

**The Relevance of Foreign Assistance on Self-Development in
Post-Colonial Sub-Saharan Africa**

by

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Abstract

For this dissertation, the researcher studies the relevance of foreign development assistance (F.D.A.) in relationship with self-development in post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa, dating from 1960 through 2010. This relationship is analyzed using alternative theories and models of development to the Westernized definitions of development – to define development as self-actualization, self-discovery, self-reliance and self-sustainability. The research considers specific paradigms related to Africa (Westernized, Afrocentric and Pan African) in its analysis. The researcher uses Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), Seychelles and Tanzania as the sample countries to illustrate the relationship. The research analyzes F.D.A. (O.D.A., economic structural adjustments and N.G.O. activity) in Sub-Saharan Africa in order to test the modernization theory's insistence that F.D.A. is necessary to bring self-development. From quantitative research, results (with 14.7% certainty overall and various certainty levels when broken into separate stages of post-colonial self-development) revealed mixed correlations between F.D.A. and self-development. From the results, interested parties in international relations, public administration, public policy, and African development can conclude that F.D.A. is somewhat irrelevant to Sub-Saharan African self-development. Therefore, self-development advocates would continue to challenge whether foreign aid is needed for self-development, or whether it will continue to ruin Sub-Saharan Africa and continue to keep the sub-continent in total dependency on the outside world through foreign aid.

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List of Abbreviations

A.E.C.	African Economic Community
A.U.	African Union
C.O.M.E.S.A.	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
D.P.I.	Department of Public Information at the United Nations
D.R.C.	Democratic Republic of the Congo
E.A.C.	East African Community
E.C.O.S.O.C.	Economic and Social Council of the United Nations
F.D.A.	Foreign development assistance
G.D.P.	Gross domestic product
I.M.F.	International Monetary Fund
I.S.I.	Import substitution industrialization
M.D.G.	Millennium Development Goals
N.G.O.	Non-governmental organization
O.D.A.	Official Development Assistance
O.E.C.D.	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
S.A.D.C.	Southern African Development Community
S.A.P.	Structural adjustment programs
U.N.	United Nations

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For this dissertation, the researcher studies the relationship between foreign development assistance (F.D.A.) and post-colonial development in Sub-Saharan Africa. The research will use the Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), Seychelles, and Tanzania as representative sample countries. The research focuses on the relevance of F.D.A. for development in the sub-continent, with development understood primarily as a self-sustaining process. Can foreigners undertake self-sustaining development for other peoples? Can First World countries, however generous with their aid, ever succeed in developing the Third World? If not, could the infusion of F.D.A into this region since its mass independence in the 1960's be producing the exact opposite result and preventing development in the region? F.D.A. in its various forms have has been an essential part of the various development ideologies, programs and experiences of all of Sub-Saharan Africa since its mass independence. Are variations in the levels of development in the sub-Continent correlated with these different forms of F.D.A.?

Problem Statement

The analytical timeframe begins with the mass independence of most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (and Africa as a whole) by the end of the 1960's. We explore how the newly victorious African leaders responded to several developmental challenges at the time of mass independence. Their effectiveness, or lack thereof, would set the pattern of development for their respective countries for the next three to four decades, entering well into the late 1990s. Ending dependency on foreign aid is just one of four sets of challenges. The other three were power consolidation, nation building and democratization, and economic development.

In order of political magnitude, the foremost challenge was power consolidation. Given long and entrenched loyalty to pre-independent traditional rule and rulers, redirecting loyalty to the newly elected secular leaders required the crafty skill of both accommodation and power consolidation. Could the new leaders consolidate sufficient secular power for effective governance? At the same time, could they accommodate existing centers of power like the tribal leaders, colonial multinational companies, farmers, the emerging intelligentsia and media, and the parliamentary opposition parties without coercion or intimidation to eliminate them? Power consolidation also required the replacement of colonial arbitrariness and autocratic rule with participatory democratic freedom and the rule of law backed by reliable legal institutions.

The second set of challenges revolved around nation building and democratization. Nearly all the African countries are to this day still bordered along the same colonial boundaries arbitrarily drawn in 1884 to end European colonialists' bloody scramble for Africa. These 1884 colonial boundaries, however, were formed without any sensitivity to pre-colonial empires and tribal and ethnic solidarity and unity. The challenge was to turn the tribally and ethnically fragmented colonial state-nations into independent nation-states with common social and national identities.¹

Economic development posed the third set of challenges. Because European colonial powers never intended, nor ever succeeded, in developing their colonial economies, the development challenge was nothing short of starting from scratch. Would the first crop of African independence leaders understand sufficiently where existing (mainly Western) theories

¹ Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria, Liberia, Ghana, Rwanda, Burundi, the Congo Republic—to name just a few—are afflicted by powerful ethno-nationalist and secessionist movements. Eritrea split from Ethiopia in 1993; South Sudan split from the Sudan in July 2011.

of development could be mastered to reflect African realities? Second, as a continent that has been colonized for the prior century, is Africa therefore in need of its own development identify free of overbearing foreign dictations? The earliest recommendations for effective African development came from the modernization theories of the 1960s, which emphasized economic growth. First, this meant the development of modern physical infrastructure of roads, harbors, airports, water and sewage. Second, this meant the fundamental restructuring and improvement of social infrastructure, including national health and educational systems. Third, this meant an inclusive social safety net. But development is a complex process, and as far as the newly independent African countries were concerned, the greatest development challenge was not Western modernization. The challenge was hunger and poverty reduction, which afflicted more than 70% of African people living on human-driven subsistence agriculture in the rural areas. And equally, the overwhelming method for poverty reduction has always been immediate mechanization of African subsistence agriculture, which could have delivered critical advantages. Agricultural abundance would not only have reduced and eventually eliminated hunger and poverty, but could certainly have ended costly food imports and mono-crop export dependency. At the same time, it would produce industrial inputs and releasing labor to begin industrialization as a natural area of economic advantage (Gadzey, 1992).

The fourth set of challenges (the main focus of this dissertation) involved ending dependency on foreign development assistance through the generation of sufficient domestic capital to replace foreign direct investment (F.D.I.), aid from foreign governments, and foreign imports. Ending foreign aid dependency would also have encouraged the development of a domestic private sector and indigenous entrepreneurs to gently elbow out foreign M.N.C.s' control of the colonial and post-colonial private sector, without the often dramatic state takeovers

of foreign properties. Above all, ending aid dependency through the generation of their own wealth could theoretically save today's African countries from embarrassing chronic debt. The perfect trajectory would have been to go from agricultural mechanization to industrialization. Unfortunately, just about all the governments of the newly independent African states, especially the Afro-socialist countries, emphasized immediate industrialization without a prior or simultaneous agricultural revolution. And in this regard, African countries had a lot of company, as most of the European ex-colonies throughout the developing world sought economic diversification through import substitution industrialization (I.S.I.). Conceptually, I.S.I. offered a perfect solution to several economic challenges. Domestic production of basic manufacturers would replace foreign intermediate materials and finished industrial goods imports. Meanwhile, the ability and opportunity to further process their raw materials before exporting them would create jobs, encourage higher industrial and engineering training, and thereby intensify Africans' industrial knowhow and experience.

Purpose and Significance

All of these four areas of development discussed above are important, with an agricultural revolution perhaps the obvious starting point. In this dissertation, the researcher argues that ending foreign aid dependency, the least understood of the four areas, was, within the African post-colonial context, as important as an agricultural revolution. Only the development of Africa's own resources would put Africa's self-sustaining development process and its outcomes in its own hands. The literature review discusses the competing definitions of development, particularly as they pertain to developing countries. The initial attention in the late 1960's to the development problems of the European ex-colonies saw development essentially as economic growth, which could be facilitated by the availability of sufficient foreign aid (Harris

and Todaro, 1970; Rostow, c1960). This earlier narrow focus was soon expanded to include the improvement in social infrastructure as a vital aspect of a developing society. Other human value aspects of development quickly followed, such as participatory democracy (Frank, 1966 & 1967; Shapiro, 2003; Wallerstein, 1974), development as justice and fairness to all groups (Streeten, 1980; Shaw, 1985), human security (Stewart, 2004; Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2006) and grassroots development (Morgan, 1990). However, not until the severe criticism of the I.M.F. and World Bank Group, following the failure of their structural adjustment programs of the 1990's (Williamson, 1990 & 2000), was development understood primarily as a self-sustaining process which has to be controlled almost exclusively by the people who are undergoing development in order to be successful.

While the earlier approaches to development must be included in any comprehensive understanding of the complexities of development, this dissertation emphasizes development as a drive to greater human security *which is firmly in the hands of the people undergoing development*. Development will be defined for this dissertation as a process of self-discovery, self-actualization, self-reliance and self-sustainability. In lay person's terms, a country's mass population (such as one in Sub-Saharan Africa) should develop its own economy, and maintain its own culture and society. The masses acquire capability for meeting their own needs (including their own means of production), and take full ownership and control of development. This process is best described in the Chinese proverb, "Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime." Foreign aid gives developing communities a fish, but only self-development teaches them how to fish.

Continuing economic stagnation in the sub-Saharan region is well documented in African development literature, even if much of this is often far off target in isolating the real causes of

African development problems. In this dissertation, the researcher believes that those causes are, at least in part, a result of the negative impact of foreign aid on African's self-development. It addresses the incongruence of self-sustaining development and dependent development. All aspects of development, including democratization and development culture, are money driven. This means that development could not be achieved without the generation of Africans' own capital base and resources. Who pays for development also controls, not only what is being developed and how, but for whom development occurs (Gadzey, 1992). As long as Western governments, through their N.G.O.s, the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F) and other international financial institutions, the World Bank Group, and commercial banks provide the bulk of Africa's development resources, they control how development occurs and who its beneficiaries are (namely the purveyors of international capital). The size, variety and pervasiveness of F.D.A. in the sub-continent since the 1960's mean that much of the development effort in this region has been hijacked to serve the free market interests of Western donor governments and their sponsored international institutions, rather than the self-sustaining development objectives of the Africans undergoing development. This emphasis downplays any role for "generous" foreigners armed with massive foreign aid ready and eager to develop Africa for the people of Africa. If foreign aid-led development were possible, sub-Saharan Africa should be one of the world's most developed regions. Even well intentioned foreign aid, such as the proposed 0.7% of rich countries' gross domestic product (G.D.P) to finance the U.N. Millennium Development Goals (M.D.G.s), arguably takes away from Africans' self-initiatives, their learning through trial and error, and their understanding and appreciation of self-development.

Yet development literature is silent about the relevance of F.D.A. Reviewed literature blames the sub-continent's continuing economic stagnation on inefficiencies at the receiving end of Western development assistance by corrupt African leaders. Otherwise, according to much of the literature, enough Western development assistance had been poured into the region over the years to make a difference. This argument begs these questions raised by this dissertation: First, is corruption a propensity restricted to only poor countries? Second, did colonialism and neo-colonialism drive them to corruption? Third, why wouldn't African politicians and bureaucrats be corrupt when their every conceivable problem is matched by corresponding foreign aid?

Research Focus

This dissertation explores the persistence of F.D.A to every African country since independence as well as the policy response to, and impact of, foreign aid by its eager recipient African countries. The African development literature identifies three distinctive historical phases in African development since independence: state authoritarian developmentalism (1960-c1973), neo-liberal authoritarianism (c1973-2000), and democratic developmentalism (2000-present). Each phase is based on political economy structures, which reviewed literature shows to be different in Africa than in other parts of the world (Ake, 1976; Bates, 1983). Each of these phases is associated with heavy dependence on one type of Western development assistance or another. These types are government-to-government Official Development Assistance aid (O.D.A.), economic structural adjustment programs (S.A.P.s) and non-governmental organizations (N.G.O.s). Identification of these phases and their associated forms of F.D.A. begs the question raised by this dissertation: what type of correlation exists between a particular development strategy and the kind of F.D.A. associated with it?

State Authoritarian Developmentalism

The initial development phase, described in political economy literature as state authoritarian developmentalism, began after mass independence in 1960 and ended with the onset of the worldwide oil crisis in 1973. O.D.A. served as the predominant foreign aid form. Leaders of Sub-Saharan African nations controlled the political economies of their states, under the politics of statism (the growth of state power) and developmentalism (the pursuit of development at all costs). Based on an “autonomous authoritarian state” model and similar models, this phase emphasized mostly domestic production for surplus accumulation, which provided basic income for private producers and profits and tax revenue for the state (Gadzey, 1992). These leaders took their countries on three distinct development paths identified in African development literature. Those paths are: capitalist, Afro-socialist, and Afro-Marxist (Ake, 1976; Bates, 1983, Gadzey 1992).

During state authoritarian developmentalism, all the newly independent African leaders responded to the above mentioned challenges through the creation of all-powerful states. These states exercised total control over every aspect of nation-building, economic development, democratization, and the role of foreign aid in development. While extensive state intervention would destroy market autonomy necessary for private sector development, state intervention in the newly independent African states differed according to three distinctive intervention strategies. These strategies were western capitalism, Afro-socialism or Afro-Marxism.

The capitalist path countries: African countries taking the first distinctive development path known as the *capitalist path*² came to depend on direct government-to-government grants

² African governments pursuing the capitalist path to development would include South Africa both during and after the apartheid system, Kenya under Jomo Kenyatta (1963 -1978), Nigeria under Nnamdi Azikiwe (1960-1966), Gabon under Léon M’Ba (1960-1973) and Omar Bongo (1973-1990) (the latter an oil-producing nation taking an anti-Western Afro-Marxist orientation

and soft loans (or O.D.A.) from mainly the rich Western countries, including Canada, United States, and their former European colonial powers. The supporting development theory was the modernization theory of the late 1960's. According to this theory, the ex-colonies were part of the same global capitalist system. Predictably, industrialization, modernization, westernization, and individualism would benefit the developed Western economies, as well as the struggling economies of the European ex-colonies. This would occur as long as the independent leaders exercised patience to stay with the global capitalist system, and follow the natural progression towards development as identified by Western development economists of the 1960's. W.W. Rostow (1960) identified these stages as progression from a traditional (primitive) society to a transitional stage, to a take-off stage, to a drive to maturity stage, and finally, to a high mass consumption stage. Staying within the global capitalist system would encourage the transfer of Western development assistance to convert their economies from a revolving "vicious cycle of poverty" (Myrdal, 1957; P.T. Bauer, 1965) into a "virtuous cycle of prosperity" (Hanson, 2000; Marx, 1867). Embracing Western F.D.A. and refraining from excessive government interference, especially as would drive out Western M.N.C.s, would lead to indigenous private sector development.

Review of African development literature shows mixed results for the capitalist path strategy. On the positive side, countries pursuing this strategy were able to transition smoothly from colonial to post-colonial economies without much of the upheavals and struggles for power that were displayed in the countries pursuing the alternative Afro-socialist and Afro-Marxist strategies. Foreign development assistance, mainly in the forms of government-to-government

later on). The group also included all the former French colonies, especially Côte d'Ivoire under Félix Houphouët-Boigny (1959-1993).

large grants and donations, continued to pour in, seemingly often in a revenge retaliation against African countries that dared to abandon their former European rulers and their capitalist systems. However, the tragic cost was the inability of the capitalist path regimes³ to end foreign aid dependency, as well as avoid western M.N.C.s' continuing dominance over their economies. Licensing of foreign companies would become the first source of government corruption in the pro-Western African countries.

The Afro-socialist path countries: The Afro-socialist countries³ rejected modernization theory, especially its argument that foreign aid has to be an integral part of how the European ex-colonies of Africa achieve development. The Afro-socialist leaders like Kwame Nkrumah (1957, 1971, & 1973) were quick to point to the incongruence between African economies which were victimized for over 70 years under European colonialism and the European economies which were never colonized. Nkrumah wondered why foreign aid should be so critical to African development, when none of today's developed Western economies achieved development through infusion of massive foreign aid. Nkrumah and the other Afro-socialist leaders were driven by the ideals of Pan-Africanism. Among other things, Pan-Africanism encouraged the young African nations to avoid being dragged relentlessly into the globalized capitalist economy, as long as it remained the domain of powerful Western countries, their M.N.C.s and Western capital interests. This they would do by a) denying the authority of Western traditions over their

³ Afro-Socialist states in North Africa included Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser (1960–1974), Tunisia under Habib Bourguiba (1954–1986), Algeria under Ahmed Ben Bella's rule and during Boumediene's reforms of the mid-1980s, Libya under Muammar al-Qaddafi (1969-1977—then redefined as Jamahiriya - the "people's" state), and in sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah (1957–1966), Guinea Under Ahmed Sékou Touré (1958–1984), Mali under Modibo Keita (1960–1968), Tanzania under Julius Nyerere (1960–1985), Senegal under Leopold Sédar Senghor (1960–1981), and Zambia under Kenneth Kaunda (1964–1991).

own, and by withdrawing allegiance to the very people who colonized them and were resorting to various neo-colonialist strategies, including their foreign aid, to hold on to Africa. Developing their own resources was also the only way of avoiding a dependency mindset, which honored everything foreign above their own values (Asante, 1980, 1987 & 1988; Dascal, 2009; Diop, 1974; Hotep, 2003; Keto, 1989). Obviously, this meant that such countries took less if any assistance from Western countries than the capitalist path countries.

For foreign aid to retain its predicted correlation to African development, the capitalist path countries should show higher levels of development (and shift from poverty to prosperity much faster) than the Afro-socialist path countries. This begs the question of whether the Afro-Socialist countries fared any better than the capitalist path countries who embraced western F.D.A. The resounding answer is *no*. The same over-intrusive state authoritarianism that killed the capitalist path economies also destroyed the I.S.I., the main development strategy for self-sustaining development adopted by the Afro-socialist economies. Preferring statism and the accumulation of state power over grassroots (agricultural) development brought the Afro-Socialist economies to the same dead end as the foreign aid dependent capitalist countries. With nowhere to turn, they came back begging for the same western foreign aid that they had so rhetorically condemned a decade earlier. But there is an important distinction. The claim by overzealous paternalist former colonial powers (especially the French) that their foreign aid policies “protect” their former colonies from any protracted civil strife also denied them the opportunity to learn through the normal trial-and-error process of development. The frequency of African inter-state as well as civil wars, so virulently criticized in the Western media as signs of barbarism, are not only similar to and a lot less bloody than the four century-long wars of civilization in Europe, their conflicts over people and land ended only in the second half of the

last century. Indeed, these internal struggles among and within African countries are a positive sign that, left alone without overbearing foreign donors eager to define what is good for Africa and for Africans, the Afro-socialist countries had at least begun the difficult nation building process to define “what works for us here in Africa.” By this definition, leaders in these nations would determine which tribal and/or socioeconomic groups or political parties had the right to govern, and how governmental power was to be divulged peacefully from one regime to another. The overprotected capitalist path countries might have avoided, at least in the short term, the internal upheavals and coups d’état so frequent in the Afro-socialist countries during the 1960’s and early 1970’s, but that was no blessing. The domestic political struggles that began in the Afro-socialist countries almost immediately to fill the power vacuum left by those European colonial powers like Great Britain, which vacated their colonies in a hurry, was a positive indication that, at least, the long, often bloody path to self-discovery and self-development had begun, putting the Afro-socialist countries developmentally a decade or two ahead of the overprotected former French capitalist republics. Most of the coups d’état happening in Africa during the late 1980’s and 1990’s occurred in the Francophone countries when France, forced by its further integration into the European Union, finally relinquished its stranglehold on its former Francophone countries.

The Afro-Marxist path countries: The disappointment and revulsion at this massive failure of I.S.I. or the Afro-socialist countries and foreign dependent development in the capitalist path countries were widespread throughout Africa (Gadzey, 1992). In a counter-revolutionary move, leaders of this revolution would turn sharply towards the Soviet Union and its command and control economics. These countries became known as the Afro-Marxist

countries,⁴ the third and last of the three groups of countries adopting state authoritarianism between the time of independence and the onset of the oil crisis.

