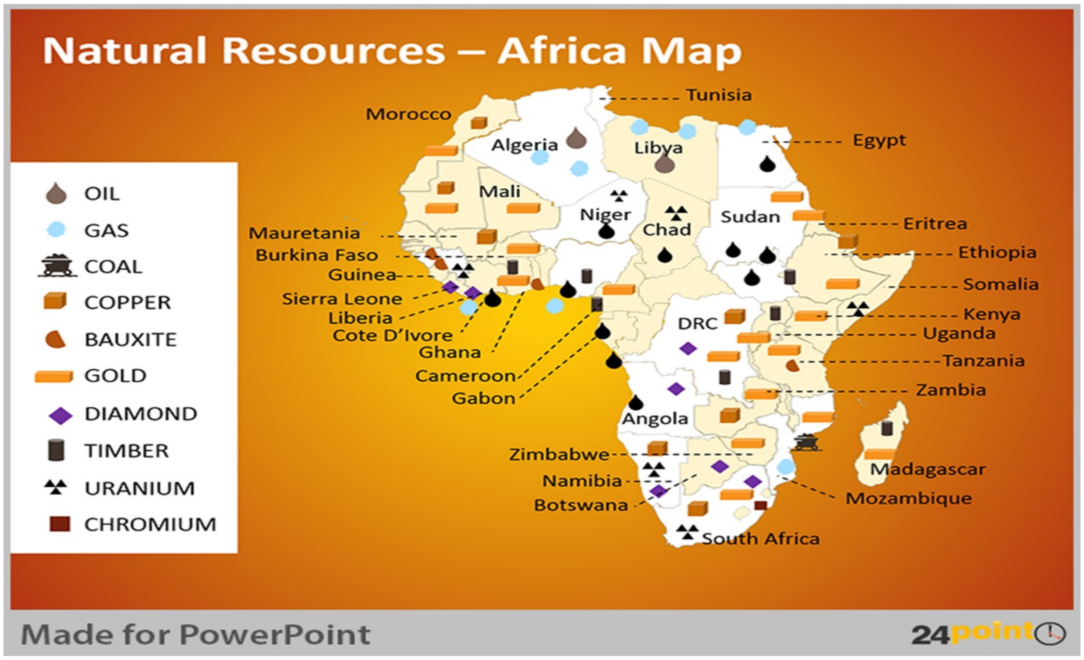

Figure 1: Distribution of Natural Resources Across Africa
Source: BG Bowman Gilfilan African Group

The Figure 1 shows the abundant natural resources within Africa. Natural resources like timber and minerals like gold, gas, coal, copper, diamond, uranium and chromium are widely distributed across the continent. In relation to other continents, Africa has a wealth of precious natural resources most of which are highly sought after throughout the world. For instance, one of the highly affected countries is the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Located in Central Africa, DRC is the largest country in sub-Saharan Africa, second only to Algeria on the entire continent and has abundant natural resources. According to Statistica (2019), DRC has an estimated 28 trillion dollars' worth of unexploited mineral resources with a population of 89.56 million people. It has the largest coltan reserve of any country, supplying 80% of the world's coltan which is widely used in the production of tantalum capacitors. Tantalum capacitors are used in almost every kind of electronic device, especially mobile phones. Further, DRC is the world's largest supplier of cobalt, producing an estimated 120,000 metric tons that year and it is the highest supplier of copper in Africa. In 2021 alone the country generated around 1.88 million metric tons of copper.

The unfortunate thing is that despite the existence of such commodities, most nations of Africa derive less or little benefits from the resources. This is partly attributable to high levels of corruption, lack of policies on wealth management, poor resource allocation, exploitation, and political instability. Most countries are underdeveloped.

Table 1: African continent's contribution to World GDP

Continent	*2024 GDF in US$ Billions*	*2025 GDF in US$ Billions*	*Net Change in US$ Billions*	*Percent Share of Global GDP*	*Ranking*
Asia	*39,870.151*	*42,600.481*	*2,730.330*	*36.89*	*1*
Africa	*2,793.329*	*2,836.801*	*43.472*	*2.46*	*5*
Europe	*27,072.669*	*28,193.853*	*1,121.189*	*24.41*	*3*
North America	*33,978.682*	*35,276.344*	*1,297.189*	*30.54*	*2*
South America	*4,253.331*	*4,407.415*	*154.084*	*3.82*	*4*
Oceania	*2,098.047*	*2,189.298*	*91.251*	*1.90*	*6*
Totals	*110,064.915*	*115,494.312*	*5,429.397*	*100*	

Source: IMF, 2025

From table 1, it is evident that despite Africa's substantial resource wealth, its contribution to global GDP (nominal) is limited, projected at only 2.46% in 2025 (IMF, 2025). In contrast, Asia is expected to lead with 36.89%, followed by North America at 30.54%.