The Afro-Marxist path differed from both the capitalist and Afro-Socialist paths in that there was *no* private sector involvement while the countries in the other two paths had some, if minimal, involvement. In opposition to Western capitalism and its chief advocates like the U.S., the leaders adopted Marxist-Leninist development strategies, which centered on Warsaw Pact massive state-driven aid projects, command-and-control economics, and massive infusion of mainly military aid from the former U.S.S.R. and other communist nations. Some African leaders, such as Augusthino Neto of Angola and both Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Michel of Mozambique, saw the massive economic failures in both the capitalist and the Afro-socialist countries as justification for leaning their economies towards communism during both their anti-Western colonial struggles as well as after independence had been achieved. As far as the Afro-Marxist regimes were concerned, reliance on Soviet military aid to drive out Western settlers and refusing out right to share power with opposition groups were the only ways of avoiding the disaster that had befallen those African countries who, in their view, leaned too closely towards Western “imperialism”. African nations geographically bordering these Afro-Marxist countries had only to plead the fear of communist infiltration to receive counter aid from the United States.

⁴ The Afro-Marxist regimes in North Africa included: Algeria under Ahmed Ben Bella (1945-1965); and in Sub-Saharan Africa, Congo under Massemba-Debat to Sassou Ngeusso (1963–1991); Ethiopia under Menigstu Haile-Miriam (1974–1991); Somalia under Siad Barre (1969-1991); Benin under Mathieu Kérékou (1972-1991), Madagascar under Didier Ratsiraka (1975–1993, 1997–), Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe (1924–), Cape Verde under Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973), Angola under Augusthino Neto (1975-1979), and Mozambique under Marxist dictators Eduardo Mondlane (1964-75) and Samora Machel (1975-1986).

That is how and why South Africa would become a “protectorate” of the U.S. throughout the Cold War in spite of its nefarious apartheid system (Ewins, 1995).

Neo-liberal Authoritarianism – I.M.F./World Bank Imposition

Hence, the narrative goes, Sub-Saharan African countries were completely caught unprepared when the oil and debt crises began in the early 1970s to usher them into the second distinctive phase of development. Reviewed literature describes this phase as neo-liberal authoritarianism. Misuse of O.D.A. and other Western F.D.A., declining terms of trade for raw material exports in exchange for manufactured imports, and the oil crises of the 1970’s and 1980’s were the sources of the African debt crisis (unpayable debt). In 2010, *World Tuesday* noted that the total debt of developing countries (such as African countries) stood at U.S. \$567 billion, and that these countries (between 1980 and 1992) paid back U.S. \$166.2 billion. It also reported, however, that U.S. commercial banks’ high interest rates and purchase of oil imports from oil-exporting nations (with the exception of Gabon and later Nigeria) increased to the debt to U.S. \$141.2 billion in 1992 (*World Tuesday*, September 7, 2010). As a last resort, the heavily indebted African countries came under the harsh I.M.F./World Bank conditionalities known as the Structural Adjustment Programs (S.A.P.s), the predominant foreign aid form during this phase. In return for I.M.F./World Bank financing of their oil debts, Sub-Saharan African countries came under ten I.M.F./World Bank economic adjustment neo-liberal policies, known as the Washington Consensus as first researched by John Williamson (1990 & 2000).

I.M.F./World Bank Imposition

This second phase of Sub-Saharan African development involved F.D.A. in the forms of loans initially by Western commercial banks and later by the I.M.F. and the World Bank Group. Just about all the poor oil-importing Sub-Saharan countries became victims to the debt crisis

(unpayable debt) of the mid-1970's into the late 1990's. Hit hard by the sudden huge spikes in oil prices as a result of the Arab oil boycott of Western countries which supported Israel in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, these countries fell into huge debts. Initially, they were welcome to borrow easily from the European commercial banks, as a solution to the problem of those banks having to recycle the huge stockpiles of petrodollars deposited in these banks by the Arab oil exporting countries. But as oil prices continued to rise, the heavily indebted countries from across the developing world had to borrow more just to service the interest on existing loans. Quickly, those countries lost credit worthiness in the private international financial markets (1973-2000) (Williamson, 1990 & 2000).

So with nowhere else to turn, they came to the I.M.F. and the World Bank for fresh loans to service existing commercial bank loans, as well as to pay for continuing oil imports. As lenders-of-last-resort, the I.M.F. and the World Bank imposed severe Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (S.A.P.s) as conditionalities on their heavily indebted borrower nations. The S.A.P.s derived from Western economists' view that Sub-Saharan African countries failed to meet their development challenges mainly because of too much government intrusion into their economies during the initial state developmentalism phase. Therefore S.A.P.s had the overall objective of removing their governments from the marketplace. Advocates of S.A.P.s believed that they would open up these struggling economies to international capital and Western M.N.C.s, with the heavy infusion of Western F.D.A. to lubricate their entry.

Democratic Developmentalism – U.N. Millennium Development Goals

The third and final distinctive phase of F.D.A., N.G.O.s, was in association with the U.N. sponsored Millennium Development Goals (M.D.G.s) set for 2000 to 2015 (Moravcsik, 1997). The U.N. defines these goals as: eradication of extreme hunger & poverty, achievement of

universal primary education, promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women, reduction of child mortality, improvement of maternal health, combat of H.I.V. /A.I.D.S., malaria and other diseases, assurance of environmental sustainability, and development of global partnerships for development (U.N., 2010; U.N. Development Group, 2003 & 2010; U.N. Development Programme, 2010). N.G.O.s were to be the main carriers of U.N.-sponsored Western aid to the developing countries (Korten, 1980 & 1987; B.H. Smith, 1990). The increasing presence of N.G.O.s., in relation to the U.N. M.D.G.s, highlighted the third distinctive development phase in Sub-Saharan Africa, identified in reviewed literature as democratic developmentalism. This phase is now being experienced by both the Sub-Saharan African region and the whole developing world, as part of globalization (Thompson, 2002). Similar to the first two broad types of F.D.A., the M.D.G.s' implementation through U.N.-sanctioned N.G.O.s also emphasize the flow of F.D.A. from the developed Western countries to the developing world. These N.G.O.s are supposed to prevent the administrative inefficiencies of the past two forms of Western aid.

The decade-plus of M.D.G.s' implementation creates enough time to revisit the original questions about the relevance and efficiency of Western F.D.A. as reliable means of development in Sub-Saharan Africa. Obviously the sovereign Sub-Saharan Africa states are "free" to craft their own paths to development, which is the benefit of independence. But how much of a choice do they have, when during each of these three distinctive development phases African governments did about the same thing? As African development literature shows, states had to petition in order to implement as a key component of foreign development assistance from just about every other country in the developed world. They also opened their economies

unconditionally to globalize capitalism as they were told by the aid donor countries. But these nations showed no marked improvement in their development.

Reviewed literature shows a consensus that implementation of M.D.G.s would bring development to Sub-Saharan Africa. But any failure of the M.D.G.s would question the proposition that F.D.A. effectively & efficiently brings self-development to Sub-Saharan Africa. The literature does not identify any correlation between the quantity & quality of foreign assistance and the levels of development in Sub-Saharan Africa. It concludes that F.D.A. has been used to control development; by Western colonial powers during state authoritarian developmentalism and the I.M.F./World Bank during neo-liberal authoritarianism. In this dissertation, the researcher explores whether or not there is any significant difference in self-development, no matter what form the assistance comes from.

Foreign Aid Still Accepted

F.D.A. remains the overwhelming form of Westernized industrialized nations' involvement in Sub-Saharan African development. Leaders of Sub-Saharan African nations continued to accept such aid during the latter two phases, neo-liberal authoritarianism (1980-2000) and democratic developmentalism (2000-present). First, N.G.O.s' increased density and diversity in Sub-Saharan Africa make N.G.O.s the predominant form of foreign assistance during the current democratic developmentalism phase (Hearn, 1998 & 2007, United Nations Economic and Social Council or E.C.O.S.O.C., 2010). Second, United States Agency for International Development (U.S.A.I.D.) and United States Department of Agriculture (U.S.D.A.) insist that they have brought self-reliance to the sub-continent (Goldsmith, 2000; U.S.A.I.D., 2002, 2006 & 2012; Wilson and Ramphela, 1989). In contrast, skeptics note desires by the U.S. and other Westernized countries for Sub-Saharan Africa to adopt economic neo-liberalism (Gide, 1898;

Harvey, 2005; Hayek, 1944; Lippmann, 1937; Orjiako, 2001). Third, American colleges and universities are active in Sub-Saharan African development, such as Michigan State University's full-fledged International Studies and Programs (Smuckler, 2003) in its involvement with U.S.A.I.D. Higher Education Solutions Network (U.S.A.I.D., www.usaid.gov/hesn). But few if any scholars and practitioners from Westernized industrialized nations question the relevancy of F.D.A. to Sub-Saharan Africa development, regardless of its donor, quality or quantity.

Scholars, practitioners and other interested parties wonder whether or not foreign assistance to Sub-Saharan African development has been wasted, given continued intensive focus on such assistance. Historically, no other populations worldwide have experienced development progress as a result of massive F.D.A. (Easterly and Pfitze, 2008; Hearn, 1998, 2000, 2001 & 2007; Korten, 1987; Williamson, 1990 & 2000). Based on this history, this dissertation suggests that there is no difference for populations in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Research Design Focus

If, during the identified development phases, F.D.A. did not make any significant changes to the overall levels of development in the Sub-Saharan Africa region, the following assumptions must be made. First, one must question the relevance of F.D.A. to development in Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, and the developing world as a whole. Second, changes in the volume of F.D.A., its methods of delivery, nor manner of implementation make no significant difference to the developing world. Third, with support of these first two assumptions from this dissertation, then the West has to accept the criticism that the foreign development assistance interventionist policies could possibly be wrong, as they do not result in development for other countries. Instead, they result in a net resource overflow from the poorer regions to the already developed countries. Therefore, charges by both the dependency theorists of the 1970s like

Frank, Prebisch, and Wallerstein, and the Pan-Africanist philosophers like Asante, Dascal, Diop, Hotep, and Keto that foreign development assistance created a dependency mindset are sustained today.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. In terms of international relations during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how do foreign assistance forms (O.D.A., economic structural adjustment programs and N.G.O.s) correlate with self-development? Do those correlations differ? Are they positive, negative or mixed?
2. In terms of public administration and public policy during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how relevant is foreign assistance in affecting self-development? Are those effects very relevant, somewhat relevant, somewhat irrelevant or very irrelevant?

Hypothesis 1. Variations in Western development assistance will make no difference in the levels of development of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Null Hypothesis 1. Variations in the quality and quantity of Western development assistance will correlate highly with changes in the levels of development of Sub-Saharan African countries such that increasing quantities and qualities of Western development assistance will be matched by increasing levels of development.

Hypothesis 2. Variations in the types of foreign development assistance will not make any significant changes in the overall resulting level of development.

Null Hypothesis 2. Variations in the type of foreign assistance received by Sub-Saharan African countries correspond strongly with different levels of development in Sub-Saharan African countries.

These questions and hypotheses include the predominant activities of N.G.O.s during the current period of democratic developmentalism in Sub-Saharan Africa. Can the current UN-sponsored M.D.G.s, with N.G.O. activity as the tool for Western foreign development assistance (F.D.A.), be a model of successful development for Sub-Saharan African countries? Why is yet another form of foreign-led development implemented, when the general consensus going into the M.D.G.s was that neither the O.D.A. in the 1960's nor the S.A.P.s of the 1980's had been particularly useful in nudging these economically weak countries ever so firmly across the minimum threshold of self-sustaining development?

Dependent Variable (Development)

Based on reviewed literature, development will be defined for this dissertation as a process of self-discovery, self-actualization, self-reliance and self-sustainability. In lay person's terms, a country's mass population (such as one in Sub-Saharan Africa) should develop its own economics, and maintain its own culture and society. The masses acquire capability for meeting their own needs (including their own means of production), and take full ownership and control of development. To use the following Chinese proverb, "Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime."

Populations undergoing development in Sub-Saharan Africa must control the process for themselves, not by and for outside forces. Foreign assistance is useful only if and when it gives Africans the means for more effective and efficient development and utilization of their own material and human resources. In other words, how much, if any, is self-discovery, self-actualization, self-reliance and self-sustainability actually taking place as a result of foreign assistance? Ultimately the biggest issue concerning foreign assistance is whether or not it helps

nations in Sub-Saharan Africa develop their own physical and social infrastructures (i.e., schools and other substructures, businesses, roads, power supplies, and their own human capital).

Therefore, the relevance of Western development assistance should be critically examined. The availability of foreign assistance (O.D.A., economic structural adjustment programs or N.G.O. activity) might hold back rather than help the natural evolution of a population's talents, skills, resources, and means of problem solving. This may certainly be true in terms of economic strength. Arguably, this economic dependence has resulted in the dependency state of mind among Africans, as argued by both dependency theorists (Frank, 1966; Prebisch, 1959; Wallerstein, 1974) and Pan-African scholars (Asante, 1980, 1987 & 1988; Dascal, 2009; Diop, 1974; Hotep, 2003; Keto, 1989).

The definition of development as a process of self-actualization, self-reliance, self-sustainability and self-discovery is a summarized definition from multiple theories of development, and their applications. The literature review describes these theories and applications. Under this definition, people can work for themselves so that they can have something for life, instead of being given things that last only temporarily. This makes this research relevant, in terms of F.D.A.'s relevance, unlike the volume of literature which only examines F.D.A.'s effectiveness.

The variable measures F.D.A.'s effects on Sub-Saharan African development based on this qualitative notion. First, it measures those effects over the development's three identified phases and time periods – state authoritarian developmentalism (1960-c1973), neo-liberal authoritarianism (c1973-2000) and democratic developmentalism (since 2000). Second, it measures those effects from the three identified predominant F.D.A. forms – government-to-government O.D.A. during state authoritarian developmentalism, I.M.F./World Bank-imposed

S.A.P.s during neo-liberal authoritarianism, and U.N.-sanctioned N.G.O. activity during democratic developmentalism.

For its concept, the variable uses the quantitative gross national or domestic product (G.D.P.), based on the traditional economic growth definition for development that emphasizes G.D.P. as the sole criteria. The variable is measured against the three F.D.A. forms – O.D.A., economic S.A.P.s, and N.G.O. activity—based on the modernization theory’s emphasis on using foreign assistance to bring about development. The variable is also measured against the phases of Sub-Saharan Africa’s post-colonial development – state authoritarian developmentalism (1960-c1973), neo-liberal authoritarianism (c1973-2000) and democratic developmentalism (since 2000). Changes in the G.D.P. indicate the different effects on development from the different types of foreign assistance in all three phases.

Independent Variables

Foreign development assistance (F.D.A.) derives from the modernization theories of the 1950’s and early 1960’s (Rostow, c1960; Sears, 1963). Those theories emphasize the use of foreign assistance to convert a Sub-Saharan African nation’s economy from a “vicious cycle of poverty” (Myrdal, 1957; P.T. Bauer, 1965) to a “virtuous cycle of prosperity” (Hanson, 2000). Reviewed literature breaks down F.D.A. into the three predominant forms used during three separate phases of Sub-Saharan Africa’s post-colonial development. Those three are: government-to-government Official Development Assistance (O.D.A.) during state authoritarian developmentalism (1960-c1973), I.M.F./World Bank-imposed economic structural adjustment programs (S.A.P.s) during neo-liberal authoritarianism (1973-2000), and N.G.O. density and diversity activity as part of M.D.G. achievement during democratic developmentalism (since 2000). These forms are still being used in Sub-Saharan Africa.

1. **Official Development Assistance (O.D.A.)** is defined in reviewed literature as assistance from a donor government agency to a recipient government; hence it is known as government-to-government O.D.A. (Dudley and Montmarquette, 1976). O.D.A. predominated during state authoritarian developmentalism (1960-1973). This distinguishes it from the activity of private N.G.O.s, which were present during this and the other phases but did not predominate. The researcher measures changes in net O.D.A. per capita over the three phases of Sub-Saharan African post-colonial development. Changes are measured against development to analyze O.D.A.'s effects.
2. **Economic structural adjustment programs (S.A.P.s)** are imposed by the World Bank and I.M.F. on borrowing countries who were in balance-of-payment positions with the I.M.F., as suggested by the Washington Consensus. Williamson (1990 & 2000) identifies ten different programs— fiscal discipline, public expenditure priorities, tax reform, interest rate liberalization, competitive exchange rate, trade policy liberalization, foreign direct investment inflows liberalization, privatization, deregulation, and property rights security. Each has its own specific definitions and measures. The Washington Consensus' economic structural adjustment programs predominated during neo-liberal authoritarianism (c1973-2000). The variable is conceptualized by the public expenditure priorities program for several purposes. First, it intends to help those undergoing development (Balassa et al. 1986; Williamson, 1990 & 2000). Second, the program uses more accessible, quantifiable data from the World Bank website and other economics-based sources to put in an interval measure for the variable. Third, use of this program for conceptualization

simplifies the research by using a more valid and reliable measure for this variable without making the variable dichotomous. The variable measures changes in public expenditure percentages of G.D.P. over the three phases of Sub-Saharan African post-colonial development. Changes are measured against development to analyze economic structural adjustment's effects.

3. **Non-governmental organization (N.G.O.) Activity** is stressed by the U.N. through its Economic and Social Council (E.C.O.S.O.C.) in encouraging nations to meet its eight M.D.G.s by the year 2015. David Korten (1980 & 1987) identifies three different orientations or generations of N.G.O.s – relief and welfare, local small-scale development, and regional/national sustainable systems development. Brian H. Smith (1990) identifies N.G.O.s based on geographic, cultural and political orientations. N.G.O.s have been active throughout all three phases of Sub-Saharan African development, but did not predominate during state authoritarian developmentalism or neo-liberal authoritarianism. N.G.O. activity has predominated during democratic developmentalism (since 2000) because of the U.N.'s encouragement for them to provide Western F.D.A. to Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as other developing countries throughout the world. The Korten definitions conceptualize the variable. The data is obtained from listings of U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C.-sanctioned N.G.O.s (www.un.org/ecosoc/ngo) to distinguish the three orientations/generations defined by Korten. The variable measures changes in the percentages of non-relief and welfare N.G.O.s over the three stages of Sub-Saharan African post-colonial development, based on the years that the N.G.O.s were sanctioned by U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. Any

changes are measured against development so that the research analyzes N.G.O.s' effects.

In his literature, Humphrey Orjiako, Nigerian Ambassador to the United Nations, separates N.G.O.s from O.D.A. and S.A.P.s. Orjiako makes this distinction based on his belief that N.G.O. activity is based on religious-motivated altruism. In contrast, O.D.A. and S.A.P. activity is based on political and economic motivations. Orjiako writes, "Development aid is motivated by calculations of power, that is, politics and economics. But altruism or the compassionate ethic is not a by-product of politics or economics. Rather, it is a by-product of religion, the loss of which is not overly mourned in post-Christian Europe" (Orjiako, 2001, p. 73). This dissertation considers N.G.O. activity in comparison and contrast to O.D.A. and S.A.P.s.

Expected Contributions to Scholarship and Practice

This research contributes to international relations, international political economy, and public policy literature in several ways. First, it addresses the relevance of F.D.A. in self-development. Second, it uses the quantitative paradigm in addressing development against F.D.A., in contrast to reviewed literature consisting mostly of theoretical arguments and qualitative case studies. Third, it quantifies development based on perspectives of population masses in developing nations, not from those of elites from or outside those nations. Such is why development is defined as self-actualization, self-reliance, self-discovery and self-sustainability. Fourth, it evaluates F.D.A. in various forms against each other in effects on or in correlation to self-development, in contrast to reviewed literature which for the most part separates these forms. Fifth, it addresses questions on the validity and reliability of G.D.P. as a sole measure for development. Therefore, it calls into question the traditional definition of

development as economic growth and insufficient foreign assistance. Sixth, it tests David Korten's three distinctions or orientations for N.G.O.s from the quantitative paradigm. This is in contrast to reviewed literature, which only supports or critiques Korten from the qualitative paradigm.

Overview of Dissertation Structure

This dissertation uses the general quantitative paradigm to address a qualitative issue. The researcher serves as an objective scientist, taking data and analyzing it, and drawing conclusions based on the analysis. This is unlike much of the reviewed literature, where advocates on both sides of the issue make arguments and use data to support them. Chapter II reviews this literature, which highlights a crisis in Africa's post-colonial development, from opposite Afrocentric, Pan African and Westernized paradigms. Chapter III discusses the quantitative methodology, quasi-experimental strategy and design, making this dissertation objective in nature and distinguishing it from the mostly advocacy-based reviewed literature. Chapter IV focuses on the secondary data collection and the combination of secondary, content and regression analysis strategies used to conduct the research. Chapter V discusses and interprets the research's findings, and how the findings contribute to reviewed international relations, political economy and public policy literature. Chapter VI restates the research questions and hypotheses, provides a review of how this dissertation was organized, explains what relevance this research has on established scholarship and practice, and offers suggestions for future research.

Findings

Using the general quantitative research paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Kuhn, 1962; Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Schutt, 2006; Taylor, 1911), the

dissertation's research discovers these findings. Quantitatively, foreign assistance (F.D.A.) has various correlations on self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustaining development in post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa. Qualitatively, foreign assistance proves to be at least somewhat (if not totally) irrelevant in bringing this type of development.

Interested parties will note that the results and various correlations paint an incomplete picture of the F.D.A.-development relationship, at least as it pertains to Sub-Saharan Africa. This must be expected from their understanding of the quantitative paradigm's critical realism ontology, modified dualist/objectivist epistemology, and post-positivist school of thought (Kuhn, 1962; Layder, 1993; Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln; Sayer, 1992). But the results and correlations are enough to convince scholars and practitioners on both sides of the issue to take a more critical look at foreign assistance's relevance in developing countries, such as Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Seychelles and Tanzania in Sub-Saharan Africa.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

For this dissertation, the literature review is based on the researcher's study of the relevance of foreign assistance (F.D.A.) in post-colonial development of Sub-Saharan Africa. It also tests the effects of such assistance based on the quantitative paradigm (Kuhn, 1962; Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Taylor, 1911). Development is defined as a process of self-sustainability, self-actualization, self-discovery, and self-reliance. The dissertation will focus on the following research questions:

1. In terms of international relations during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how do foreign assistance forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s and N.G.O.s) correlate with self-development? Do the correlations differ? Are they positive, negative or mixed?
2. In terms of public administration and public policy during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how relevant is foreign assistance in affecting self-development? Are those effects very relevant, somewhat relevant, somewhat irrelevant or very irrelevant?

The qualitative reviewed literature comes from international relations, political economy, and African development. From these research questions, the dissertation focuses on the following hypotheses and accompanying null hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Variations in Western development assistance will make no difference in the levels of Development of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Null Hypothesis 1. Variations in the quality and quantity of Western development assistance will correlate highly with changes in the levels of development of Sub-Saharan African countries such that increasing quantities of Western development assistance will be matched by increasing levels of development.

Hypothesis 2. Variations in the types of foreign development assistance will not make any significant changes in the overall resulting level of development.

Null Hypothesis 2. Variations in the type of foreign assistance received by Sub-Saharan African countries correspond strongly with different levels of development in Sub-Saharan African countries.

To answer the research questions and test the hypotheses and null hypotheses, the dissertation samples four Sub-Saharan African countries. Those countries are Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), Seychelles, and Tanzania. These four countries have relationships with each other in the three African Free Trade zones. These countries also had ties with European colonial powers. D.R.C. and Tanzania joined other countries in the mass independence of the late 1950's/early 1960's. Comoros and Seychelles did not achieve independence until the 1970's.

Development

The dissertation's definition of development as self-actualization, self-reliance, self-discovery and self-sustainability is based on several branches of literature. First, it is based on general development literature, which addresses who benefits from development of any kind. It addresses private vs. public sectors, elites vs. masses, developing vs. developed nations, political economy structures within a nation or international system, and use of qualitative vs. quantitative standards. The question of who benefits more directly comes from economics, international relations, and international political economy literature from both the qualitative and quantitative general paradigms (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). More specifically, the research defines development based on its relationship with F.D.A. and its donors, administrators and beneficiaries. First, Dudley and Montmarquette (1976) address government-to-government

assistance (O.D.A). Second, scholars like Baylis, Fine and Van Waeyenberge (2011) and John Williamson (1990 & 2000) address the I.M.F./World Bank-imposed S.A.P.s, known as the Washington Consensus. Third, scholars like David Korten (1980 & 1987) and B.H. Smith (1990) address the activity of N.G.O.s.

Classical vs. Modern Day Development Definitions

Reviewed literature distinguishes the classical definitions of development from the modern day definitions. The classical definitions focus on certain economic, social, and/or political elites as beneficiaries. The modern-day definitions add population masses as co-beneficiaries with the elites. Both orientations have received critiques from scholars and practitioners in terms of validity, reliability and other issues. From these distinctions, this dissertation explores the relationship between F.D.A. and self-development based in part on the modern-day definitions. From that exploration, it will explore how foreign assistance correlates with self-development. It will also explore whether foreign assistance is relevant in bringing Sub-Saharan Africa closer to self-sustainability, self-actualization, self-reliance and self-discovery.

The classical definitions are based on free enterprise (Mandeville, 1714; Adam Smith, 1776) in contrast to state enterprise (Bauer, 1925; Marx, 1867; Wigfross, 1926). In either scenario, development benefits those who lead or assist in development. These leaders are either foreign assistance donors and administrators (Dudley and Montmarquette, Korten, B.H. Smith, Williamson), populations in developed nations in terms of economic, cultural or political security (Machiavelli, 1518; Waltz, 1979), and political/social/economic elites in developing nations (Birmingham, 1998; Herbst, 1990; Mazrui, 1968; Reynolds, 2002; Tegegn, 2012).

Westernized economists and popular media in the late 1950's/early 1960's define development as economic growth and insufficient foreign aid. It emphasizes a mode of production as dominant in all functions within a country. It also stresses a dual economy of export and traditional sectors based on quantity and quality of technology.

As a concept of its economic growth definition, economic growth emphasizes growth of gross domestic product (G.D.P.) as the only measure for development. For this dissertation, the researcher follows this concept by using changes in G.D.P. as its measure for development. This justifies incorporation of a modified experimental or quasi-experimental methodology and subsequent quasi-experimental research design and strategy for the conduct of the research. This is based on the quantitative paradigm (Kuhn, 1962; Taylor, 1911) and subsequent objective ontology, epistemology, school of thought (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

However, scholars and practitioners must note that this strategy is only used to draw conclusions as to the foreign assistance-development relationship under study, and to test the hypotheses and null hypotheses for validity and reliability. Reviewed literature concludes that G.D.P. rates in many Sub-Saharan African nations experience negative trends, creating consequences for these nations. For example, thirty (30) of 31 Sub-Saharan African nations had developed or maintained trade balance deficits with other nations between 1985 and 2009, with the exception of Gambia (I.M.F., 2009; World Bank, 2011). Any results from the measurement and analysis and subsequent conclusions justify raising the question of foreign assistance's relevance that this dissertation addresses. They also justify using change in G.D.P. to measure development for this dissertation, though the quantitative measure is linked to the qualitative definition of self-development.

In contrast, the modern-day definitions of development are based on certain theories that have been developed since the 1950's and early 1960's (the period of Sub-Saharan African mass independence from colonialism). These theories are from the schools of modernization (Rostow, c1960; Harris and Todaro, 1970), dependency with its branches of distributive justice and fairness (Streeten, 1980; Shaw, 1985), participatory development (Frank, 1966 & 1967; Shapiro, 2003; Wallerstein, 1974), grassroots development (Morgan, 1990), and human security (Stewart, 2004; Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2006). Based on the researcher's understanding of these theories, development benefits both providers and recipients. However, some scholars and practitioners question the validity and reliability of these modern-day theories, particularly modernization, dependency, distributive justice and fairness, and participatory development. For this dissertation, the researcher uses the self-reliance theory in defining development.

Modernization became fashionable in the 1960's (Rostow, c1960). It emphasizes development behavior, and looks at a nation's internal factors such as physical infrastructure and political and economic systems (Gadzey, 1994 & 2010; Mill, 1848; Shaw, 1985; Adam Smith, 1776). Theoretically, development is a process of several stages to produce economic advancement. Most importantly in terms of this research, modernization also emphasizes the use of foreign assistance in bringing development to Sub-Saharan Africa.

Modernization predicts that foreign assistance would convert a Sub-Saharan African nation's economy from a "vicious cycle of poverty" (Myrdal, 1957; P.T. Bauer, 1965) to a "virtuous cycle of prosperity" (Hanson, 2000). This goes back to overcoming poverty being the greatest challenge facing African nations after the mass independence of the late 1950's and early 1960's. The U.N. uses this challenge to justify inclusion of poverty reduction and

elimination as Goal 1 of its Millennium Development Goals (U.N., 2010; U.N. Development Group, 2003 & 2010).

However, the reviewed literature's findings of the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of foreign assistance would call its practical validity of both poverty reduction in practice and modernization in theory (Deneulin and Shahani, 2009; Kabeer, 2010; Seers, 1963). Volumes of literatures on poverty have identified other causes in its changes, such as wars (Elbadawi and Sambanis, 2000; Naude, 2010), natural disasters (Stromberg, 2007), implementation of policies such as those instituting apartheid in South Africa, and migration (Kaduuli, 2008). Additionally, Dudley Seers (1963) finds that any economic conversion in Rostow's stages model applies to developed or First World nations, not developing or Third World nations such as those in Sub-Saharan Africa.

But even with any success from foreign assistance, reviewed general developed literature shows that population masses in Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing nations are still not guaranteed equality. For example, Udaya R. Wagle (2012) found that poverty levels declined between 1980 and 2005 among both developed and developing nations. On the other hand, Wagle concluded that poverty reduction had little or no influence in low-income citizens gaining political, economic and/or social equality with higher-income citizens. Wagle argues that lack of access prevents low-income masses from having equality.

Different Development Definitions

Reviewed literature distinguishes development based on multiple theories, leading to multiple applications by different African leaders during different periods. First, Westernized economists and popular media in the late 1950's/early 1960's defined development as economic growth and insufficient foreign aid. Second, modernization theorists such as Rostow (c1960)

and Harris & Todaro (1970) defined development as a process, a dynamic cause of human change. Third, dependency theorists such as Streeten (1980) and Shaw (1985) defined development as distributive justice and fairness to all groups. Fourth, classical Marxist theorists such as Lenin (1964) and Marx (1867), imperialist theorists such as Frank (1966 & 1967), world system theorists such as Wallerstein (1974), and scholars like Shapiro (2003) and those at the J.I.C.A. Research Institute (2013), define development as a process of participatory development and good governance. Fifth, development has been defined as human security (Stewart, 2004; Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2006), and as grassroots development (Morgan, 1990).

Scholars such as Harris and Todaro (1970) define development as a process, a dynamic cause of human change. It emphasizes reorganizing and reorienting entire economic and social systems. It involves improving the quality of life for populations in Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing nations, including increasing people's rational choices (Downs, 1957 concerning political choices). Most importantly in terms of this research, development as process and a cause of human change emphasizes the use of foreign assistance in ~~in~~-bringing development to Sub-Saharan Africa.

Developed by liberal reformers (Prebisch, 1959), neo-Marxists (Frank, 1966) and world system theories (Wallerstein, 1974), the dependency theories were developed in response to classical Marxism's emphasis on capitalism as historically progressive and its emphasis on developed nations. That progression embodies the stages from feudalism to capitalism to socialism (Lenin, 1964; Marx, 1848 & 1867). The dependency theories supported popular Afro-socialism (Nkrumah, 1957, 1961, & 1973) in its viewpoint that capitalism is regressive, causing inequality in the international capitalist system. The dependency theorists insist on a complete separation of neo-colonial ties between Sub-Saharan Africa and its former colonial powers. The

dependency theories justify a critical test as to whether F.D.A. is relevant as well as effective in bringing about self-development to Africa.

Developed by classical Marxists (e.g., Lenin), and expanded upon by scholars like Shapiro (2003), development is defined as participation, with a focus on good governance. This theory defines development as self-development, self-actualization and self-sustainability (the latter related at least in part to environmental sustainability). The participation theory is related to political democratization, economic liberalization and transitions to market-oriented economies. Shapiro describes this as access allowing for people to influence and govern themselves as they see fit. These trends started in the late 1980's during neo-liberal authoritarianism, the second stage of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development. For this dissertation, the researcher does not include governance in defining development as self-actualization, self-discovery, self-reliance and self-sustainability. The research seeks to explore the broader picture of self-development itself, recognizing governance as an intervening factor.

In his work, Stewart (2004) concludes that there is a symbiotic relationship between security and development. But Stewart argues that in developing nations, it is not a matter of military security, but one of security between human beings and the political and social climates that they live in. He theorizes that human security affects other types of development. Additionally, Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2006) argue that human security is the ultimate goal, to which all political, social and economic factors are subordinated.

Morgan (1990) defines grassroots development as a scaling up. He links such development with the three forms of foreign assistance discussed in this dissertation. He argues that such an upscale improves the possibilities that foreign aid will become relevant, and therefore necessary, in Third World nations' development. However, Morgan assumes that the

F.D.A. providers (not the recipients) create and determine the upscale. Second, interested parties would wonder whether or not his assumption is based on development as a self-sustaining, self-reliant, self-actualizing and self-discovering process. This dissertation focuses on grassroots development as being advocated by and benefitting the masses in developing nations, not the elites inside and outside those nations.

New emphasis on development

The definition of development as a self-actualization, self-reliance, self-discovery and self-sustainability process borrows from several theses. First, it is based on the Pan-Africanism/Afro-socialism philosophy, as developed and implemented by a number of early African leaders including Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah (1957, 1961 & 1973). Nkrumah called for an African nation to first gain political independence through "positive action" (non-violent methods and disciplined politics) and "tactical action." That nation would then gain economic independence in terms of a socialist economy to replace what Nkrumah termed "too complicated" capitalism (1957). The establishment of the Pan-African movement is based on philosophies of those like W.E.B. DuBois (1904) and Marcus Garvey (1923 & 1925). Those philosophies emphasized Africans being left to themselves to find authentically African paths to development, with the implication being that European colonial and post-colonial penetrations of Africa held back the continent's development and did not "aid" it.

Particularly, the definition borrows from Afro-socialism's emphasis on developmentalism and statism, which rejects Western colonial involvement in favor of internal state political and economic control (Nkrumah, 1957). Reviewed literature finds that developmentalism and statism also applied to the capitalist and Afro-Marxist paths during the authoritarian developmentalism period (1960 to 1973). Unlike the capitalist path and Afro-

Marxist path nations, Afro-socialist path nations did not accept F.D.A. initially. But the failure of import substitution industrialization (I.S.I.) forced Afro-socialist path nations to join the other two groups of countries in taking foreign assistance.

Second, the definition borrows from Afro-Marxism's view of participatory development. This view emphasizes corrections to capitalism, not replacements of it, as defined by Marx's 1867 theory of society's evolution from feudalism to capitalism to socialism. The self-development definition leaves out the socialist phase, due to the failure of socialism found in international relations literature. Third, the definition borrows from the neo-Marxist (Frank, 1966) and imperialist & world system (Wallerstein, 1974) theories, which define development from the standpoint of population masses in underdeveloped and undeveloped peripheral regions within the same global capitalist region. Frank and Wallerstein argue that development is unequal between core, periphery and semi-periphery developed, underdeveloped and undeveloped countries.

Fourth, the definition borrows from the "positive capitalist state model," a political economy model developed by Gadzey (1992). Gadzey's model emphasizes a partnership between the state and the private sector. This is in contrast to the free market capitalist, Afro-Marxist and Afro-socialist models practiced during state authoritarian developmentalism, where the state had either total or partial control of the economy and saw the private sector as an enemy. Also, the Gadzey model emphasizes a prior and/or simultaneous agricultural revolution to supplement the early stages of I.S.I. This contradicts the emphases of the other three models – the capitalist path's export promotion, the Afro-Socialist path's I.S.I., and the Afro-Marxist path's mostly domestic production (Gadzey, 1992). It is also in contrast to the S.A.P.s. imposed by the I.M.F. and World Bank during neo-liberal authoritarianism, where the private sector had

either total or predominant control of the economy and saw the state as the enemy. In Gadzey's positive capitalist state model, the state promotes and works together with the private sector in development. Finally, Gadzey's model raises questions about foreign assistance's correlation, and relevance to development, as well as its effectiveness and efficiency.

These paths and models continue discussions among scholars and practitioners related to development's origins in post-colonial Africa. From authoritarian developmentalism, for example, the capitalist path is an example of free enterprise (Mandeville, 1714). The Afro-socialist path from the Pan-African philosophy and the Afro-Marxist path are examples of state enterprise (Bauer, 1925; Tausch and Prager, 1993). The Gadzey positive capitalist state model (1992) combines state enterprise with free enterprise because of its emphasis on private-public partnerships. None of these paths or models endorse free enterprise solely or completely. But these paths partially come from the neoclassical theory developed by Adam Smith (1776, Book IV). In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith analyzed development's ideal order: "So the natural course of things is first agriculture, then manufactures, and finally foreign commerce" (Adam Smith, 1776, p. 360).

A critical look at Africa's post-colonial development produces mixed reviews of Smith's ideal order and its inverse. African leaders taking nations on the Afro-socialist path during authoritarian developmentalism sought to follow that course through I.S.I., but did not emphasize foreign commerce. On the other hand, those taking nations under the capitalist path sought to follow the course through the stages of modernization theorized by Rostow (c1960). Gadzey's positive capitalist state model (1992) seems to come closer to Smith's ideal order, because of its insistence on an agricultural revolution to supplement I.S.I.

In his literature, Smith saw an inverse order of development: “The rise of towns benefitted the country, because they afforded 1) a ready market for its produce, 2) because merchants bought land in the country and improved it, and 3) because order and good government were introduced” (Adam Smith, 1776, p. 384-385). But more specific literature on Africa’s post-colonial development does not find this inverse order to be necessarily true. Reviewed literature found that the elites benefitted at the expense of the population masses. These findings call Smith’s inverse order into question. This particular dissertation contributes to general and Africa-specific development literature in that it tests the effects and correlations of foreign assistance on the order of self-development. The dissertation combines the Pan-African/Afro-socialist and Afro-Marxist paths taken during authoritarianism developmentalism with the Gadzey capitalist state model.

Fifth, the self-development definition borrows from the Afrocentric paradigm (Asante, 1980, 1987 & 1988; Dascal, 2009; Diop, 1974; Hotep, 2003; Keto, 1989; Kuhn, 1962). This qualitative paradigm balances the positives and negatives of Africa. Inspiring volumes of multidisciplinary literature, the Afrocentrists mention the great civilizations, kingdoms and self-government prior to outside intervention, and the geographical, demographic & socioeconomic diversity and natural beauty that exists today. They emphasize interdependence with the outside world.

In line with the Afrocentric paradigm, the development definition borrows from the challenge facing Africa of reversing economies from poverty to prosperity. The Afrocentric paradigm is similar to Afro-Socialism in emphasizing self-help and advocating Africa’s control of its own destiny. However, it is different from Afro-socialism in three important areas. First, the Afrocentric paradigm advocates sharing civil liberties and political freedoms among both the

elites and masses. Second, it recognizes that not all Africans will follow the same paths to self-help and destiny, as evidenced by the three divergent development paths taken during state authoritarian developmentalism. Third, the paradigm places Western traditions in subjection to (instead of authority over) African traditions, based on its balanced view of Africa.

Like Pan-Africanism, the Afrocentric paradigm contrasts with the mostly negative Westernized quantitative paradigms (*The Economist*, May 13, 2000; French, 2000; Killam Lectures, November 21, 2008; Kipling, 1899; Kuhn, 1962). These paradigms depict Africa as an uncivilized, primitive place of death, destruction and despair. Westernized scholars believe that Africa is totally dependent on the outside world for survival and to keep up with the outside world. These paradigms form the foundation of modernization theory that connects F.D.A. with development.