According to Torado and Smith (2020), economic development is characterized as a complex process that entails significant transformations in social structures, public attitudes, and national institutions, along with the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the elimination of poverty. However, the World Bank (2023) categorizes economies into four income groups for analytical purposes: low, lower-middle, upper-middle, and high income, using Gross National Income (GNI) per capita in U.S. dollars. This conversion utilizes the World Bank Atlas Method to mitigate the impact of exchange rate fluctuations. The majority of African nations fall into the Low-Income category, with a limited number classified as Middle Income economies.

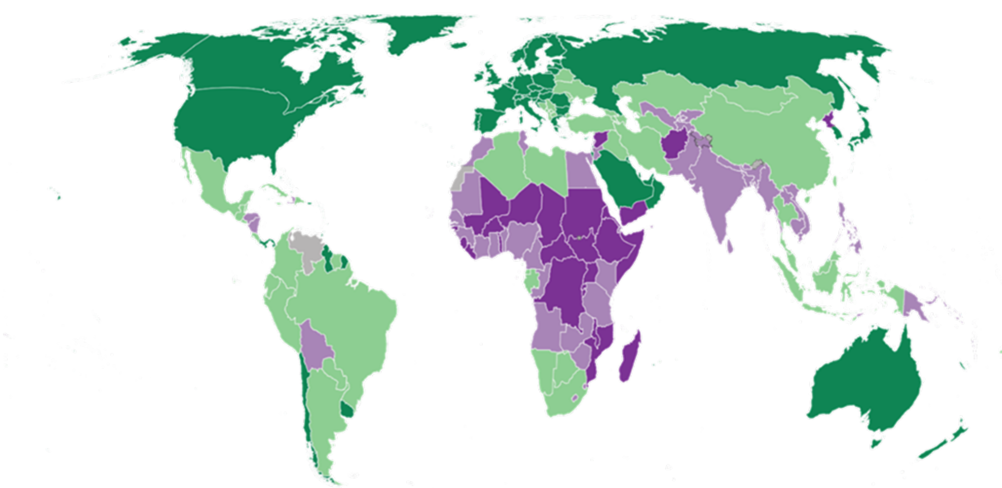

Figure 2: Classification of the World based on economic development

Source: World Bank (2023)

Key: Green – High Income Countries, Light Green - Upper Middle-Income Countries, Gray - Lower Middle-Income Countries, Purple – Low Income Countries

Some important initiatives have been proposed to address the continent's underdevelopment. In a report from an International Monetary Fund (IMF) seminar, Jaycox (1995) highlights the necessity for solutions developed locally to address African issues. He also advocates for international support to help tackle macroeconomic challenges. Such assistance can empower African countries to improve their own capabilities and manage their development processes effectively. For aid to be effective, it is crucial for the recipient nations to demonstrate qualities such as transparency, conduct public expenditure assessments, implement public investment initiatives, gain donor backing for governmental projects, and establish medium-term fiscal plans (Christensen, 1995). Good governance, which involves reducing bureaucratic barriers, is considered vital for addressing Africa's development challenges (Chakravarti, 2005). However, this viewpoint may contrast with a non-interventionist stance.

Ojo (2016) links the obstacles to African development with historical elements like the Arab slave trade, colonialism, and the actions of African leaders. He attributes the continent's underdevelopment and stagnation to poor leadership, corruption, extravagance, a failure to maintain democratic values, insecurity, and ongoing civil conflicts.

2. Literature Review

Various bodies of literature have attempted to explain Africa's underdevelopment. Soyinka (2012), a prominent Nigerian author and Africa's first Nobel Prize winner in Literature in 1986, relates the continent's difficulties to the lasting impacts of slavery and colonialism enforced by imperial powers. He argues that these historical events severely disrupted Africa's social, political, economic, and technological advancement. Nunn (2004) connects the slave trade and the legacy of exploitative colonial practices, suggesting that these elements have contributed to Africa's ongoing underdevelopment, characterized by extraction. The slave trade negatively affected the establishment of domestic institutions. Research by Easterly and Levine (1997) and Sachs and Warner (1997) supports this notion by demonstrating a strong relationship between the quality of state institutions and growth in the post-war period. This correlation helps clarify why the poorest African nations today are those from which the greatest number of slaves were taken. The enduring effects of colonial institutions contribute to significant income disparities among former colonies, as various colonizers implemented differing colonization strategies based on settlement viability. Africa's involvement in the slave trade resulted in considerable depopulation over two centuries, adversely affecting the productivity and well-being of its people. This decline in welfare persisted for an extended period, contributing to economic stagnation (Gemery and Hogendorn, 1979; Inikori, 1992; Manning, 1981).

The internal causation (or modernization) theory and external causation (or dependency) theory of underdevelopment offer further perspectives on this issue (Lawal, 2006). Proponents of the internal causation theory contend that underdevelopment arises from a failure to effectively utilize resources for economic growth and the inability to establish necessary institutional frameworks for development. On the other hand, Rostow (1960) disputes this perspective by proposing five stages of economic growth that every economy must traverse. The initial stage, termed the traditional stage, is characterized by limited production capabilities and technology, succeeded by the preconditions for take-off stage, where societies begin to prepare for transformation by adopting new production methods and engaging in industrial activities. The third stage, known as the take-off stage, is marked by rapid growth in agriculture and industry, followed by the drive for maturity stage, where modern technologies are developed. The final stage, mass consumption, is characterized by increased real income per capita and improved living standards. The external causation theory, in contrast, attributes underdevelopment to external factors. Frank (1970) posits that political oppression and economic exploitation, rather than a deficiency in local institutional structures, result in underdevelopment. He argues that Africa's underdevelopment is a consequence of the inequalities and unfavorable conditions embedded in the global capitalist system. In summary, the dependency theory illustrates how the global capitalist structure has shaped the development paths of less developed nations. Frank categorizes nations into four groups: core nations, which are the wealthiest and most powerful (such as the USA); periphery of core nations, which are developed but less globally influential (such as Canada); core of periphery nations, consisting of developing countries with significant wealth (like BRICS nations) but limited international power (such as China); and periphery of periphery nations, which represent the world's poorest countries, characterized by extremely low GDP per capita (like

Zimbabwe). He argues that the essence of underdevelopment lies in reliance on other nations, suggesting that the international system primarily serves the economic interests of core countries.

There is considerable opposition to exogenous factors such as the slave trade, colonialism, and neo-colonialism as causes of underdevelopment. In contrast, the external causation theory supports endogenous factors like corruption, insecurity, and civil unrest as significant contributors to underdevelopment.

Other researchers attribute the dire situation to the prevalence of diseases. Health issues, including malaria and other infectious diseases, have greatly impacted Africa's population, adversely affecting productivity, savings, and investment, thereby directly influencing the continent's economic performance (Gallup and Sachs, 2001; Bloom and Sachs, 1998). Bloom and Sachs (1998) argue that high malaria rates in sub-Saharan Africa reduce the continent's annual growth rate by 1.3% and suggest that had malaria been eradicated in the 1950s, per capita income could have doubled from its current level. Batten and Martina (2005) present similar arguments regarding the impact of diseases but base their findings on a cross-country sample that includes countries from various continents, including Africa (Acemoglu et al., 2001; Rodrik et al., 2004; Bhattacharyya, 2004).

Scholarly consensus indicates that corruption is a significant factor contributing to underdevelopment in Africa (Ediegba and Maiangwa, 2012). Corruption diverts national resources, redirecting essential funds away from education, healthcare, and other vital services toward political elites. This misallocation hampers the economy's ability to provide services, leaving the population in a state of illiteracy, poverty, and poor health. African governments have misused resources intended for public service delivery, often maintaining their authority through violence and bribery. Ultimately, the barriers to development are interconnected (Dahida & Akangbe, 2013).

In conclusion, the slave trade had a negative impact on economic development across the African continent. Over two centuries, significant depopulation occurred, leading to decreased productivity and a substantial decline in overall welfare, with these adverse effects persisting for an extended duration.

3. Methodology

A total of nine African countries were chosen randomly and three chosen from each category as classified by the World Bank (2024-2025). Eight African countries are classified as upper-middle-income economies out of 54 nations, and Seychelles is the only African country among the 86 high-income economies. Although Seychelles does not have the largest economy in Africa, it stands out as the only country on the continent classified in the "very high" human development (HDI) category.

Since only one African country (Seychelles) is categorized into High income country, the stratification started from the Upper Middle-Income Countries, Low Middle-Income Countries and lastly Low-Income Countries. Stratified and Simple random sampling techniques were applied to obtain samples from the categories and individual countries respectively. Purposely took equal sample of 100 respondents from each country

The table 2 below shows the random selection of countries to represent various categories as classified by World Bank.

Table 2: Sample of Categories of Countries based on World Bank Classification

Category	*Country*	*Sample size*
Upper Middle-Income Countries	*Egypt*	*100*
	Algeria	*100*
	South Africa	*100*
Lower Middle-Income Countries	*Kenya*	*100*
	Ghana	*100*
	Zambia	*100*
Low-Income Countries	*Sierra Leon*	*100*
	Burundi	*100*
	Eritrea	*100*
Total	*9*	*900*

Source: Researcher's Own, 2025

Table 2 shows the distribution of the respondents across the continent. The nine countries purposely and randomly sampled had 100 respondents each. Data collection was based on online interview based on the formulated questions that guided the interview. Secondary data was obtained from World Bank Data bank.

4. Findings

4.1 Response Rate and Respondents' demographics

Seven Hundred and twenty (718) responded reflecting a response rate of 79.8%.