However, because research for this dissertation is based upon the quantitative paradigm to counter the mostly qualitative reviewed literature, it will have to use a quantitative variable to measure the self-actualizing, self-sustaining, self-reliant and self-discovering process for development. This justifies using changes in G.D.P. as its measure. This also justifies using a modified experimental or quasi-experimental methodology, and subsequent quasi-experimental research design and strategy for the conduct of the research. This is based on the quantitative paradigm (Kuhn, 1962; Taylor, 1911) and subsequent objective ontology, epistemology, and school of thought (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Scholars and practitioners should understand from this research that one must include economic growth as part of Africa's self-development. But they must also understand that this dissertation counters Western economic literature in theorizing that the definition of self-development is more than just

economic growth. Self-development also must benefit the population masses of Sub-Saharan Africa, not just certain groups of elites.

Under this scenario, interested scholars and practitioners can predict whether the Sub-Saharan sub-continent and Africa as a whole can further break away from modernization in order to reestablish its pre-colonial preeminence. That position of strength with the rest of the world is established in volumes of academic and popular literatures on Africa. Throughout its post-colonial period, African nations formed economic and political alliances in efforts to bring about self-sustainability, self-reliance, self-actualization and self-discovery. In fusing Afro-socialist developmentalism & statism, Afro-Marxist participatory development, and neo-Marxist mass participation with Gadzey's capitalist state model (1992), Africa and its Sub-Saharan subcontinent can predictably move closer to self-development.

African nations joined the African Economic Community (A.E.C.) in 1991, African Union (A.U.) in 2000, and African Free Trade Zone in 2008. A.E.C. and its African Free Trade Zone is divided into several pillars or regions. These regions pertaining to Sub-Saharan Africa include Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (C.O.M.E.S.A.), East African Community (E.A.C.), and Southern African Development Community (S.A.D.C.). A.U. consists of 53 African nations, with the exception of Morocco. With these steps, Africa seeks to depend less on foreign assistance from N.G.O.s or other instruments, and merge its economic and political interests (Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, June 3, 1991; Constitutive Act of the African Union, July 11, 2000; Mbeki, July 9, 2002).

Establishment of A.U. and A.E.C. follows the formation of the Organization for African Unity (O.A.U.) in 1963, as leaders of African nations prioritized political unity and solidarity (O.A.U. Charter, May 25, 1963; Walters, 1997). O.A.U. was a merger of three separate blocs.

The Casablanca Bloc, formed and headed by Nkrumah, modeled the Afro-socialist call for political independence, a cutoff of any involvement from Westernized nations, and the concepts of developmentalism and statism for complete internal political and economic control. The Brazzaville Group, formed and headed by the Republic of Congo, consisted of mostly French colonies under direct rule of France, until France gave up that rule via the 1994 Maastricht Treaty that established the European Union. A third bloc, the Monrovia Group, was based in Liberia (the nation founded by former American Black slaves). The three blocs merged to form O.A.U. under Nkrumah's power of persuasion. But over time, O.A.U. turned into a tool for dictators, confirming findings in reviewed literature that any post-colonial development in Africa since 1960 has mostly benefitted elites (Reynolds, 2002).

However, Pan-African scholars like Asante, Diop and Keto argue that outside forces forced independence coalitions to breakup through education and assimilation from Eurocentric perspectives, particularly among the elites in African nations. Asante, Diop and Keto address the dependency of Sub-Saharan Africa on foreign assistance in part because of this assimilation and education. Their concerns again support the main argument of this dissertation that foreign assistance is irrelevant, as well as inefficient and ineffective in bringing about development that benefits the masses of Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly development as self-actualization, self-reliance, self-discovery and self-sustainability

Foreign Development Assistance (F.D.A.)

The question of F.D.A.'s relevance in Sub-Saharan African development is based in part on the understanding of a common theme found in reviewed literature – who controls development. First, donor nations such as the U.S. (Ewins, 1995; Goldsmith, 2000; Wilson and Ramphela, 1989), Japan and China (Kim, 2012) have given F.D.A. throughout the development

process in their quests to promote economic neo-liberalism (Gide, 1898; Harvey, 2005; Hayek, 1944; Lippmann, 1937; Orjiako, 2001). In turn, leaders in Sub-Saharan African nations have received F.D.A. to dictate the path of development, as was the case during state authoritarian developmentalism. Second, economic organizations such as I.M.F. and the World Bank used their S.A.P.s during neo-liberal authoritarianism to impose development standards on nations seeking to resolve their debt crises (Williamson, 1990 & 2000). Third, the U.N. imposed development standards on Sub-Saharan Africa through its eight M.D.G.s during democratic developmentalism (U.N. Development Group, 2010). Fourth, either independently or through U.N. Economic and Social Council (E.C.O.S.O.C.), private N.G.O.s have dictated development based on hierarchical relationships with more local N.G.O.s (Gathi and Nyamu, 1996; Swatuk, 2003) and supporters' and administrators' desires (B.H. Smith, 1990). In all instances, political and economic elites in both developed and developing nations have controlled development through F.D.A.

For example, these elites have used F.D.A. to bring shifts in governance, to increase political freedoms and civil liberties for the masses. A debate in February 2011 between Gregory Adams with Hussein Khalid and Babatunde Olugboji, published in *C.Q. Global Researcher*, focused on the relationship between foreign assistance and shift in governance. Adams (Aid Effectiveness Director for Oxfam America) and Khalid (Executive Director of Muslims for Human Rights in Kenya) claimed that Africans have improved government with the use of foreign assistance, though such assistance does not in and of itself bring governance shifts. Adams and Khalid cite Mozambique, Liberia, Kenya and Malawi as examples. Olugboji, a long-time African human rights activist, countered that foreign assistance has had many contradictory

effects on politics, economy, and society. He argued that Africa has the resources to sustain itself (McLure, 2011).

Others take the middle of the road when it comes to foreign assistance, governance and development. Hilary Benn, the current Shadow Secretary of State of Communities and Local Government in the U.K., calls for African nations to become “capable states” (2004) that practice some independence while still interconnecting with the global system. While serving as Secretary of State for International Development from 2003-2007, he stressed substantive democracy as part of improved governance in Africa. But he also calls for Western nations’ involvement through foreign assistance, trade, addressing the H.I.V. /A.I.D.S. epidemic, use of the private sector to build and maintain the state and resolution of conflicts. Scholars and practitioners must note that Benn’s arguments are based on the Westernized paradigms about Africa as an uncivilized continent in need of help from outsiders (*The Economist*, May 13, 2000; French, 2000; Killam Lectures, November 21, 2008; Kipling, 1899).

But a critical look at F.D.A. leads interested scholars and practitioners to again question F.D.A.’s relevance. Pan-Africanists like DuBois and Garvey, Afro-socialists like Nkrumah, and Afrocentrists like Dascal, Diop and Keto argue that F.D.A.’s use for governance reflects the dependency mindset that these groups claim cripples Africa and its Sub-Saharan sub-continent. At a 1994 African strategy meeting leading to the Revised Lome IV Convention, Orjiako found that African leaders not only argued for the continuance of F.D.A., but for an increase. Orjiako concluded that the leaders were fearful of being left to themselves, instead of going with African tradition of being skeptical of any outside assistance based on altruism. As a result, F.D.A., according to Orjiako, “has crippled initiative, seduced creativeness to slumber, and replaced

inventiveness and self-reliance with dependency in Sub-Saharan Africa. {It} amounts to institutionalized dependency” (Orjiako, 2001, p. 71).

Considering both the Adams/Khalid vs. Olugboji debate and Benn’s argument, scholars and practitioners must question where governance shifts fit into self-actualizing, self-reliant, self-sustaining and self-sustainable development. In chronicling governance shifts throughout the world, the Center for Systematic Peace (Marshall and Cole, 2011) and Freedom House find significant shifts toward democracy in Africa throughout the post-colonial period. But they fail to note whether or not F.D.A. actually caused these shifts. Second, they fail to note whether these shifts eventually lead to what the masses in Africa desire and need in terms of self-development. The Center and Freedom House also ignore Africa’s pre-colonial days of its great empires with their self-governance, discipline, freedom and stability. Third, one questions what else causes governance shifts beside the foreign assistance debated by Adams/Khalid vs. Olugboji.

This raises questions as to where governance shifts fit into development. Interested scholars and practitioners would ask whether governance shifts define development, cause development or intervenes in development. These questions raise issues of conceptual and practical validity & reliability and parsimoniousness of the effects of governance shifts. This justifies this dissertation’s elimination of governance shifts as a variable in defining development. It also justifies leaving governance shifts out of the F.D.A.-self-development relationship that this dissertation explores.

As it stands, identification of shifts in governance only reflect political independence. The reviewed literature identifies the political mass independence achieved by African nations in the late 1950’s/early 1960’s. But that literature also concludes that these nations still have not

achieved economic independence. The findings call into question the Pan-African thesis of economic independence *after* instead of *before* or simultaneously *with* political independence. This justifies the dissertation's definition of a self-reliant, self-actualizing, self-discovering and self-sustainable process for development in order to address the economic independence issues.

This has left the masses of those in Sub-Saharan Africa with little or no control of the development process. Reviewed literature shows that elite control through F.D.A. has allowed only the elite to benefit. For example, Easterly and Pfutze find that "money going to corrupt autocrats and aid spent through ineffective channels like tied aid, food aid, and technical assistance also continue to be a problem despite decades of criticism" (Easterly and Pfutze, 2008, p. 30). In critiquing I.M.F./World Bank-imposed S.A.P.s, Shah (2013) finds that the programs kept developing nations dependent on developed nations by prolonging the debt crises. Literature on N.G.O.s concludes that their activity creates conflicts of interest between donors, administrators and recipients (Duke and Edet, 2012; Fisher, 1997; B.H. Smith, 1990; Stewart, 1997).

The definition of development as a self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustainable process calls for a critique of the relevance of F.D.A. because it is controlled by the elites instead of the masses. This definition used for this dissertation puts development in the control of the masses of Sub-Saharan Africans. This has not taken place throughout the 50-plus years of development in Sub-Saharan Africa since mass independence. The argument is that masses' control of development and F.D.A. in both quality and quantity would make F.D.A. more relevant. As a result, mass control would more than likely bring self-development to post-colonial Africa. But this argument cannot be validated or invalidated without a test of F.D.A.'s

correlations, to make conclusions about F.D.A.'s relevance in self-actualization, self-discovery, self-reliance and self-sustainability.

Official Development Assistance (O.D.A.)

Easterly and Pfutze (2008) found fragmentation among the 47 foreign assistance providers that they study, which includes U.S.A.I.D., African Development Bank, the World Bank and seven U.N. agencies. They conclude that the best O.D.A. comes from multilateral development banks and that the worst comes from U.N. agencies, with bilateral agencies offering O.D.A. coming in between. In earlier literature, Easterly (2007) attributes any success in foreign assistance to increased sensitivity to per capita income of a recipient population, a decline in food aid, and a decline in tying aid to certain conditions. But like the vast volume of related literature, these findings do not fully investigate the issue of fundamental relevance of O.D.A. particularly or F.D.A. generally to development as a self-actualizing, self-reliant, self-sustaining, self-sustainable process.

Structural Adjustment Programs (S.A.P.s)

John Williamson (1990 and 2000) and other scholars such as Gore (2000) and Stiglitz (1994) conclude from their research that the structural adjustment programs (S.A.P.s) failed in Latin American development, even with use of traditional definitions, concepts and measures. Second, scholars such as Willett (2001) and World Tuesday (2010) find that the Consensus reversed any gains in Sub-Saharan Africa's development. However, advocacy continues for S.A.P. implementation in Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, South Africa's Finance Minister Trevor A. Manuel (2003) argues that the Consensus brought attention to economic reforms. Manuel cites reentry of South Africa into the global economy, establishment of New Partnership for Africa's Development (N.E.P.A.D.) and integration of politics and economy through

establishment of the African Union as proof that Africa is progressing. But reviewed literature shows that Africa plunged into massive debt and increased dependency on the mercy of donor nations (World Tuesday, 2010). Combined with validity and reliability issues concerning the S.A.P.s themselves, the findings raise the question of the Washington Consensus' S.A.P.s' relevance, not to mention its efficiency and effectiveness.

In terms of validity and reliability, scholars, practitioners and other interested parties note that the S.A.P.s are very broadly defined, based on economics theory and practice, and contain complicated quantitative equations and formulas to determine their measurements. These realities make it very complicated for international relations, political economy and public policy scholars and practitioners to understand the S.A.P.s without thorough knowledge of public and private finance in relation to these disciplines. To facilitate the needs and desires of its intended audience, this research uses one simple interval measure for one S.A.P.: changes in public expenditure priorities. The purpose is to show a relationship of the effectiveness, efficiency and relevance of S.A.P.s as foreign assistance on self-actualizing, self-reliant, self-discovering and self-sustainable development in post-colonial Africa.

N.G.O.s.

In making his distinctions, David Korten (1987) argues that relief and welfare-oriented N.G.O.s do not go far enough, while regional/national sustainable systems development stretches too far and more than likely benefits urban and suburban elites over rural and small town masses. Korten believes that local small-scale development N.G.O.s theoretically more than likely benefit rural and small town masses. Previous findings, however, show that N.G.O.s of any orientation or generation bring mixed results, based in part on the scope, quality, quantity, beneficiaries and donors involved (Easterly and Pfitze, 2008; Ghimire, 2008; Hearn, 1998;

Smilie, 1997; Stewart, 1997). But N.G.O.s. have increased in density and diversity. For example, N.G.O.s took over some government functions during neo-liberal authoritarianism, due to the stage's emphasis on structural adjustments (World Tuesday, 2010).

The increases in N.G.O. activity have continued during democratic developmentalism since 2000, thanks to factors related to the United Nations. First, the U.N. supports N.G.O.s through its liberalist orientation (e.g., Burton, 1974; Moravcsik, 1997; Ruggie, 1993). Second, the U.N. sanctions certain N.G.O.s through its E.C.O.S.O.C. based on its Millennium Development Goals (Brucker and Cheechi, 2011; Gathii and Nyamu, 1996; Hearn, 2001; Pupilampa and Tettey, 2000; Sodhi et al., 2011). Third, the U.N. has its own interest in Sub-Saharan Africa (U.N. Development Group, 2010). Fourth, the U.N. still appears to developing countries as the politically neutral organization that its specialized agencies I.M.F./World Bank and World Trade Organization (W.T.O.) do not appear to be.

Among the four Sub-Saharan African nations under study, Comoros and Seychelles each have 21 U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C.-sanctioned N.G.O.s, while D.R.C. and Tanzania each have 75 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs N.G.O. Branch, www.un.org/ecosoc/ngo). Of the N.G.O.s that seek to meet all 8 M.D.G.s, Comoros has six, D.R.C. has 18, Seychelles has seven and Tanzania has 19. That rounds up to anywhere from 25 to 33 percent of the N.G.O.s in those four countries. Second, concerns about the U.N. M.D.G.s' validity and reliability (Deneulin and Shahani, 2009; Kabeer, 2010) call into question the relevancy of the United Nations and its supported N.G.O.s, as well as their efficiency and effectiveness. This justifies inclusion of N.G.O.s in the study of F.D.A.'s relevance and effectiveness in assisting self-development to Sub-Saharan Africa at the present time. With the

inclusion of N.G.O.s, this dissertation will also measure the correlations of N.G.O.s in relation to self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1960 and 2010.

Conclusion

The dissertation's definition of development as self-actualization, self-reliance, self-discovery and self-sustainability is based on several branches of literature. First, it is based on general development literature, which addresses who benefits from development of any kind. Second and specifically in terms of Sub-Saharan Africa, it is based on multiple theories and subsequent multiple applications. The major theories are Western-based modernization and dependency, with their applications mainly pertaining to the role of F.D.A. But the definition is also based on strands of Pan-Africanism, Afrocentricism, Afro-Marxism and Afro-socialism. The literature is qualitative and advocacy-based. Scholars and practitioners take sides for or against F.D.A. Some advocate for preferences for certain forms of F.D.A. Others argue over how to define, measure and analyze development. This dissertation contributes to the reviewed literature in several ways. First, it looks at F.D.A.'s relationship with development from a "jaundiced eye" through quantitative research. Second, it looks at F.D.A.'s relevance as well as its efficiency and effectiveness. Third, it measures and analyzes F.D.A. through correlations in terms of self-actualization, self-discovery, self-reliance and self-sustainability development in Sub-Saharan Africa. These contributions counter analysis and definitions based on the neoclassical or modernization theories of development.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY/RESEARCH STRATEGY AND DESIGN

For this dissertation, the research methodology and subsequent design & strategy are based on the researcher's study of the relevance of foreign assistance (F.D.A.) in post-colonial development of Sub-Saharan Africa. The dissertation also tests the correlations of such assistance based on the quantitative paradigm (Kuhn, 1962; Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Taylor, 1911). Development is defined as a process of self-sustainability, self-actualization, self-discovery, and self-reliance. The dissertation focuses on the following research questions:

3. In terms of international relations during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how do foreign assistance forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s and N.G.O.s) correlate with self-development? Do those correlations differ? Are the correlations positive, negative or mixed?
4. In terms of public administration and public policy during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how relevant is foreign assistance in affecting self-development? Are those effects very relevant, somewhat relevant, somewhat irrelevant or very irrelevant?

From these research questions, the dissertation focuses on the following hypotheses and accompanying null hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Variations in Western development assistance will make no difference in the levels of development of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Null hypothesis 1. Variations in the quality and quantity of Western development assistance will correlate highly with changes in the levels of development of Sub-Saharan African countries such that increasing quantities of Western development assistance will be matched by increasing levels of development.

Hypothesis 2. Variations in the types of foreign development assistance will not make any significant changes in the overall resulting level of development.

Null hypothesis 2. Variations in the type of foreign aid received by Sub-Saharan African countries correspond strongly with different levels of development in Sub-Saharan African countries.

Variables

Dependent Variable (Development)

For this dissertation, the researcher defines development as a process of self-actualization, self-discovery, self-sustainability and self-reliance. The researcher measures changes in effects in the relationship between F.D.A. forms and Sub-Saharan African development. For its concept, the researcher uses gross national or domestic product (G.D.P.) to measure against the three stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development: state authoritarian developmentalism (1960-c1973), neo-liberal authoritarianism (c1980-2000) and democratic developmentalism (since 2000). Any changes in G.D.P. indicate the effect on development from the different forms of F.D.A. identified with each stage (O.D.A., economic structural adjustments or S.A.P.s, and N.G.O. activity).

Independent Variables

For this dissertation, the researcher identifies three F.D.A. forms implemented by Westernized industrialized nations for Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development:

4. **Official Development Assistance (O.D.A.)** is defined in reviewed literature as assistance from a donor government agency to a recipient government (Dudley and Montmarquette, 1976). O.D.A. predominated during authoritarian developmentalism (1960-c1973). The researcher measures changes in O.D.A. over the three stages of

- Sub-Saharan African post-colonial development. Any change is measured against development so that the researcher can analyze O.D.A.'s effects.
5. **Economic structural adjustment instruments (S.A.P.s)** are formed by the Washington Consensus. Williamson (1990 & 2000) identifies ten different programs: fiscal discipline, public expenditure priorities, tax reform, interest rate liberalization, competitive exchange rate, trade policy liberalization, foreign direct investment inflows liberalization, privatization, deregulation, and property rights security. Each S.A.P. has its own specific definitions and measures. The Washington Consensus economic structural adjustments predominated during neo-liberal authoritarianism (c1980-2000). To conceptualize the variable, the researcher uses the public expenditure priorities instrument, because of its intent on helping those undergoing development (Balassa et al. 1986; Belmont Report, 1978; Williamson, 1990 & 2000), and the researcher's desires to both gain more accessible, quantifiable data from the World Bank website and other economics-based sources in order to use an interval measure for the variable, and simplify the research by using the best valid, reliable and non-dichotomous measure as possible. The researcher measures changes in public expenditure priorities (percentage thereof) over the three stages of Sub-Saharan African post-colonial development. Any changes are measured against development so that the researcher can analyze S.A.P. effects.
6. **Non-governmental organization (N.G.O.) Activity** is stressed by the U.N. through E.C.O.S.O.C. in encouraging nations to meet its eight M.D.G.s. David Korten (1980 & 1987) identifies three different orientations or generations of N.G.O.s: relief and welfare, local small-scale development, and regional/national sustainable systems

development. Brian H. Smith (1990) identified N.G.O.s based on geographic, cultural and political orientations. N.G.O. activity has predominated during democratic developmentalism (since 2000). For this dissertation, the researcher uses the Korten definitions to conceptualize the variable. The researcher uses listings of U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C.-sanctioned N.G.O.s to distinguish between the three orientations/generations defined by Korten. The researcher measures changes in the percentage of non-relief and welfare N.G.O.s over the three stages of Sub-Saharan African post-colonial development, based on the years that the N.G.O.s were sanctioned by U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. Any changes are measured against development so that the researcher can analyze N.G.O. activity's effects.

Research Paradigm

The research comes from the quantitative paradigm, with paradigm defined as a world view or philosophy. This definition is informed by literature defining paradigms (Kuhn, 1962). The quantitative paradigm originates from the modern era. It emphasizes use of the rigorous scientific method, and seeks to discover a dominant viewpoint or Truth (Taylor, 1911). This breakdown justifies consideration of quantitative ontologies, epistemologies, schools of thought and methodologies for this research (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

The researcher chooses the quantitative paradigm opposite the qualitative paradigm for several reasons. First, the quantitative paradigm enables the researcher to act as a disinterested political scientist or scholar, using the literature review to cast a “jaundiced eye” on the addressed issues of development and F.D.A., especially in relation to Sub-Saharan Africa during its post-colonial period. Second, the quantitative paradigm involves the ontology of critical realism – the fact that the issues are real but cannot be fully seen or understood. Third, the

dissertation adds to the reviewed literature by quantitatively testing the three predominant F.D.A. forms in Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development (O.D.A., S.A.P.s, and N.G.O. activity). This in turns objectively tests the general modernization theses described in reviewed literature (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Myrdal, 1957; Rostow, c1960) for validity and reliability. Fourth, the quantitative post-positivist school of thought allows for study of the issues involved during Sub-Saharan Africa's three post-colonial stages (state authoritarian developmentalism, neo-liberal authoritarianism and democratic developmentalism). This is in contrast to qualitative historical realism, which requires study of virtual reality reflected through any or all of these three stages (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

Research Ontology and Epistemology

The researcher applies the quantitative ontology of critical realism, where reality is imperfectly apprehendable (Layder, 1993; Sayer, 1992). The epistemological considerations are modified dualist/objectivist. The school of thought is post-positivist, under the belief that objectivity matters (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). These breakdowns justify the application of the modified experimental or quasi-experimental methodology for this dissertation's research, which involves non-falsified or null hypotheses (Schutt, 2006).

Research Methodology

Based on the quantitative paradigm and its ontological, epistemological, and school of thought breakdowns, the researcher chooses the quasi-experimental methodology for this dissertation. The dissertation uses measurements and statistics to test hypotheses concerning the effects and relevance relationship between F.D.A. and development. The dissertation gives a quantitative analysis, using tools from S.P.S.S. (Schutt, 2006). It seeks to explain F.D.A.'s

positive, negative, or mixed correlations on development in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the relationship's relevance (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

The research uses the quasi-experimental methodology, in contrast to the case study methodology recommended by Robert Yin (2009). Yin recommends the case study as a research method in order to bring out more detailed information and make the research more rigorous. Similar to the quasi-experiment, reviewed literature recommends case studies to answer "how" questions, like the ones stated for this dissertation. It also focuses on contemporary events, such as the self-development issue in Sub-Saharan Africa under study. But unlike the case study methodology, the quasi-experimental methodology allows for a researcher to control events, in this case, F.D.A.'s relationship with self-development in Africa in relation to the past, present and projected future.

For this dissertation, the researcher uses nomothetic causal explanation (Schutt, 2006). The researcher believes that variations in F.D.A. are followed by variations in development as indicated by changes in G.D.P. throughout Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development). The researcher uses Sub-Saharan African nations and the three major F.D.A. forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s and N.G.O.s) with activity in these nations as group level units of analysis to test any empirical associations. Specifically, the nations under study are Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles, and Tanzania. Reviewed literature establishes the time order of 1960 to the present (with its three distinct stages) as the time period for Sub-Saharan African post-colonial development (Tsie, 1996).

Research Strategy and Design

The researcher uses the quasi-experiment for the research method and strategy, and a time series for its design. The quasi-experiment is based on the research questions and

accompanying hypotheses, the recommended quasi-experiment methodology, and the nomothetic causal explanation desired for this dissertation. This method and strategy is used to answer “how” questions (Yin, 2009). However, the critical realism ontology serves as the basis for not doing a “true” experiment (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

Additionally, the researcher is collecting secondary data instead of primary data for this dissertation (Schutt, 2006; Yin, 2009). Finally, research for this dissertation also focuses on events over time (1960 to 2010, for purposes of this research), not necessarily on events at an actual time (Yin, 2009).

The researcher uses the quasi-experiment method and strategy based on other research concepts. First, this dissertation is an explanatory study, which allows for use of experiments, quasi-experiments, histories and case studies (Yin, 2009). This justifies application of the quasi-experiment to answer the research questions and subsequent hypotheses related to F.D.A.’s relationship to Sub-Saharan African self-development. Second, the quasi-experiment strategy allows for the use of a time series design. This allows the researcher to make observations of F.D.A.’s correlations in its identified forms with the national units of analysis used for this dissertation (Schutt, 2006).

The explanatory study of this dissertation allows for use of alternative methods to quasi-experiments. This justifies consideration of histories and case studies. Histories and case studies do not require control of behavior. Case studies focus on contemporary events (Yin, 2009).

However, the researcher for this dissertation is controlling the environment by random selection of Sub-Saharan African nations and the F.D.A providers with activity in each nation under study. Additionally, the research focuses on the three stages of Sub-Saharan Africa’s post-colonial development identified in reviewed literature. Robert Yin (2009) recommends use of

case studies as a research strategy and method to: capture more variables in a number of data points, use empirical inquiry, study contemporary phenomena in depth, and allow for research in the real-world environment instead of an artificial one. However, case studies require the use of interviews and observations, which requires more time, money and resources that the researcher has limited access to (Yin, 2009). Additionally, the use of case studies for qualitative research may strengthen the research, but may also require the researcher to either add to or abandon the disinterested scientist role that he wishes to play for this research (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

Similar to the quasi-experimental method, histories also answer “how” questions, similar to the research questions in this dissertation (Yin, 2009). But reviewed literature for this dissertation already contains many histories related to development generally and to Africa specifically, as well as the questions of efficiency and effectiveness (or lack thereof) of F.D.A. Second, histories do not allow researchers to control for events. Third, histories do not allow for focus on contemporary events either. For this dissertation, the researcher includes contemporary events in the form of democratic developmentalism, and its predominant N.G.O. foreign assistance, to go along with the other two F.D.A. forms (O.D.A. and S.A.P.s) and connecting stages of Sub-Saharan Africa’s post-colonial development. This justifies the testing of the relevance of F.D.A. in Sub-Saharan Africa’s self-development.

Limitations and Concerns

First, the quasi-experimental methodology suggests that researchers can include qualitative methods (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Yin, 2009). But such incorporation would not enable this researcher to fully serve as a disinterested scientist who only wishes to inform interested scholars and practitioners. The researcher would have to add other

roles required in qualitative methods, namely advocate, facilitator and/or participant. This causes potential conflicts of interest and confusion in relation to data collection, data analysis, and interpretation of the findings, conclusions and recommendations from the research. Additionally, adding to or abandoning the role of disinterested scientist affects the validity, reliability and generalizability (internal and external) of this research (Babbie, 2004; Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Schutt, 2006).

Other concerns include the issue of internal validity for establishing the relationships under study in the quasi-experiment for this research (Babbie, 2004; Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Schutt, 2006). Use of secondary data for this research controls for any threat of endogenous changes, history effects and contamination. However, the researcher is aware of the possibility of selection bias pertaining to the group-level units of analysis selected for this research (Sub-Saharan African nations and their F.D.A. forms). For this reason, the researcher uses a combination of sampling strategies to address this problem.

Second, the quasi-experimental methodology does not fully meet all criteria for identifying nomothetic causal relationships between variables; in this case, between development and F.D.A. (Schutt, 2006). But the quasi-experiment brings out evidence of such a relationship. Also, incorporation of the F.D.A. variables as contextual variables can produce quantity and quality of information that would otherwise go unrevealed. However, one cannot be sure about the relationship's time order. Neither can scholars nor practitioners rule out any other variables in this relationship, which would result in spuriousness (Schutt, 2006).

Third, scholars and practitioners cannot completely assume that findings from this research apply to every environment similar to the examined environment: development in Sub-Saharan Africa from its mass independence to the present, and the actors involved (O.D.A.

donors, the World Bank/I.M.F.-imposed S.A.P.s and N.G.O. administrators). The epistemology of the quantitative paradigm is that the findings are probably (but not entirely) true (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). In other words, these findings may not apply to every nation in Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa or other developing nations. They may not apply to all foreign assistance activity. Finally, reviewed literature urges interested parties to recognize the distinctions between the three stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development, predominant foreign assistance actors, focuses of development identified in reviewed political economy literature (Ake, 1976, Gibbon et al., 1992; Marshall and Cole, 2011), and opposite Afrocentric, Pan-African and Westernized paradigms from reviewed literature in evaluating Africa.

The researcher uses two sets of group-level units of analysis to conduct its research. The first set consists of Sub-Saharan African nations. The second set consists of F.D.A. forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s, and N.G.O.s) with activity in these nations.

The researcher combines sampling strategies in selection of the Sub-Saharan African nations and the F.D.A. forms, particularly the N.G.O.s with activity in these nations. For the national units of analysis and the O.D.A. and S.A.P. forms, the researcher conducts probability stratified random sampling (Schutt, 2006). For the N.G.O. density and diversity in each sampled nation, the researcher conducts both non-probability purposive and multistage cluster sampling (Schutt, 2006). These two strategies distinguish the N.G.O.s based on the following criteria:

1. Sanctions by U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. and affiliation with U.N. D.P.I.
2. Headquarters or bases in Westernized or developed nations, based on definitions from both the World Bank and the U.N.
3. Rank based on the distinctions of N.G.O.s defined by David Korten (1987).

For the national units of analysis, the researcher selects from two frames and one sub-frame. The two frames are the 52 African continental and 46 Sub-Saharan African sub-continental nations. The sub-frame consists of the three African Free Trade Zone regions (C.O.M.E.S.A., E.A.C., and S.A.D.C.). From these frames and sub-frame, the researcher selects these four nations: Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Seychelles and United Republic of Tanzania. Of these nations:

1. Comoros and Seychelles are members of C.O.M.E.S.A.
2. Democratic Republic of Congo belongs to C.O.M.E.S.A. and S.A.D.C.
3. United Republic of Tanzania has membership in both E.A.C. and S.A.D.C.

Reviewed literature identifies other distinctions among the four nations selected for the sample. Comoros and Seychelles all had colonial relationships with France, while Seychelles also had a colonial relationship with Great Britain. Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.) had a colonial relationship with Belgium. United Republic of Tanzania has colonial ties to Great Britain and Germany. After mass independence, D.R.C. and United Republic of Tanzania associated with the more political, Afro-Socialist Casablanca bloc headed by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. On the other hand, Comoros and Seychelles did not achieve independence until 1975 and 1976, respectively. During authoritarian developmentalism, D.R.C. took the Afro-Marxist development path (Lenin, 1964; Marx, 1867), while Tanzania took the Afro-socialist path (Nkrumah, 1957, 1971, & 1973). These facts strengthen the research by creating diversity in the sampling. They are also supported by reviewed literature identifying Africa's heterogeneity and diversity within its own borders.

For the N.G.O. parts of the units of analysis, the researcher uses one population frame of 3,162 N.G.O.s sanctioned by U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. and affiliated with U.N. D.P.I. From this population frame, the dissertation conducts non-probability purposive sampling to form a sub-

frame of 281 N.G.O.s in the 24 nations located in the three African Free Trade Zone regions. From this frame and sub-frame, the dissertation conducts multistage cluster sampling to select 107 N.G.O.s in the four sampled nations which meet the aforementioned criteria. In terms of the N.G.O. density and diversity as a foreign assistance form, Comoros and Seychelles each have 21 U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C.-sanctioned N.G.O.s., while D.R.C. and Tanzania each have 75.

In terms of the nations in the research sample, the quasi-experiment controls for nations that are located in North Africa, as defined geopolitically (Haeri, March 4, 2004; Koppes, 1976; Nazemroaya, November 18, 2006; *New York Times*, August 14, 1958; Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, 2011; U.N. Statistics Division, July 14, 2011). Second, it controls for nations not located in the three African Free Trade Zone regions (C.O.M.E.S.A., E.A.C., and S.A.D.C.) identified as the Units of Analysis. Third, in terms of political strategies after mass independence, it controls for other nations in the Casablanca, Brazzaville and Monrovia Groups which formed O.A.U. (Walters, 1997). Fourth, in terms of economic paths after mass independence, it controls for other nations taking the capitalist, Afro-Socialist and Afro-Marxist paths. Fifth, in terms of the N.G.O.s in the research sample, the quasi-experiment controls for N.G.O.s. with no U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. status and/or D.P.I. affiliation.

As stated in the Limitations part of the Research Strategy and Design section, combination of these strategies addresses the issue of selection bias. This leads to concerns about external validity for this research (Babbie, 2004; Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Schutt, 2006). Using probability stratified random sampling for the Sub-Saharan African nations under study, and non-probability purposive and multistage cluster sampling for N.G.O.s., makes it less likely that the samples reflect all of Sub-Saharan Africa, and the foreign assistance providers with activity in the sub-continent. But, in terms of generalizability, scholars and practitioners

should not expect results from this research to apply to the nations and foreign assistance providers that the researcher controls for (Schutt, 2006).

This dissertation uses the time period from 1960 to 2010. According to reviewed literature, this time period forms that of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development (Ake, 1976; Bates, 1983). The time period is divided into three sections, representing the stages of such development. The first stage identified in reviewed literature, state authoritarian developmentalism, took place generally from 1960 to c1973. The second stage, neo-liberal authoritarianism, took place from c1980 to 2000. The third stage, democratic developmentalism, has taken place since 2000.

The researcher collects secondary historical, longitudinal and cross-national data from a triangulation of documents and archival records (Yin, 2009). Numerical data is collected from the World Bank and I.M.F. for the development dependent variable, and the S.A.P. foreign assistance variable. For the other foreign assistance variables, data is collected from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) website for O.D.A., and the U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. website for the N.G.O. F.D.A. variable.

While collection of secondary data reduces time, money and resources necessary to conduct the dissertation's research, the researcher is aware of the problems with its collection and use. First, using only secondary data potentially weakens the research, whereas primary data strengthens it. Second, the data may or may not be appropriate for the concepts, variables, indicators and measures used to describe the explored relationship. For example, the U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. website provides individual listings of its sanctioned N.G.O.s. Each listing states which U.N. M.D.G. (s) that each N.G.O. focuses on. The researcher anticipates difficulty in coding each N.G.O. based on distinctions established in reviewed literature (Korten, 1987).

The researcher is also aware of the problems of data inaccuracies and the indicators used with the data (Schutt, 2006). First, the data sources collect their data from government statistics supplied by the sampled nations, which may be inconsistent due to such factors as a lack of training or politics. Second, as stated in the Literature Review chapter, scholars question the validity and reliability of U.N. M.D.G.s (Deneulin and Shahani, 2009; Kabeer, 2010). Their concerns lead to questions about how to distinguish between the M.D.G.s and Korten's N.G.O. distinctions used by the researcher (Schutt, 2006).

Data measurement strategy. To measure the collected data, the researcher uses interval levels for all variables (Babbie, 2004; Schutt, 2006). The researcher seeks to distinguish the variations between Development and the three F.D.A. forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s, N.G.O.s) in terms of whether they are the same or different, which is more or less, and how much in variations. The desired variations spread over the time period 1960 to 2010, the period of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development. These measures are based on reviewed literature's recommendations that the researcher uses similar measurement levels (Babbie, 2004) and the highest level of measurement possible to reflect the amount of used information (Schutt, 2006).

For this dissertation, the researcher considers research methodology literature's recommendation of ratio measures, the highest level possible (Babbie, 2004; Schutt, 2006). However, the researcher anticipates that he will not get complete data needed to use ratio measures. First, the data is entirely secondary. Second, as stated in the Data Collection Strategy section, some of the data may be incomplete and/or inaccurate, which affects face validity. Therefore, use of interval measures is most suitable, while strengthening measurement content validity, criterion validity and construct validity (Schutt, 2006).

To analyze the collected data, the researcher uses secondary data analysis from the aforementioned international data sources (Schutt, 2006). The researcher uses numerical data from O.C.E.D., the World Bank and I.M.F., and contextual data from U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. for analysis, collection and measurement. This is based on research methodology literature's findings that use of secondary data analyses brings several benefits. These analyses save time and money, facilitate comparisons between the research's sample and other similar samples, allow combination of data from multiple sources, allow for more variables and more sample diversity and prevent the researcher from data collection problems. On the other hand, use of secondary data analyses makes it more difficult for the researcher to progress from research question formulation to selection of the best research methodology, strategy and design. Secondly, the researcher cannot test and refine the selected time series design from the quantitative quasi-experiment strategy from subject feedback. The researcher can only do so from feedback from scholars and practitioners (Schutt, 2006).

To convert qualitative data from the N.G.O. documentation into quantitative data, the researcher uses content analysis (Babbie, 2004; Schutt, 2006). For the numerical data, the researcher uses deductive analysis to test the null hypothesis and sub-hypotheses (Schutt, 2006). The researcher uses thematic coding instead of theoretical coding; the researcher is testing hypotheses, not building theories (Flick, 2006). He also uses human coding to construct N.G.O. categories, in order to distinguish them based on criteria established in reviewed literature (Korten, 1987; Schutt, 2006). The N.G.O. coding categories are Relief & Welfare, Local Small Scale, and Sustainable Systems.

The researcher is aware that information supplied in the N.G.O. listings supplied by U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. (which sanctions these N.G.O.s.) may be ambiguous and not totally complete and

accurate (Schutt, 2006). This requires careful reading of each N.G.O. listing to determine how to code the N.G.O.s based on whether they are simply relief and welfare, or go beyond that generation (Korten, 1987). The researcher reviews reports from N.G.O.s available online for additional or supplementary secondary data. This applies to information related to charity activities “Relief and welfare”; for information related to long-term projects (such as water purification) “Local small scale” or “Sustainable systems development” depending on geographical scope (Schutt, 2006).

For all data, the researcher uses statistical regression analysis, using S.P.S.S. (Schutt, 2006). The researcher uses multivariate analysis to describe and evaluate associations between Development and the three F.D.A. forms based on existence, strength, direction and pattern (Schutt, 2006). The researcher uses analytic induction to identify the nations and all sampled U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C.-sanctioned and active N.G.O.s. This induction is based on the nations’ relationships in the African Free Trade Zone, and the N.G.O.s’ U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. sanctions & geographical bases (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

With the strengths and weaknesses of secondary data, the researcher is aware that problems will exist in the data’s analysis. First, he is aware that the data’s inaccuracy, incompleteness, and ambiguity prevent any complete assessment. Second, the quasi-experimental approach allows for analysis by only evaluating the F.D.A.-Development relationship while leaving out any intervening variables. However, this lessens the possibility that this relationship reflects the real world. Such an analysis would raise questions as to whether or not the analysis is performed ethically (Schutt, 2006).