Table 3: Response Rate

Country	*Frequency*	*Percent*	*Valid Percent*	*Cumulative Percent*
Egypt	*80*	*10.8*	*11.3*	*11.3*
Algeria	*70*	*9.3*	*9.7*	*21.0*
South Africa	*86*	*11.5*	*12.0*	*33.0*
Kenya	*90*	*12.0*	*12.5*	*45.5*
Ghana	*84*	*11.2*	*11.7*	*57.2*
Zambia	*78*	*10.4*	*10.9*	*68.1*
Sierra Leone	*76*	*10.1*	*10.6*	*78.7*
Burundi	*82*	*10.9*	*11.4*	*90.1*
Eritrea	*71*	*9.5*	*9.9*	*100*
Totals	*718*			

Table 3 shows the response from the various countries studied. Kenya, South Africa, Ghana and Burundi had the highest responses while Eritrea, Algeria and Sierra Leone had the least respondents.

Table 4: Descriptive frequency of the Respondents' Demographics

	Frequency	*Percent*
Male	*346*	*48.2*
Female	*372*	*51.8*
Degree holders	*360*	*50.1*
Diploma holders	*358*	*49.9*
Working in government	*309*	*43.6*
Working in private sector	*399*	*56.4*

From table 4, the male sex was 346 and female were 472 representing 48.2% and 51.8% respectively. Ladies were more willing to respond to the study by showing interest and wanting to contribute to the important subject of underdevelopment. While 360 respondents were university graduates with degree while 358 were college diploma holders. This demonstrates that the selected were educated enough to understand the subject matter. Further, above 309 respondents were employed by government institutions while 399 were employed by the private sector representing 43% and 57% respectively.

4.2 Factors promoting Development in Africa

Table 5: Factors deemed to promote Development in Africa

	Frequency	*Percent*	*Cumulative Percent*
Population growth for market	*84*	*11.7*	*11.7*
Educated youth bulge	*100*	*13.9*	*25.6*
Empowering culture	*52*	*7.2*	*32.9*
Natural resources	*362*	*50.4*	*83.3*
Resilient population	*43*	*6.0*	*89.3*
Arising middle class	*77*	*10.7*	*100.0*
Totals	*718*	*100.01*	

Table 5 shows the factors deemed to promote development in Africa. More than 50% agree that the abundance of natural resources on the continent can cause development followed by an educated youth bulge, rising populations and a rising middle class in that order.

6.5 The Causes of Underdevelopment in Africa

Table 6: Causes of underdevelopment in Africa

	Frequency	*Percent*	*Cumulative percent*
Human resources constraints	*41*	*5.7*	*5.7*
Effects of slave trade	*21*	*2.9*	*8.6*
Vicious cycle of poverty	*53*	*7.4*	*16.0*
Leadership and governance	*197*	*27.4*	*43.5*
Corruption	*115*	*16.0*	*59.5*
Insecurity and civil wars	*54*	*7.5*	*67.0*
Weak institutions	*119*	*16.6*	*83.6*
Disease prevalence	*20*	*2.8*	*86.4*
Aid dependency	*98*	*13.6*	*100.0*
Totals		*100.0*	

Table 6 indicates the causes of underdevelopment. The three major causes are Leadership and governance at 27.4%. weak institutions at 16.6%, corruption at 16% and high dependency at 13.6%. However, effects of slavery (2.9%) and disease prevalence (2.8%) were the least causes of underdevelopment in Africa.

4.5 Recommended policy initiatives for Development in Africa

Table 7: Policies for Development

	Frequency	*Percent*	*Cumulative percent*
Import substation	*70*	*9.7*	*9.7*
Export promotion	*85*	*11.8*	*21.6*
Fiscal discipline	*61*	*8.5*	*30.1*
Manage population growth	*32*	*4.5*	*34.5*
Human capital formation	*57*	*7.9*	*42.5*
Capital formation	*71*	*9.9*	*52.4*
Industrialization	*90*	*12.5*	*64.9*
Entrepreneurship	*70*	*9.7*	*74.7*
Food security	*48*	*6.7*	*81.3*
Cooperation and economic integration	*97*	*13.5*	*94.8*
Peacebuilding	*37*	*5.2*	*100*
Totals	*718*		

In the table 7 policy directions were recommended for development to happen in Africa. Africa need to increase cooperation and economic integration at 13.5%, industrialization at 12.5% and export promotion at 11.8% as the three major policy shifts.