To summarize, the researcher uses the quasi-experimental research methodology and time series design, based on the research questions and quantitative paradigm. He uses

Development as the dependent variable, and three independent variables related to F.D.A. (O.D.A., S.A.P.s, and N.G.O.s). He collects, measures and analyses secondary data from sources supplied by the World Bank, I.M.F., O.E.C.D., and U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. The explored relationship is based on reviewed literature on development and F.D.A., especially as they relate to Sub-Saharan Africa during its post-colonial period.

CHAPTER IV

DATA COLLECTION, MEASUREMENT AND ANALYSIS

For this dissertation, the researcher collects, measures and analyzes data on the following bases. First, the data strategy is based on his study of the relevance, efficiency and effectiveness of foreign assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development. Second, it is based on reviewed advocacy-based and theory-based literature of mainly qualitative research on development and foreign assistance. That literature comes from branches in history, international relations and political economy. The branches are based on opposite Westernized, Pan-African and Afrocentric paradigms distinguishing Africa from the rest of the world. Third, the data strategy is based on the time series strategy and design. This research strategy and design are based on the general quantitative methodology paradigm, its critical realism ontology, dualist/objectivist epistemology, post-positivist school of thought, and quasi-experimental methodology. Such a strategy and design allows for use of quantitative data and objective analysis of that data.

Development is defined as a process of self-sustainability, self-actualization, self-discovery, and self-reliance. The dissertation focuses on the following research questions:

5. In terms of international relations during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how do foreign assistance forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s and N.G.O.s) correlate to self-development? Do those correlations differ? Are those correlations positive, negative or mixed?
6. In terms of public administration and public policy during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how relevant is foreign assistance in affecting self-development? Are those effects very relevant, somewhat relevant, somewhat irrelevant or very irrelevant?

From these research questions, the dissertation focuses on the following hypotheses and null hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Variations in Western development assistance will make no difference in the levels of development of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Null hypothesis 1. Variations in the quality and quantity of Western development assistance will correlate highly with changes in the levels of development of Sub-Saharan African countries such that increasing quantities of Western development assistance will be matched by increasing levels of development.

Hypothesis 2. Variations in the types of foreign development assistance will not make any significant changes in the overall resulting level of development.

Null hypothesis 2. Variations in the type of foreign aid received by Sub-Saharan African countries correspond strongly with different levels of development in Sub-Saharan African countries.

The researcher bases the collection, measurement and analysis on a total of 80 data points. For each of the three stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development, he uses 20 data points (one each for the four sampled nations, one each for the three Foreign Assistance independent variables, and one for the Development dependent variable), for a total of 60 data points. For the general time period of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development (1960-2010), he uses 20 more data points (same as described above). This results in the total of 80 data points.

The researcher uses interval measures based on three time periods (1960-c1973, c1973-2000, and 2000-c2010). These time periods reflect the three stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development identified in reviewed literature. The stages are state authoritarian developmentalism, neo-liberal authoritarianism, and democratic developmentalism. The researcher does not use separate years for data points.

Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development is a continuing half-century plus process that started in 1960. Literature on data measurement indicates that use of separate years in this case improves validity and reliability of the measures, subsequent analysis, and its results (e.g., Babbie, Schutt). But first, this requires the use of more than 200 data points for this research. Four sample points apply to the number of sampled nations; at least 50 apply to each year in the process, three apply to the foreign assistance independent variables, and one applies to the development dependent variable. Second, separation by each year prevents the intended audience from seeing the broader picture of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development as marked by each of its three distinct stages. Therefore, use of the three stages/time periods weakens internal validity and reliability, but strengthens external validity and reliability.

Data Collection

The researcher collects cross-national numerical data for the development dependent variable and its change in G.D.P. per capita measure, the S.A.P. public expenditure foreign assistance variable and its change in such expenditure per capita measure, and the O.D.A. foreign assistance variable and its change in net O.D.A. per capita measure. He collects this data from two sources. First, he collects from the World Bank, I.M.F. and EconStats data bases for the development dependent variable. Second, it collects from the EconStats data base for the O.D.A. and S.A.P. public expenditure variables.

The researcher originally considered collection of data for the O.D.A. variable from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.) website. However, he found that the information on O.D.A. per recipient is no longer available. Therefore, he uses the EconStats database to collect that data.

For the N.G.O. foreign assistance variable and its change in percentage of N.G.O.s beyond relief & welfare, the researcher collects historical, longitudinal and cross-national data from the U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. website. The website contains detailed listings of the N.G.O. communities in each sampled nation and other nations controlled for in this research. Those listings contain the N.G.O.'s name, year and type of E.C.O.S.O.C. accreditation. The E.C.O.S.O.C. data also contains detailed information on each N.G.O., including adherence to any or all eight M.D.G.s established by the U.N. This information is helpful in distinguishing which N.G.O.s operated during each of the stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development.

For analysis and establishment of data points, the researcher adds or subtracts the numerical data for the development dependent variable, and the O.D.A. and S.A.P. public expenditure independent variables. He does this based on data points established by the three stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development. All this distinguishes the changes in G.D.P., O.D.A. and S.A.P. public expenditures called for in the interval data measurements.

Second, the researcher converts the historical and longitudinal data for the N.G.O. independent variable into numerical data. He adds the entire number of the N.G.O.s per stage of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development into an accumulative number for the current democratic developmentalism stage. He uses thematic coding, based on David Korten's (1987) N.G.O. distinctions; and detailed information on each N.G.O. provided in the U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. database. He adds those numbers and divides them by the total number for each stage. Again, they lead to the accumulative percentage of N.G.O.s beyond relief and welfare during the current democratic developmentalism stage. He then adds and subtracts the percentage to produce the changes in N.G.O. density and diversity called for in the interval data measurements.

Data Analysis

Based on the research questions, hypotheses and null hypotheses, the researcher makes these assumptions. Regression analysis should show a Pearson's r of 0 for the hypotheses; and a range between -1 and 1 for the null hypotheses; for each x variable (O.D.A., S.A.P. public expenditure priorities, N.G.O.s) in relation to y (development) (Schutt, 2006). Second, due to the small sample size (four Sub-Saharan African nations out of 52 nations in Africa), based on the strategies used (probability stratified random, non-probability purposive and multistage cluster), the researcher expects increases in sampling error. The four sampled nations are Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Seychelles, and Tanzania. He assumes that results from the regression analysis are also based on other factors not included in the Foreign Assistance-Development relationship under study (Schutt, 2006).

The researcher also makes other assumptions. First, he expects that statistical significance tests (i.e., chi-square, t tests or ANOVA tests) will show a confidence level of < 95% of the foreign assistance-development relationship. This means that there is more than a five percent probability that other intervening and independent variables affect development, based on reviewed and non-reviewed literature. Second, any cross tabulations should show that that the existence and strength of the relationship under study will not be entirely certain. The researcher expects various directions and values of development due to various directions and values of foreign assistance, resulting in a curvilinear pattern (Schutt, 2006).

Results of the analysis can also be based on these assumptions from reviewed literature. First, Africa is a continent heterogeneous and diverse within its own natural and geopolitical borders, and its historical, present, and future challenges. Second, some of the heterogeneity and diversity is reflected in its history of post-colonial development. For example, it is reflected in the three stages of that development (state authoritarian developmentalism, neo-liberal

authoritarianism, and the current democratic developmentalism), along with the three predominant foreign assistance forms for each of the stages. It is also reflected in the three paths taken during Authoritarian Developmentalism (Capitalist, Afro-Marxist, and Afro-socialist – the latter discouraging any foreign assistance in any form from any donor). It is also reflected in the various regions in the African Free Trade Zone, represented by the four sampled nations.

TABLE 4.1. Authoritarian Developmentalism (1960-c1973) Correlations

		Correlations			
		GDP196073	NETODA6073	PUBGDP6073	NGO19601973
GDP196073	Pearson Correlation	1	.920	. ^a	.460
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.080	.	.540
	N	4	4	4	4
NETODA6073	Pearson Correlation	.920	1	. ^a	.519
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.080		.	.481
	N	4	4	4	4
PUBGDP6073	Pearson Correlation	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a	. ^a
	Sig. (2-tailed)
	N	4	4	4	4
NGO19601973	Pearson Correlation	.460	.519	. ^a	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.540	.481	.	
	N	4	4	4	4

a. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

The correlations show that government-to-government aid (net O.D.A. change) has a stronger positive effect on development (G.D.P. per capita change) than N.G.O. activity beyond relief and welfare. The Pearson's *r* of .920 for net O.D.A. and .460 for N.G.O. activity both show positive effects on development. The correlations also show no effect from the S.A.P. variable (Public Sector Expenditure % of G.D.P. per capita change). This supports the reviewed literature, which indicates the lack of World Bank/I.M.F.-imposed S.A.P. involvement during

state authoritarian developmentalism. The public sector expenditure instrument and the nine others had yet to be created, developed and implemented during this first stage.

TABLE 4.2. Authoritarian Developmentalism Model Summary, ANOVA, & Coefficients

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.920^a	.846	.538	114.181

a. Predictors: (Constant), NGO19601973, NETODA6073

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	71629.610	2	35814.805	2.747	.392^b
	Residual	13037.390	1	13037.390		
	Total	84667.000	3			

a. Dependent Variable: GDP196073

b. Predictors: (Constant), NGO19601973, NETODA6073

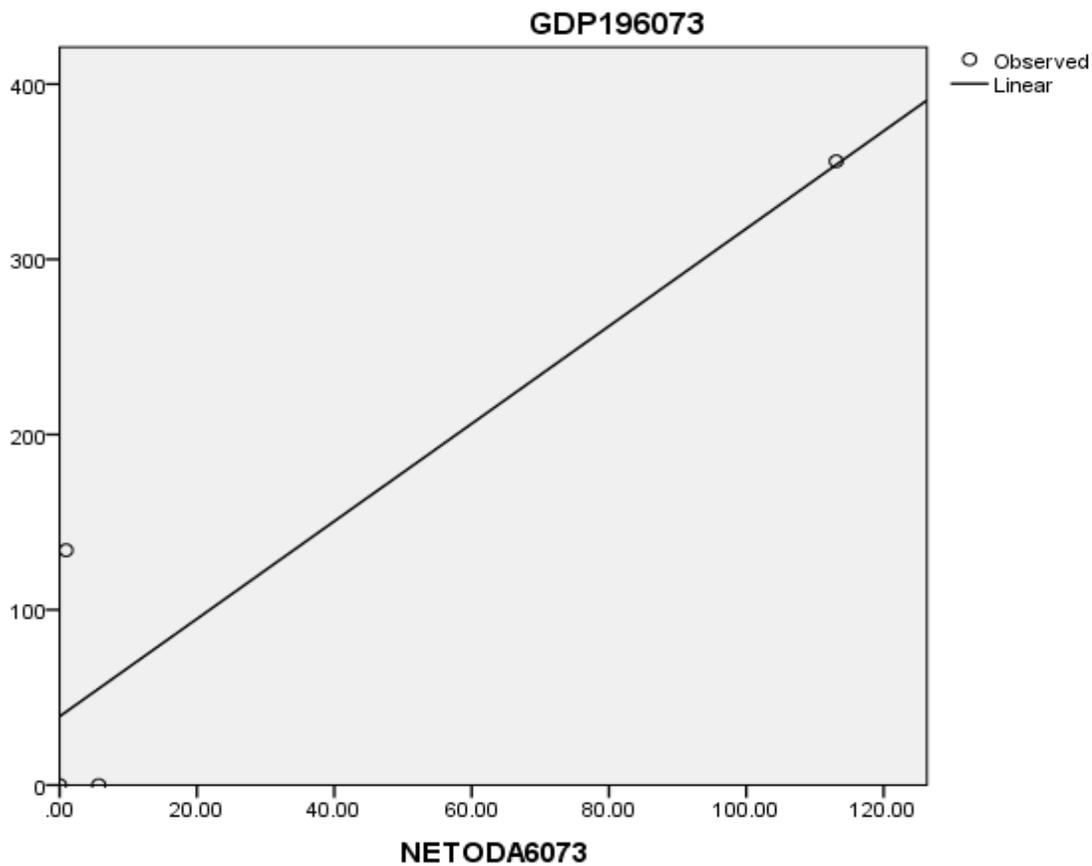
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	34.861	108.730		.321	.802
	NETODA6073	2.820	1.390	.932	2.029	.291
	NGO19601973	-.561	11.103	-.023	-.051	.968

a. Dependent Variable: GDP196073

The overall Pearson's *r* of .920 again indicates a positive relationship between F.D.A. and development, with a .802 statistical significance score. The intended audience can be only 80% certain of this relationship. But a look at the coefficients shows that N.G.O. activity beyond relief and welfare had a negative effect on development, with a 96.8% certainty. This is in

contrast to the .291 statistical significance score for the net O.D.A. factor. This means that the intended audience cannot be certain that government-to-government assistance positively affected development. These results also justify addressing and answering the second research question in this dissertation related to the *relevance* of F.D.A. The intended audience can begin to question such relevance, at least in terms of Authoritarian Developmentalism.

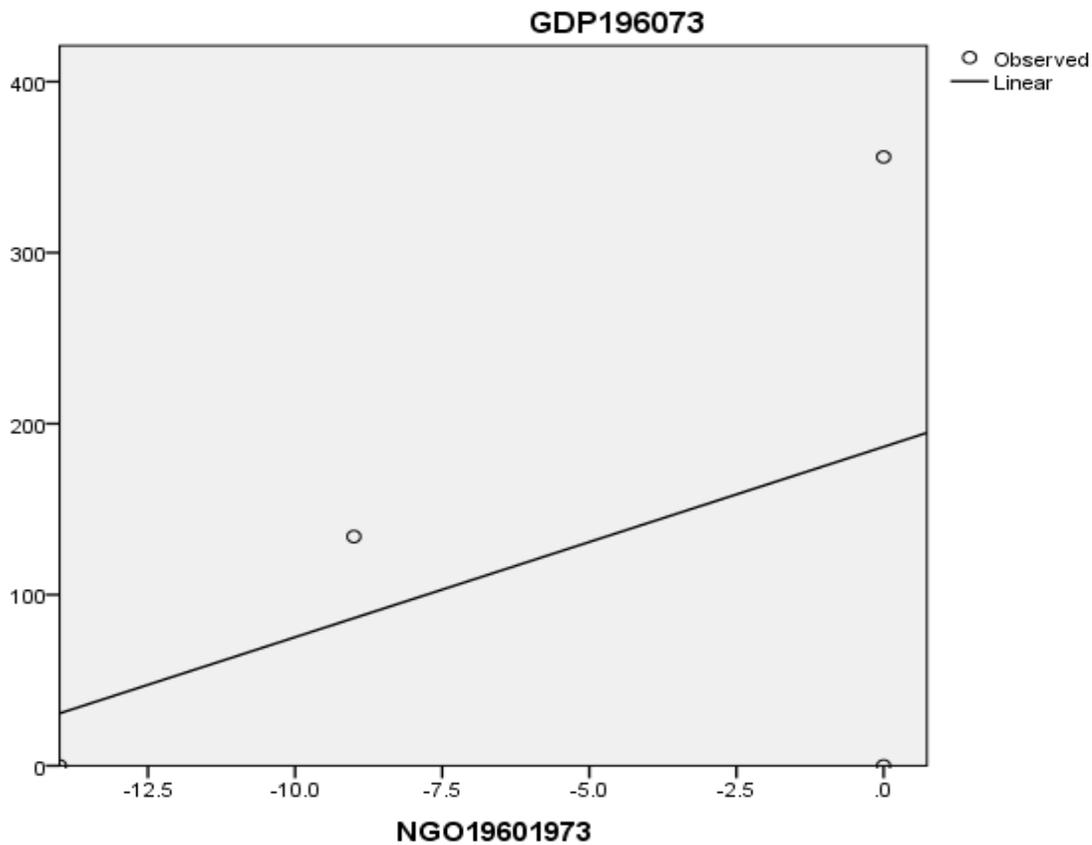
ILLUSTRATION 4.1. O.D.A.-Development during Authoritarian Developmentalism



The preceding graph shows various levels of O.D.A. (net O.D.A. change) and various levels of affected development (G.D.P. per capita change). Only Seychelles had a perfect positive relationship between the two variables. D.R.C. did not have as much of a positive relationship. Seychelles also stands out because it had not achieved independence during state

authoritarian developmentalism. Results indicate that France served as the only O.D.A. source for Seychelles. Tanzania stands out because it took the Afro-Marxist path during this period, where it took assistance from the former U.S.S.R. and other Communist nations. The results show that the assistance produced no development. Comoros also saw no development, despite its assumed O.D.A. assistance from its colonial partner France.

ILLUSTRATION 4.2. N.G.O.-Development during Authoritarian Developmentalism



The preceding graph shows that Seychelles benefitted more from the few number of N.G.O.s that were active in that nation during authoritarian developmentalism. The researcher assumes that both France and the U.N. influenced the N.G.O.s to help Seychelles develop, in addition to providing any relief and welfare. Second, Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.) experienced less Development than Seychelles, perhaps because more dense and

diverse N.G.O.s decided to supply only disaster aid, instead of helping the nation to self-develop. Those interested in this research can attribute this to the fact that D.R.C. took the Afro-Marxist path during this period. That path may have discouraged N.G.O. activity in its density and diversity. Third, Tanzania received less self-development assistance. This can be attributed to the popular Afro-Socialist path that it took during this period, which discouraged any assistance in any form from any donor in any outside nation.

TABLE 4.3. Neo-Liberal Authoritarianism (c1973-2000) Correlations

		GDP19732000	NETODA7300	PUBGDP7300	NGO19732000
GDP19732000	Pearson Correlation	1	.991**	.957*	-.673
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.009	.043	.327
	N	4	4	4	4
NETODA7300	Pearson Correlation	.991**	1	.942	-.677
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009		.058	.323
	N	4	4	4	4
PUBGDP7300	Pearson Correlation	.957*	.942	1	-.849
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.043	.058		.151
	N	4	4	4	4
NGO19732000	Pearson Correlation	-.673	-.677	-.849	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.327	.323	.151	
	N	4	4	4	4

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The following results show the introduction and implementation of the S.A.P.s as a form of F.D.A. in relationship to development. The World Bank, I.M.F. and other economic organizations served as the predominant S.A.P. providers. The researcher uses one of its ten programs (Public Sector Expenditure % of G.D.P. per capita changes) as its S.A.P. variable. This program emphasized project assistance. (Williamson, 1990 & 2000).

Table 4.3 shows competing strong positive effects of both O.D.A. and the Public Expenditure S.A.P. on development. The O.D.A. influence shows a slightly more positive effect. The results counter the negative effects found from reviewed literature. But interested parties must note that change in G.D.P. (not change in debt) is being used to measure Development. This counters reviewed literature, which shows that O.D.A. and S.A.P.s increased debt. It also does not reveal O.D.A.'s decline during the 1970's oil crisis. It also shows a not-so-strong negative effect from N.G.O.s active beyond relief and welfare. Though N.G.O.s increased in diversity and density, more offered just relief and welfare.