Table 8: ANOVA on policy development

Model	*Sum of sqaures*	*Df*	*Mean square*	*F*	*Sig*
Regression	*620.968*	*9*	*68.995*	*176.504*	*O.000*
Residual	*276.757*	*708*	*0.391*		
Totals	*897.716*	*718*			

a. Dependent Variable: Economic Development

b. Predictors: (Constant), Peace building, Industrialization, Cooperation and Economic Integration, Import Substitution, Fiscal Discipline, Self Sufficiency, Entrepreneurship, Managed Population Growth, Export Promotion

Table 8 (ANOVA) shows a significant model with Economic Development as a dependent variable and predictors as follows: Peace building, industrialization, Cooperation and Economic Integration, Import Substitution, Fiscal Discipline, Self Sufficiency, Entrepreneurship, Managed Population Growth and Export Promotion

Table 9: Coefficients of the Variables

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
(Constant)	.735	.373		1.967	.050
Import Substitution	.129	.166	.072	.778	.437
Export Promotion	.042	.323	.018	.129	.038
Fiscal Discipline	.222	.100	.170	-2.222	.027
Managed Population Growth	.433	.108	.441	4.017	.000
Industrialization	.272	.382	.045	.713	.046
Entrepreneurship	.308	.163	.195	-1.886	.050
Self Sufficiency	.012	.353	.004	.035	.972
Cooperation and Economic Integration	.746	.120	.667	6.223	.000
Peace building	-.071	.307	-.031	-.230	.818

a. Dependent Variable: Economic Development

From table 9, the following factors are significant Industrialization, Cooperation and Economic Integration, Fiscal Discipline, Entrepreneurship, Managed Population Growth and Export Promotion. This is because their significance value is 0.05 or less. However, Import Substitution and Self Sufficiency are not significant. The following regression model can be developed to reflect the relationship between Economic Development and the policy initiatives.

ED = 0.735 + 0.18EP + 0.170FD + 0.441MP + 0.045I + 0.195E + 0.667CEI

Where:

ED is the Economic Development

EP – Export Promotion

FD – Fiscal Discipline

MP – Managed Population Growth

I – Industrialization

E – Entrepreneurship

CEI – Cooperation and Economic Integration

5. Discussions and Conclusion

The picture is not just a gloom demonstration of perpetual underdevelopment. Some African countries have attained development. A country like Seychelles is currently classified as a High-Income country by World Bank. Sixteen countries in Africa have a GDP per capita of less than $1,000, and seven of these nations have GDP per capita below the $600 mark. On the other end, Seychelles, an archipelagic state of 115 islands known for its luxury tourism sector, has a GDP per capita of $21,875, 10 times greater than the continental average of $1,940.

The second-ranked island nation of Mauritius, which also benefits from a vibrant tourism sector, had a GDP per capita of $12,973, which is over six times higher than Africa's average. Both Seychelles and Mauritius also rank first and second respectively among all sub-Saharan African countries on the UN Human Development Index.

Table 10: The highest GDP Growth Rates in the World (2024)

Country	GDP Growth rate	Rank
Guyana	43.4	1
Samoa and Georgia	9.4	2
Krypt Republic	9.0	3
Rwanda	8.9	4
Macao, China	8.8	5
Erithrea	8.7	6
Niger and Tajikistan	8.4	7
San Marino	7.9	8
Benin	7.5	9
Cabo Verde and Ethiopia	7.3	10
Senegal	6.9	11
Congo Dem. Republic	6.7	12
Uzbekistan	6.5	13
Uganda	6.1	14
Djibout, Cote d'voire, Cambodia, Malta	6.0	15

Source: World Bank, 2025

From the table 10 above, of the twenty-one highest GDP growth rates in the world, Africa has 10 countries constituting 48% of highest growing economies in the world. With this upward growth trajectory, Africa is poised to experience high economic development in the foreseeable future.

This is corroborated by the study findings. The abundance natural resources, large population for the market, an educated youth bulge, supportive cultural practices, a resilient population and a rising middle class for emerging market are driving the growth.

However, Africa has failed to develop in comparison with it's peers in Asia that were deemed to be at the same level of development after World War II. The study attributes this slow growth to poor leadership and governance at 26.2%, human resource constraint at 5.5%, effects of slavery at 2.8%, corruption at 15.3%, Insecurity and civil wars at 7.2%, weak institutions at 15.8%, disease prevalence at 2.7%, dependence (on debt and aid) at 13% and vicious cycles of poverty at 7.1%. That means the major four causes of African development are Leadership and governance, weak institutions, corruption and dependency syndrome in that order.

The Industrialization, Cooperation and Economic Integration, Fiscal Discipline, Entrepreneurship, Management of Population Growth and Export Promotion were found to be significant policy shifts that can cause development. However, Import Substitution and Self Sufficiency in terms of food security, though identified as policy initiatives, were not significant.

Africa is highly endowed with natural resources like timber and minerals – gold, gas, coal, copper, diamond, uranium and chromium, are widely available on the continent. Relatively, Africa has a wealth of precious natural resources most of which are highly sought after in the world. However, despite the existence of such commodities, most nations of Africa derive less or little benefits from the resources. The study established the state of development in Africa, determine the drivers of African underdevelopment and determined policy initiatives.. The exploratory research design employed enabled gathering of primary and secondary data across nine countries at different stages of development. Africa has mixed development patterns. One country, the Seychelles, has attained the High-Income Countries and others like Egypt, Algeria and South Africa are classified currently in the Upper Middle-Income countries while Sierra Leon, Eritrea and Burundi were classed in the lower Income countries category. Africa is highly endowed with natural resources, educated youth bulge, empowering culture that provide support system, resilient population and arising middle class to drive the emerging market. However, the continent is plagued with poor leadership and governance, insecurity and civil wars, corruption, weak institutions, effects of slavery, vicious cycles of poverty, human resources constraint, disease prevalence, dependency (in terms of debt and aid) that have greatly affected development. An econometric model so established, demonstrate the relationship between policies and economic development in Africa. The Industrialization, Cooperation and Economic Integration, Fiscal Discipline, Entrepreneurship, Management of Population Growth and Export Promotion were found to be significant policy shifts that can cause development. However, Import Substitution and Self Sufficiency in terms of food security, though identified as policy initiatives, were not significant.

Africa countries' growth rates are high. With this upward growth trajectory, Africa is experiencing a paradigm shift in her economic development. This is the result of the continent's the abundance natural resources, large population for the market, an educated youth bulge, supportive cultural practices, a resilient population and a rising middle class for emerging market are driving the growth.

References

Acemoglu D, Johnson S. and Robinson J.A (2001). The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation. American Economic Review. vol. 91, no. 5, December 2001. (pp. 1369–1401).

Batten, A., and Martina A. (2005). Diseases Dominate," School of Economics, The Australian National University, mimeo.

Bhattacharyya, S. (2004). "Deep Determinants of Economic Growth," Applied Economics Letters, 11(9), 587-590.

Bloom, D., and J. Sachs. (1998). Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa," Brookings Papers on Economic Activity, 2, pp. 207-295.

Chakraborty, S., and Das M (2005). Mortality, Human Capital and Persistent Inequality. Journal of Economic Growth, 10, pp. 159-192.

Christensen B. V (1995). Review of Issues of Aid Effectiveness. In Claire L, ed., External Assistance and Policies for Growth in Africa. International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C.

Collier P. and Gunning J.W (199). Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?. Journal of Economic Perspectives, 13(3), 1999, p.3.

Dahida P & Akangbe M (2013). Corruption as a Bane for Under-Development in Nigeria: Issues and Challenges, International Affairs and Global Strategy, Vol. 15, 2013, pp. 76-83.

Easterly, W., and Levine R (1997). Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions. Quarterly Journal of Economics, 112(4), pp. 1203-1250.

Ediegba D & Maiangwa B (2012). Corruption in the Under development of the Niger Delta in Nigeria", The Journal of Pan African Studies, Vol. 5, No. 8, December 2012, pp. 108-132.

Frank A. G (1969). The Development of Underdevelopment in J.T. Roberts and A.B. Hite (eds.), Globalization and Development Reader (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969), pp. 76-84

Gallup J. L, Sachs J.D and Mellinger A. D (1991). Geography and Economic Development. International Regional Science Review, Volume 22, Issue 2

Gemery, H. and Hogendorn J. (1974). The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 23-75. New York: Academic Press. Austen, R. (1988). "The 19th Century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahilia and Red Sea Coasts): A Tentative Census," Slavery and Abolition, 9(3), 21-44.

Gemery, H. and Hogendorn J (1979). The Economic Costs of West African Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Preliminary Sampling for the Eighteenth Century," In Gemery, H. 21 and J. Hogendorn (eds.), The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, Academic Press: New York. Hall,

Hernańdez E (2014). The Colonial Underdevelopment of Africa by Europe and the United States", Liberation, 30 November 2014. 22

Igwe S (2012). Underdeveloped Africa (Port Harcourt: Prime Print Technologies, 2012), p. viii; "The Failure of African Leadership: Causes of Africa's Problem" retrieved from http://www.africanholocaust.net and http://www.blatantworld.com/data/the-largest-continents.Retrieved 8 January, 2025.

Inikori, J. (1992). The Chaining of a Continent: Export Demand for Captives and the History of Africa South of the Sahara, 1450-1870," Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.

Jaycox E.V. K (1995). Meeting the Challenges of African Development. In Claire L. ed., External Assistance and Policies for Growth in Africa. International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C.

Lawal G. (2006). Globalization and Development: The Implications for the African Economy.

Manning, P. (1981). The Enslavement of Africans: A Demographic Model, Canadian Journal of African Studies, 15(3), 499-526.

Nunn, N. (2004). Slavery, Institutional Development, and Long-Run Growth in Africa, 1400 2000, Mimeo, Department of Economics and Institute for Policy Analysis, University of Toronto, Canada.

Nunn N. (2007). Historical Legacies: Linking Africa's Past to its Current Underdevelopment, Journal of Development Economics, 83(1), 2007, p. 145.