TABLE 4.4. Neo-Liberal Authoritarianism Model Summary, ANOVA, & Coefficients

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	1.000^a	1.000	.	.

a. Predictors: (Constant), NGO19732000, NETODA7300, PUBGDP7300

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	34951314.000	3	11650438.000	.	. ^b
	Residual	.000	0	.	.	.
	Total	34951314.000	3	.	.	.

a. Dependent Variable: GDP19732000

b. Predictors: (Constant), NGO19732000, NETODA7300, PUBGDP7300

Coefficients^a

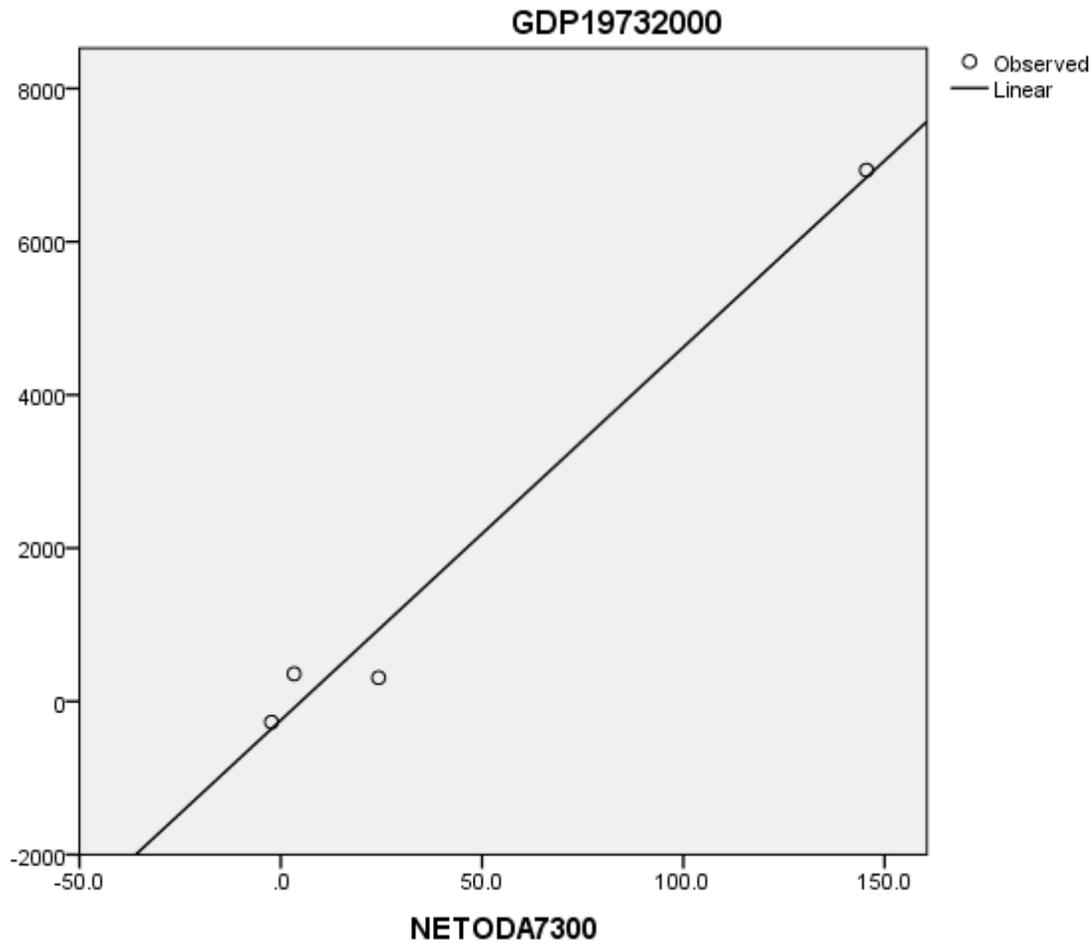
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	281.179	.000	.	.	.
	NETODA7300	23.582	.000	.480	.	.
	PUBGDP7300	125.465	.000	.753	.	.
	NGO19732000	273.111	.000	.292	.	.

a. Dependent Variable: GDP19732000

The overall Pearson's r of 1 indicates a positive linear relationship between the three F.D.A. variables and Development. Again on the surface, the intended audience could be 100 percent certain that government-to-government assistance (O.D.A.) and the structural adjustments (S.A.P.s) had stronger positive effects on development than any negative effects of N.G.O. Activity. However, reviewed literature shows that the S.A.P.s were disastrous for Sub-Saharan Africa during neo-liberal authoritarianism (Williamson, 1990 & 2000). The results here only indicate changes in G.D.P. per capita, the measure used by the researcher for development. This does not take into account the accumulated debts assumed by African nations as a result of imposing these economic structural adjustments, much less their negative political, cultural and social consequences.

Interested parties must note that only four sampled nations out of over 50 in Africa were analyzed for this research. Inclusion of other nations would more than likely allow analysis to show the negative effects of one or more World Bank/I.M.F.-imposed economic structural adjustment programs found in reviewed literature. Interested parties must also note that only one S.A.P. program was used to measure its effects (public sector expenditure priorities, as measured by changes in percentage per G.D.P. per capita). The other nine programs were left out to simply the research in terms of variable conceptualization, definition, measurement and analysis. Replacement with or inclusion of the nine other economic structural adjustment programs would more than likely allow analysis to show the S.A.P.s' overall disastrous effects on Sub-Saharan Africa during neo-liberal authoritarianism as part of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development. Those effects turned Africa into a debtor continent of dependence and weakness.

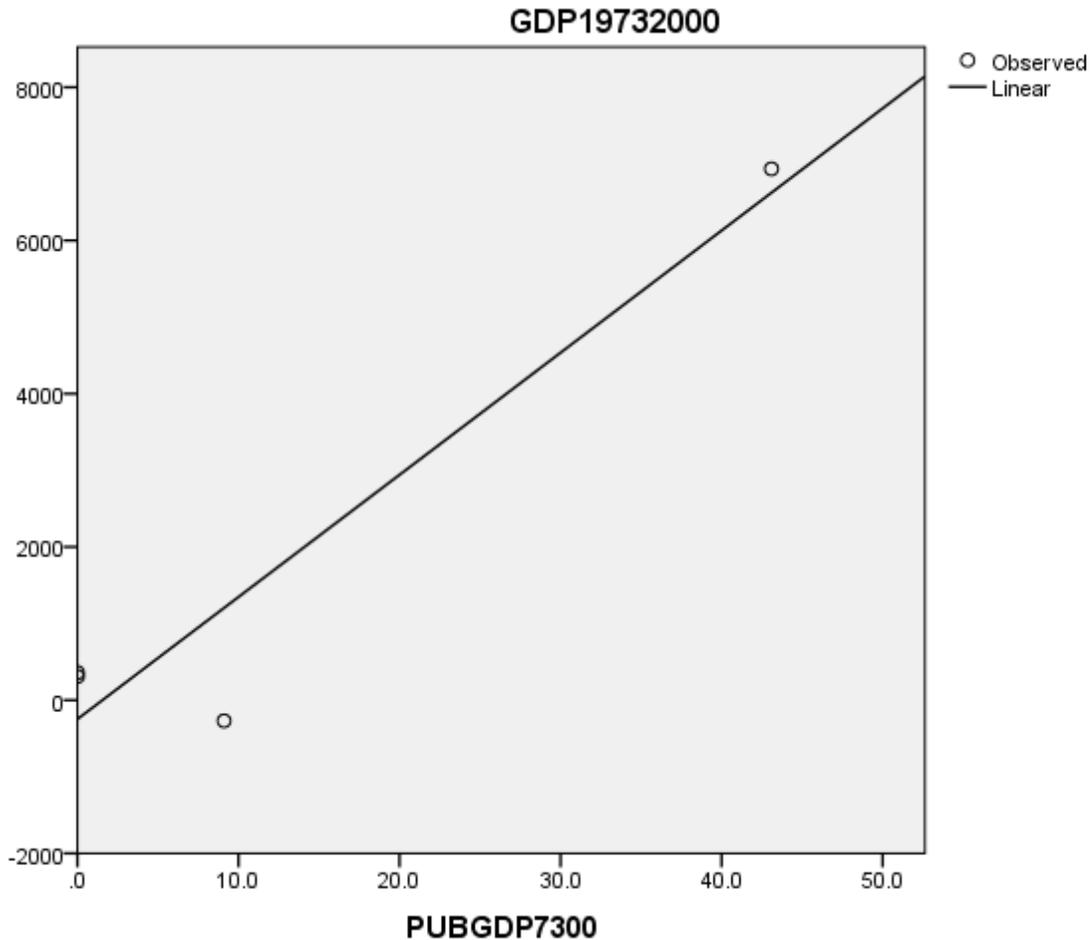
ILLUSTRATION 4.3. O.D.A.-Development during Neo-Liberal Authoritarianism



The preceding graph shows the nearly perfect positive relationship between O.D.A. and development (as measured by change in G.D.P. per capita). This is particularly true in Seychelles, which again indicate that Seychelles was a French colony. However, scholars and practitioners must note that Seychelles won independence from France in 1976 during this period. No one can be certain if Seychelles' growth had less to do with French influence, which is in contrast to what happened during state authoritarian developmentalism.

Second, the graph shows that D.R.C. saw negative G.D.P. per capita change during this period. Any O.D.A. from the U.S.S.R. and other Communist nations still flowing in proved disastrous. This is another example of Communism's overall collapse.

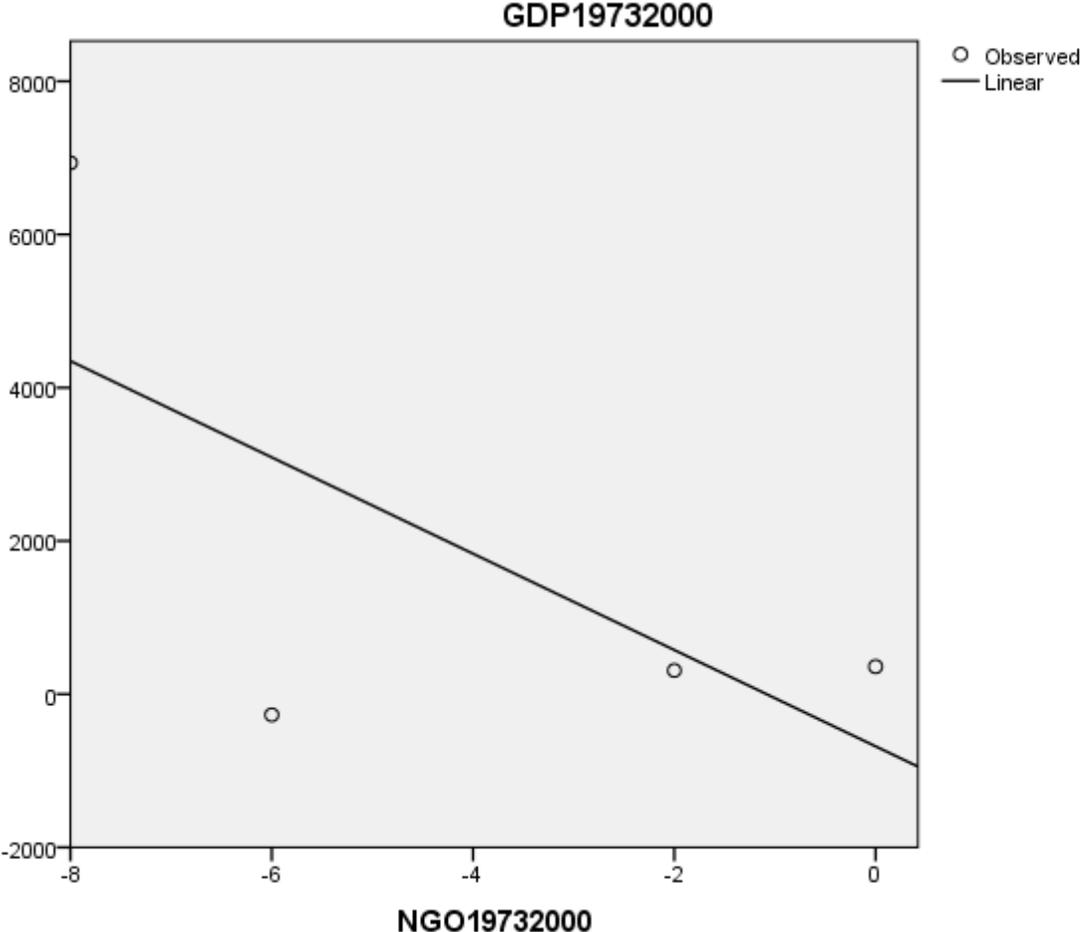
ILLUSTRATION 4.4. Neo-Liberal Authoritarianism Public Spending-Development



On the surface, interested parties look at the preceding graph and think that the economic structural adjustments benefitted at least Seychelles, more so than Comoros, D.R.C., and Tanzania. But these results came from use of G.D.P. per capita to measure Development, the limited sample of nations indicated in this graph, and use of public expenditure priorities (measured by change in percentage per G.D.P. per capita) as the S.A.P. variable. The disastrous

results from the S.A.P.s found in reviewed literature counter the results of this graph. Inclusion of other Sub-Saharan African nations, and replacement with or addition of another of the ten S.A.P.s, would have allowed analysis to show a downward line instead of an upward one.

ILLUSTRATION 4.5. N.G.O.-Development during Neo-Liberal Authoritarianism



While N.G.O.s increased in density and diversity during neo-liberal authoritarianism in the four sampled nations, they also increased their disaster assistance. This particularly applies to Comoros, D.R.C., and Tanzania. Based on the results, one can argue that N.G.O.s had no effect on Seychelles’ G.D.P. per capita growth. N.G.O.s in these nations did little or nothing to

counter the S.A.P.s' disastrous effects. Results from this graph support David Korten's (1987) call for N.G.O.s to go beyond disaster relief.

TABLE 4.5. Democratic Developmentalism (2000-2010) Correlations

		GDP200010	NETODA0010	PUBGDP0010	NGO20002010
GDP200010	Pearson Correlation	1	.998**	-.966*	.028
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.002	.034	.972
	N	4	4	4	4
NETODA0010	Pearson Correlation	.998**	1	-.978*	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002		.022	.977
	N	4	4	4	4
PUBGDP0010	Pearson Correlation	-.966*	-.978*	1	-.103
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.034	.022		.897
	N	4	4	4	4
NGO20002010	Pearson Correlation	.028	.023	-.103	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.972	.977	.897	
	N	4	4	4	4

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Results from the correlations show attempts by the four sampled nations and the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa to begin recovering from the disaster of neo-liberal authoritarianism and its predominant S.A.P. form of F.D.A. Interested parties will note the counter negative effect of the S.A.P. (Public Sector Expenditure % of G.D.P. per capita change) to the positive O.D.A. effect. This shows that O.D.A. is still prevalent as foreign assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa.

However, reviewed literature finds that N.G.O.s have replaced O.D.A. and the S.A.P.s as the predominant foreign assistance form during this period. Interested parties will note the small correlation between N.G.O. activity beyond relief & welfare and development. Results show that N.G.O.s may have increased in density and diversity, but still offer too much in relief and welfare. One can conclude that O.D.A. still has more effect on development than N.G.O.s.

TABLE 4.6. Democratic Developmentalism Model Summary, ANOVA, & Coefficients

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	1.000^a	1.000	.	.

a. Predictors: (Constant), NGO20002010, NETODA0010, PUBGDP0010

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	11219636.750	3	3739878.917	.	. ^b
Residual	.000	0	.	.	.
Total	11219636.750	3	.	.	.

a. Dependent Variable: GDP200010

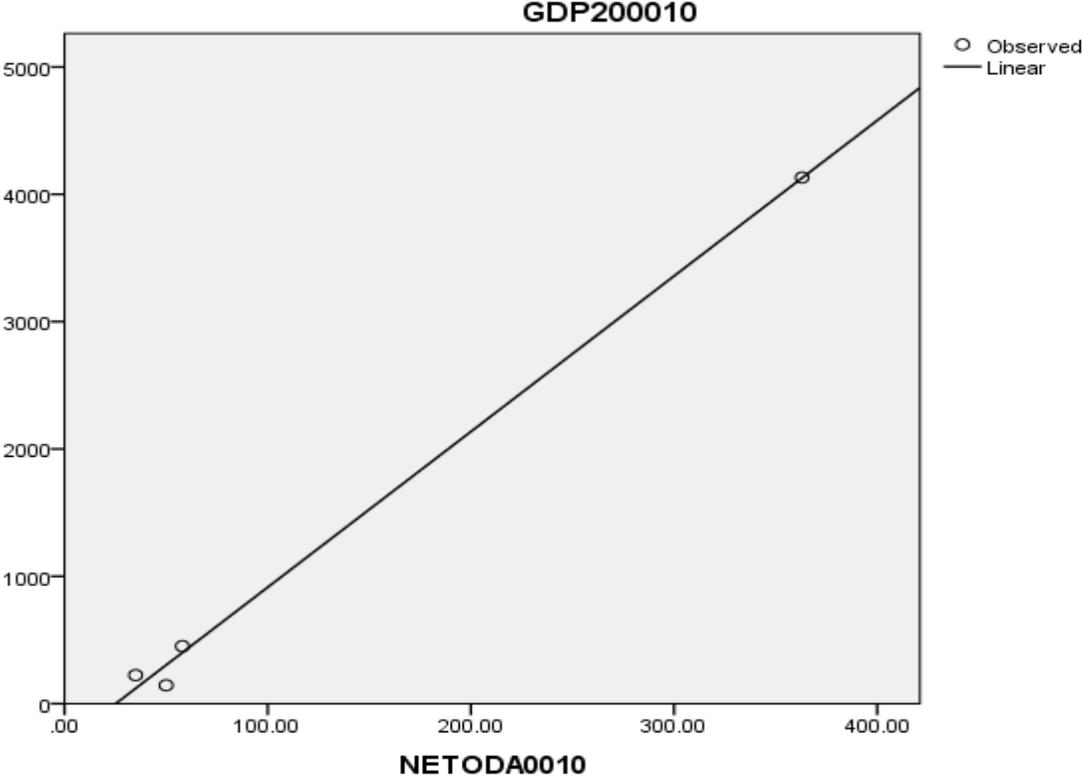
b. Predictors: (Constant), NGO20002010, NETODA0010, PUBGDP0010

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	-331.781	.000	.	.	.
NETODA0010	15.879	.000	1.297	.	.
PUBGDP0010	28.890	.000	.306	.	.
NGO20002010	27.645	.000	.029	.	.

The overall Pearson's *r* of 1 indicates a positive linear relationship between the three Foreign Assistance variables and Development. On the surface, interested parties believe from these results that any effects (positive or negative) on development come mostly from at least one of these three F.D.A. forms. First, they must recall the negative regression score from the S.A.P. variable. That indicates that the four sampled nations were going to try assistance other than the imposed S.A.P.s, because of either the latter's disastrous effects (in terms of debt accumulation and other political, social and economic problems), and no effects on G.D.P. per

capita (especially in the case of Seychelles). Second, they must note that N.G.O.s have little if any effects during democratic developmentalism, when they are supposed to be the predominant F.D.A. form. These points lead to this dissertation’s second research question about the *relevance* of foreign assistance on development. They also lead to questions about the U.N.’s influence (by its Millennium Development Goals) on Sub-Saharan Africa’s post-colonial development, through its E.C.O.S.O.C.-sanctioned N.G.O.s used as data for this dissertation.