Nunn N. (2008). The Long-Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades, Quarterly Journal of Economics, 123(1), 2008, pp. 139-140.

Torado M.P and Smith C.S (2012). Economic Development (Boston: Pearson Publication, 2012), p. 16.

Rodrik, D., Subramanian A, and F. Trebbi. (2004). "Institutions Rule: the Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development," Journal of Economic Growth, 9, 131-165.

Rostow W.W (1960). The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto" in J.T. Roberts and A.B. Hite (eds.), Globalization and Development Reader (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), pp. 47-55.

Sachs, J. and A. Warner. (1997). "Sources of Slow Growth in African Economies," Journal of African Economies, 6(3), 335-376.

Sachs, J. D. and A. M. Warner (1997). Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth. Working paper, Center for International Development and Harvard Institute for International Development.

Statistica (2019). Mining industry in Africa - statistics & facts.
Soyinka W. (2012). From Wole Soyinka: A Manifesto for Africa. November 12, 2012

Ojo E. O (2016). Underdevelopment in Africa: Theories and Facts. The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies. Volume 41, Number 1, Spring 2016

World Bank (2024-2025). The country classifications by income level for 2024-2025.

World Bank (2025). GDP Growth (Annual %). Httpps://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG Retrieved on 3/8/2025 at 4.56pm East African Time

Appendices

Appendix 1: Response and Bio data

Item	*Egypt*	*Algeria*	*South Africa*	*Kenya*	*Ghana*	*Zambia*	*Sierra Leone*	*Burundi*	*Eritrea*
Number of Respondents	*80*	*70*	*86*	*90*	*84*	*78*	*76*	*82*	*72*
Demographics	*36 F* *44 M*	*24 F* *46 M*	*45 F* *41 M*	*40 F* *50 M*	*44 F* *40 M*	*38 F* *40 M*	*48 F* *28 M*	*50 F* *32 M*	*35 F* *37 M*
Level of Education	*38 U* *42 D*	*50 U* *20 D*	*49 U* *37 D*	*48 U* *42 D*	*42 U* *42 D*	*30 U* *48 D*	*36 F* *40 D*	*32 U* *50 D*	*35 U* *37 D*
Sector of Employment	*39 G* *41 P*	*35 G* *35 P*	*40 G* *46 P*	*35 G* *35 P*	*43 G* *41 P*	*39 G* *39 P*	*26 G* *50 P*	*30 G* *52 P*	*22 G* *50 P*

Key

F – Female

M – Male

U – University

D – Diploma

G – Government

P – Private

Appendix 2: Data on the Perception on what can aid in Development

Item	Egypt	Algeria	South Africa	Kenya	Ghana	Zambia	Sierra Leone	Burundi	Eritrea
Population	20	10	14	10	8	6	7	2	7
Youth Bulge	5	10	12	18	10	13	13	14	5
Empowering Culture	10	8	1	4	8	7	4	8	2
Natural Resources	40	32	46	42	46	36	40	42	38
Resilience	5	2	1	3	2	4	4	10	12
Arising Middle Class	10	8	12	13	10	12	8	6	8

Appendix 3: Causes of Underdevelopment in Africa

Item	Egypt	Algeria	South Africa	Kenya	Ghana	Zambia	Sierra Leone	Burundi	Eritrea
Human Resource constraint	6	8	7	6	5	7	4	4	2
Effect of Slave trade	0	0	1	2	6	0	4	0	0
Vicious cycle of poverty	2	4	6	6	5	6	8	10	6
Poor Leadership and governance	20	18	22	26	27	24	18	20	22
Corruption	10	12	14	18	13	14	10	11	13
Insecurity and Civil Wars	12	8	4	2	2	2	6	8	10
Weak Institutions	14	12	14	14	12	12	14	16	11
Disease Prevalence	4	1	4	2	1	1	4	3	0
Dependency-Debt trap	12	7	14	14	13	12	8	10	8

Appendix 4: Policy Imperatives

Item	*Egypt*	*Algeria*	*South Africa*	*Kenya*	*Ghana*	*Zambia*	*Sierra Leone*	*Burundi*	*Eritrea*
Import Substitution	*6*	*4*	*8*	*12*	*10*	*11*	*9*		*4*
Export Promotion	*12*	*9*	*14*	*11*	*9*	*8*	*6*	*9*	*7*
Fiscal Discipline	*8*	*4*	*8*	*9*	*7*	*6*	*6*	*5*	*8*
Population Growth Management	*4*	*2*	*5*	*4*	*3*	*4*	*3*	*4*	*3*
Human Capital Formation	*6*	*7*	*4*	*6*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*8*
Industrialisation	*6*	*6*	*8*	*9*	*8*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*
Entreprenuership	*10*	*8*	*8*	*10*	*10*	*12*	*11*	*12*	*9*
Self Sufficiency(Food Security)	*12*	*8*	*9*	*8*	*7*	*6*	*8*	*6*	*6*
Cooperation and Economic Integration	*2*	*4*	*4*	*8*	*7*	*5*	*6*	*8*	*4*
Peacebuilding	*10*	*12*	*14*	*12*	*14*	*12*	*7*	*9*	*7*
	4	*6*	*4*	*1*	*4*	*1*	*5*	*4*	*6*

Appendix 5: Classification of African Countries by World Bank (2024-2025) based on Incomes

1. **High Income Countries**

Seychelles

2. **Upper Middle-Income Countries**:

- Mauritius
- South Africa
- Botswana
- Namibia
- Equatorial Guinea
- Gabon
- Libya.

2. **Lower Middle-Income Countries**:

- Algeria

- Angola
- Benin
- Cameroon
- Cape Verde
- Comoros
- Republic of the Congo
- Côte d'Ivoire
- Djibouti
- Egypt
- Ghana
- Kenya
- Lesotho
- Mauritania
- Morocco
- Nigeria
- São Tomé and Príncipe.

3. **Low Income African Countries**

- Somalia: Has a GNI per capita of $130.
- Mozambique: Has a GNI per capita of $490.
- Madagascar: Has a GNI per capita of $520.
- Central African Republic: Has a GNI per capita of $520.
- DR Congo: Has a GNI per capita of $530.
- Sierra Leone: Has a GNI per capita of $540.
- Liberia: Has a GNI per capita of $580.
- Sudan: Has a GNI per capita of $590.
- Niger: Has a GNI per capita of $600.
- Eritrea: Has a GNI per capita of $600.
- Togo: Has a GNI per capita of $690.
- Chad: Has a GNI per capita of $700.
- Gambia: Has a GNI per capita of $750.
- Uganda: Has a GNI per capita of $780.
- Burkina Faso: Has a GNI per capita of $780.

- Burundi: Has a GNI per capita of $780
- Guinea Bissau: Has a GNI per capita of $820.
- Rwanda: Has a GNI per capita of $830.
- Ethiopia: Has a GNI per capita of $850.
- Mali: Has a GNI per capita of $870.

Appendix 6: 2024 GDP per capita of African countries (World Bank, 2024)

Country	GDP Per Capita (2024)
Seychelles	$21,875
Mauritius	$12,973
Gabon	$9,308
Botswana	$7,875
Libya	$6,975
Equatorial Guinea	$6,733
South Africa	$5,975
Algeria	$5,722
Namibia	$4,745
Cabo Verde	$4,656
Tunisia	$4,435
Eswatini	$4,324
Djibouti	$4,184
Morocco	$4,078
Egypt	$3,225
São Tomé and Príncipe	$3,167
Côte d'Ivoire	$2,717
Republic of the Congo	$2,457
Angola	$2,432
Mauritania	$2,347
Ghana	$2,230
Zimbabwe	$2,088
Kenya	$1,983

Country	GDP Per Capita (2024)
Ethiopia	$1,910
Senegal	$1,900
Cameroon	$1,815
Guinea	$1,651
Benin	$1,512
Zambia	$1,413
Comoros	$1,385
Tanzania	$1,220
Uganda	$1,202
Nigeria	$1,110
Lesotho	$1,107
Guinea-Bissau	$1,088
Togo	$1,058
Chad	$1,014
The Gambia	$989
Rwanda	$989
Burkina Faso	$910
Mali	$899
Liberia	$855
Somalia	$777
Democratic Republic of the Congo	$715
Niger	$670
Mozambique	$659
Sudan	$547
Madagascar	$538
Central African Republic	$538
Sierra Leone	$527
Malawi	$481
South Sudan	$422
Burundi	$230
Tunisia	$4,435
Eswatini	$4,324
Djibouti	$4,184

Country	GDP Per Capita (2024)
Morocco	$4,078
Egypt	$3,225
São Tomé and Príncipe	$3,167
Côte d'Ivoire	$2,717
Republic of the Congo	$2,457
Angola	$2,432
Mauritania	$2,347
Ghana	$2,230
Zimbabwe	$2,088
Kenya	$1,983
Ethiopia	$1,910
Senegal	$1,900
Cameroon	$1,815
Guinea	$1,651
Benin	$1,512
Zambia	$1,413
Comoros	$1,385
Tanzania	$1,220
Uganda	$1,202
Nigeria	$1,110
Lesotho	$1,107
Guinea-Bissau	$1,088
Togo	$1,058
Chad	$1,014
The Gambia	$989
Rwanda	$989
Burkina Faso	$910
Mali	$899
Liberia	$855
Somalia	$777
Democratic Republic of the Congo	$715
Niger	$670
Mozambique	$659

Country	GDP Per Capita (2024)
Sudan	$547
Madagascar	$538
Central African Republic	$538
Sierra Leone	$527
Malawi	$481
South Sudan	$422
Burundi	$230
Eritrea	N/A