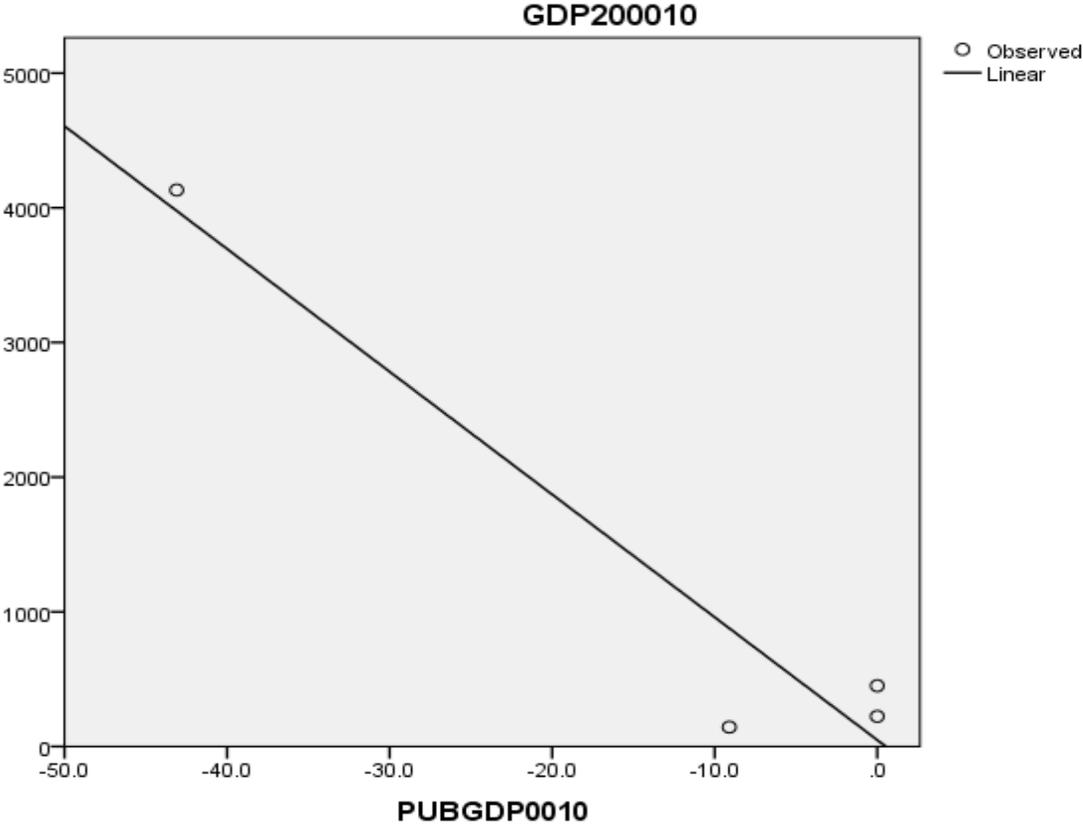
ILLUSTRATION 4.6. O.D.A.-Development during Democratic Developmentalism



The preceding graph shows that the influence of O.D.A. has lasted through the three stages of Sub-Saharan Africa’s post-colonial development. Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles, and Tanzania still receive significant O.D.A. However, the intended audience must note that the researcher uses net O.D.A. in terms of dollars per G.D.P. per capita to measure this assistance.

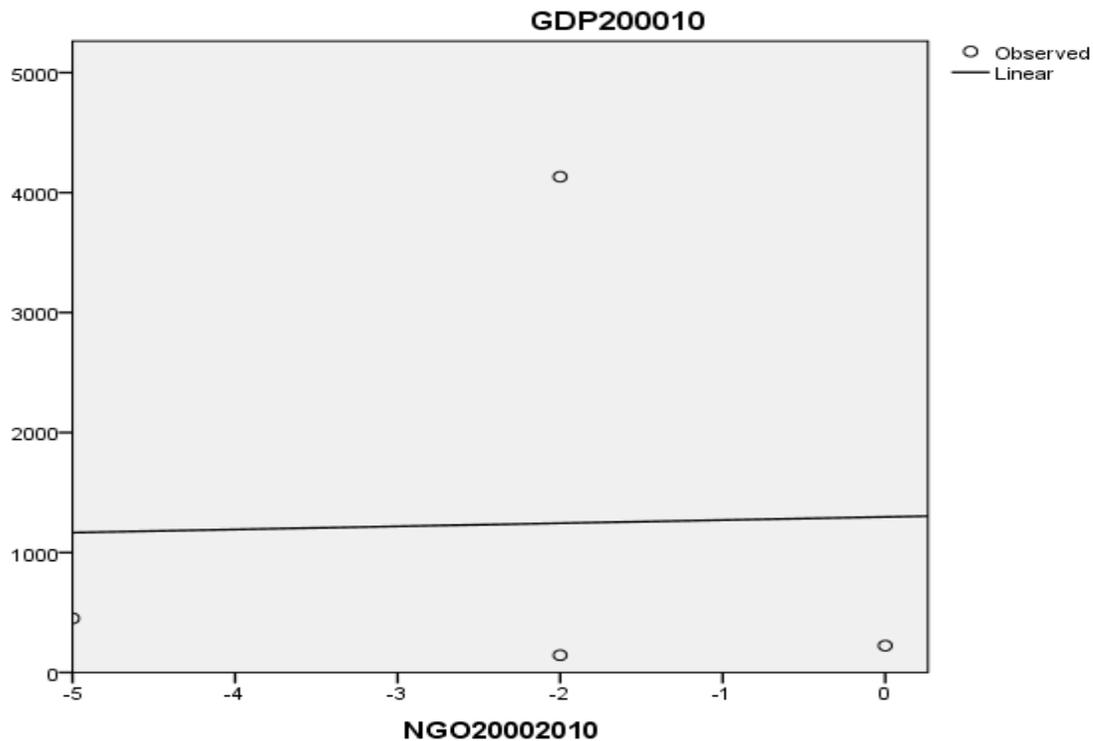
This does not take into account other forms of O.D.A., such as military assistance and the presence of foreign embassies for domestic, regional and international security purposes. Recent developments during democratic developmentalism, such as the split of Sudan into two nations in 2011 and the involvement of al-Qaeda in Mali in 2013, would encourage analysis of these and other forms of O.D.A.

ILLUSTRATION 4.7. Democratic Developmentalism Public Spending – Development



This preceding graph shows the failure of the S.A.P.s, at least in terms of public expenditure priorities. Any attempts in such priorities failed in Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Tanzania, and had little effects on Seychelles’ progress. The graph also indirectly indicates the debt accumulation assumed by these nations.

ILLUSTRATION 4.8. N.G.O.-Development during Democratic Developmentalism



The preceding graph shows that N.G.O.s have not had the effect on self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa that they are supposed to have as the new predominant F.D.A. form. If anything, it has negative effects on Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Tanzania, and little or no effects on Seychelles (at the top of the graph). These results not only support Korten's call for N.G.O.s to go beyond relief and welfare to be effective. Second, they also support findings in reviewed literature that N.G.O.s must do this to be relevant in foreign assistance to developing nations, such as those in Sub-Saharan Africa.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

For this dissertation, the discussion of the findings is based on the researcher's study of the relevance of foreign assistance (F.D.A.) in post-colonial development of Sub-Saharan Africa. The dissertation also tests the effects of such assistance based on the quantitative paradigm (Kuhn, 1962; Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Taylor, 1911). Development is defined as a process of self-sustainability, self-actualization, self-discovery, and self-reliance. The dissertation focuses on the following research questions:

1. In terms of international relations during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how do foreign assistance forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s and N.G.O.s) correlate with self-development? Do these correlations differ? Are those correlations positive, negative or mixed?
2. In terms of public administration and public policy during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how relevant is foreign assistance in affecting self-development? Are those effects very relevant, somewhat relevant, somewhat irrelevant or very irrelevant?

The mostly qualitative reviewed literature comes from international relations, political economy, in relation to Sub-Saharan Africa in its history, current state and its projected future. From these research questions, the dissertation focuses on the following hypotheses and accompanying null hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Variations in Western development assistance will make no difference in the levels of Development of Sub-Saharan African countries.

Null hypothesis 1. Variations in the quality and quantity of Western development assistance will correlate highly with changes in the levels of Development of Sub-Saharan African countries such that increasing quantities of Western development assistance will be matched by increasing levels of Development.

Hypothesis 2. Variations in the types of foreign development assistance will not make any significant changes in the overall resulting level of Development.

Null hypothesis 2. Variations in the type of foreign aid received by Sub-Saharan African countries correspond strongly with different levels of development in Sub-Saharan African countries.

To answer the research questions and test the hypotheses and null hypotheses, the dissertation samples four Sub-Saharan African countries. Those countries are Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), Seychelles, and Tanzania. These four countries have relationships with each other in the three African Free Trade zones. These countries also had ties with European colonial powers. D.R.C. and Tanzania joined other countries in the mass independence of the late 1950's/early 1960's, while Comoros and Seychelles did not achieve independence until the 1970's.

To begin this discussion among interested parties, the researcher includes the following tables and illustrations. They address the F.D.A.-Development relationship throughout Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial period. These are unlike the tables and illustrations in Chapter IV, which split the relationship into the three distinct stages of post-colonial development, all based on predominant F.D.A. forms: O.D.A. predominated during state authoritarian developmentalism. World Bank/I.M.F. structural adjustment programs (S.A.P.s) predominated during neo-liberal authoritarianism. U.N.-sanctioned non-governmental organizations (N.G.O.s) have been predominant during democratic developmentalism. Interested parties note that the results are based on how development is measured (change in G.D.P. per capita). Those results and the following are based on the definition of development as a self-sustaining, self-actualizing, self-discovering and self-reliant process.

TABLE 5.1. Sub-Saharan African Post-Colonial F.D.A.-Development Correlations

		DEVELOPMENT	ODAPERCAP	PUBSECTOR	NGODEV
DEVELOPMENT	Pearson Correlation	1	1.000**	. ^b	.303
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.	.697
	N	4	4	4	4
ODAPERCAP	Pearson Correlation	1.000**	1	. ^b	.312
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.	.688
	N	4	4	4	4
PUBSECTOR	Pearson Correlation	. ^b	. ^b	. ^b	. ^b
	Sig. (2-tailed)
	N	4	4	4	4
NGODEV	Pearson Correlation	.303	.312	. ^b	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.697	.688	.	
	N	4	4	4	4

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

b. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

The correlations show that government-to-government assistance (net O.D.A. change) has a stronger positive effect on development (G.D.P. per capita change) than N.G.O. activity beyond relief and welfare. The Pearson's *r* of 1 for net O.D.A. and .303 for N.G.O. activity both show positive effects on development. The correlations also show no effect from the one economic S.A.P. tested (Public Sector Expenditure % of G.D.P. per capita change). This supports the reviewed literature, which found no S.A.P. involvement during state authoritarian developmentalism. But this does not reflect the S.A.P.s' imposition of the public sector expenditure instrument, or the other nine S.A.P.s imposed by the World Bank and I.M.F. during neo-liberal authoritarianism and democratic developmentalism. Interested parties will see the effects of the economic structural adjustment programs in the tables and illustrations in Chapter IV.

TABLE 5.2. Post-Colonial Sub-Saharan Africa Model Summary, ANOVA, & Coefficients

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	1.000 ^a	1.000	.999	156.122

a. Predictors: (Constant), NGODEV, ODAPERCAP

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	90612360.770	2	45306180.385	1858.793	.016 ^b
	Residual	24373.980	1	24373.980		
	Total	90636734.750	3			

a. Dependent Variable: DEVELOPMENT

b. Predictors: (Constant), NGODEV, ODAPERCAP

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-1029.504	241.799		-4.258	.147
	ODAPERCAP	19.886	.342	1.003	58.103	.011
	NGODEV	-9.380	16.057	-.010	-.584	.663

a. Dependent Variable: DEVELOPMENT

The overall Pearson's *r* of 1 again indicates a positive relationship between F.D.A. and development. However, the statistical significance score is only .147. Interested parties can only be 14.7% certain that F.D.A. positively affects development. Second, interested parties should note the .011 statistical significance score for O.D.A., even with the positive B and low standardized error. Based on that score, no one can believe that O.D.A. positively affects development. Third, interested parties must note the -9.38 B for N.G.O. activity and the .663 statistical significance score. Those parties can be 66.3% certain that N.G.O. activity negatively

affects Development. Fourth, interested parties must note that the tables do not reflect the effects of the World Bank and I.M.F.-imposed S.A.P.s on Sub-Saharan Africa's development. They must review the tables and illustrations concerning neo-liberal authoritarianism (the stage where the S.A.P.s were imposed) and democratic developmentalism (the stage where S.A.P.s were still in place) to assess those effects (see Tables 4.3. to 4.6., and Illustrations 4.3. to 4.8 in Chapter IV).

In terms of the effects of N.G.O. activity on development as defined, conceptualized, measured and analyzed in this dissertation, interested parties must note the 66.3% certainty that such activity has a negative effect. That certainty does not meet the 95% threshold for statistical significance established in quantitative research methods (Schutt, 2006). However, it still may lead skeptics of N.G.O.s (Hearn, 1998, 2000, 2001 & 2007; Smillie, 1997) to further question the intent of their activity in Sub-Saharan Africa, especially as it relates to self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustainable development. In lay person's terms, are these N.G.O.s only giving people in Sub-Saharan Africa fish to feed them for a day, or do they really show or teach them how to fish so that the people can feed themselves for lifetimes to come? From the reviewed literature, interested parties assume that the increasing N.G.O. density and diversity in Sub-Saharan Africa during its post-colonial period would lead to more instruction in self-development. But as Table 5.2 and the tables and illustrations in Chapter IV show, N.G.O. density and diversity has not resulted in any progress toward such development.

Additionally, interested parties must note that the N.G.O.s sampled in this dissertation were sanctioned by the U.N. through its E.C.O.S.O.C. to get countries like Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles, and Tanzania to meet the M.D.G.s by the year 2015. None of the eight M.D.G.s were used to define, conceptualize, measure or analyze development. However, results from the

analysis in both Chapter IV and Table 5.2 above would convince interested parties that countries adopting these M.D.G.s may not meet them by the year 2015. It also may encourage them to agree with scholars questioning the M.D.G.s' conceptual validity and reliability (Deneulin and Shahani, 2009; Kabeer, 2010). Therefore, these parties must give stricter critiques as to the relevance of N.G.O.s, as well as their effectiveness and efficiency, in pushing countries closer to development (whether it is defined by the U.N., or from the multiple theories and their applications borrowed for this dissertation).

ILLUSTRATION 5.1. O.D.A.-Development for Sub-Saharan Africa Post-Colonial Period

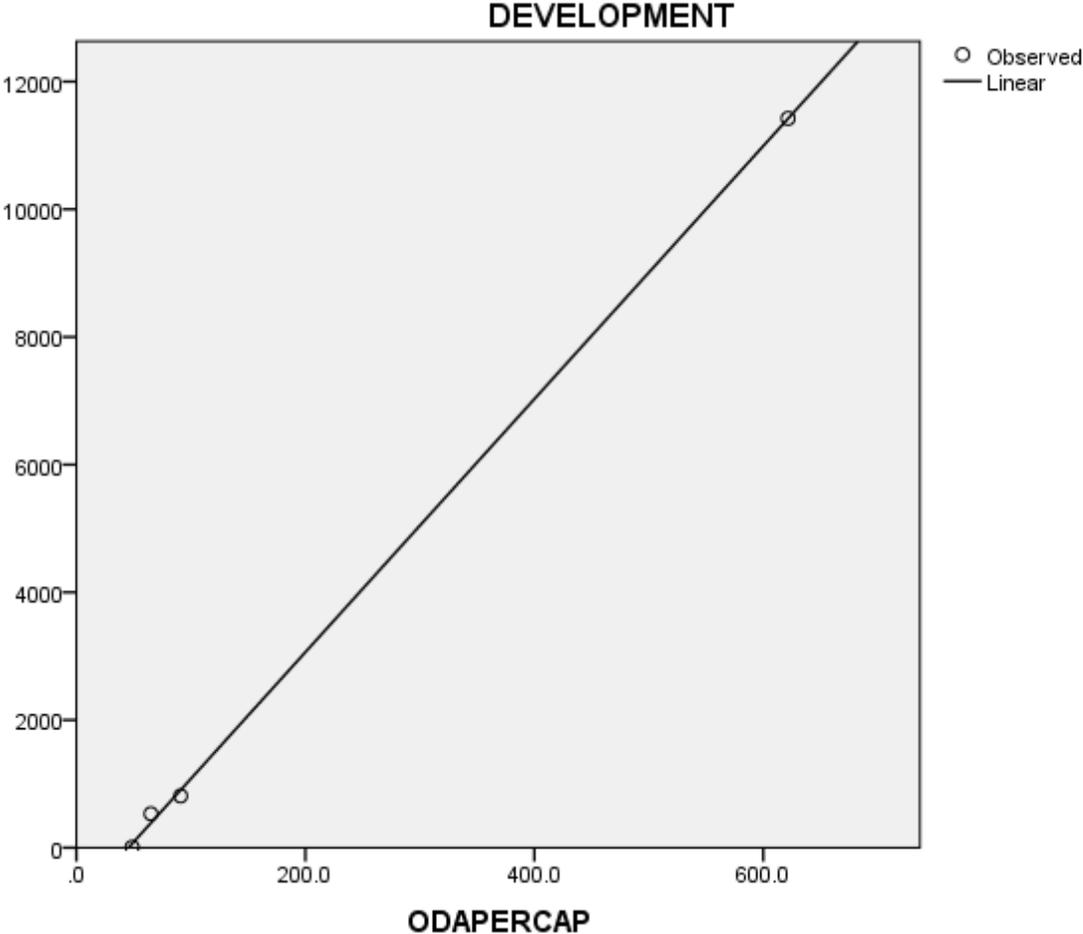


Illustration 5.1 shows that O.D.A. had more of an effect on Seychelles than Comoros, D.R.C., or Tanzania. Interested parties, particularly international relations scholars, attribute this to Seychelles' colonial ties with Great Britain and France. These colonial ties continued even after Seychelles' independence in 1976.

The other three countries did not receive much O.D.A. from France, even after Comoros declared its independence in 1976. Tanzania did not get much in O.D.A. from its other colonial partners Great Britain and Germany. The illustration also shows Tanzania's post-independence affiliations with the Afro-socialist political bloc, with its subsequent Afro-socialist economic path taken during state authoritarian developmentalism. This shows how Tanzania did not take O.D.A. under Afro-socialism's emphasis on I.S.I. over foreign investment. Illustration 5.2 shows the Afro-socialist political and Afro-Marxist economic ties that D.R.C. had after mass independence. While taking the I.S.I. approach economically, it received O.D.A. in terms of military and diplomatic assistance from the former U.S.S.R. and other Communist nations.

From Illustration 5.1, interested parties might believe that increased O.D.A. leads to increased development. But the 1.1% certainty found in Table 5.2 leads those parties to be very skeptical as to this correlation. Second, the parties must again note the definition of development as a self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustainable process. Third, they must note the use of change in G.D.P. as the measure for this process. This leads interested parties to become highly critical of O.D.A.'s effects. International relations scholars quickly argue that O.D.A. involvement has more to do with the desires of O.D.A. donors to maintain hegemonic stability. This mostly applies to the Cold War during the state authoritarian developmentalism and neo-liberal authoritarianism stages, and arguably now during the war on terrorism during the democratic developmentalism stage (Waltz, 1979).

From Illustration 5.1, interested parties are reminded of President Obama's summer 2013 pledge for billions of dollars of O.D.A. to Africa, to help the continent become more technologically advanced (U.S. Embassy in London, 2013; The White House, 2013). But questions about O.D.A.'s effectiveness during post-colonialism would lead to questions as to whether Obama's pledged O.D.A. is relevant to African masses' needs and desires. Second, interested parties are reminded of the direct and indirect roles of U.S.A.I.D., such as operation of its Higher Education Solutions Network (Goldsmith, 2000; Smuckler, 2003; U.S.A.I.D., 2002 & 2006). They are also reminded of the direct and indirect roles of American government agencies such as U.S.D.A. in O.D.A. involvement (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989). Together, the continued presence of O.D.A. signals a continued push for economic neo-liberalism (Gide, 1898; Harvey, 2005; Hayek, 1944, Lippmann, 1937; Orjiako, 2001). Results from this research support the arguments by O.D.A. opponents that O.D.A. donors are pushing their own agendas, not necessarily those of the masses of people in countries like Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles and Tanzania.

When expanding discussion of O.D.A.'s relevance beyond that of the U.S., interested parties must consider O.D.A. donations by European superpowers to leaders in Comoros, Seychelles, and Tanzania. History of Sub-Saharan Africa's mass independence shows that Comoros and Seychelles which did not declare or win independence until neo-liberal authoritarianism, while Tanzania had won independence, but took O.D.A. after the failures of Afro-Socialist I.S.I. Second, they must consider O.D.A. donations made by the former U.S.S.R. and other Communist/Marxist nations to leaders taking their countries on the Afro-Marxist path during state authoritarian developmentalism (such as D.R.C.). As was the case with the U.S., the research's results support arguments that capitalist and Communist superpowers only sought to

use these nations as pawns in the Cold War. International relations scholars and practitioners will use these results to justify their conclusions of Communism and Marxism's failures in trying to replace capitalism, not correct it (Lenin, 1964; Marx 1848).

ILLUSTRATION 5.2. N.G.O.-Development for Sub-Saharan Africa Post-Colonial Period

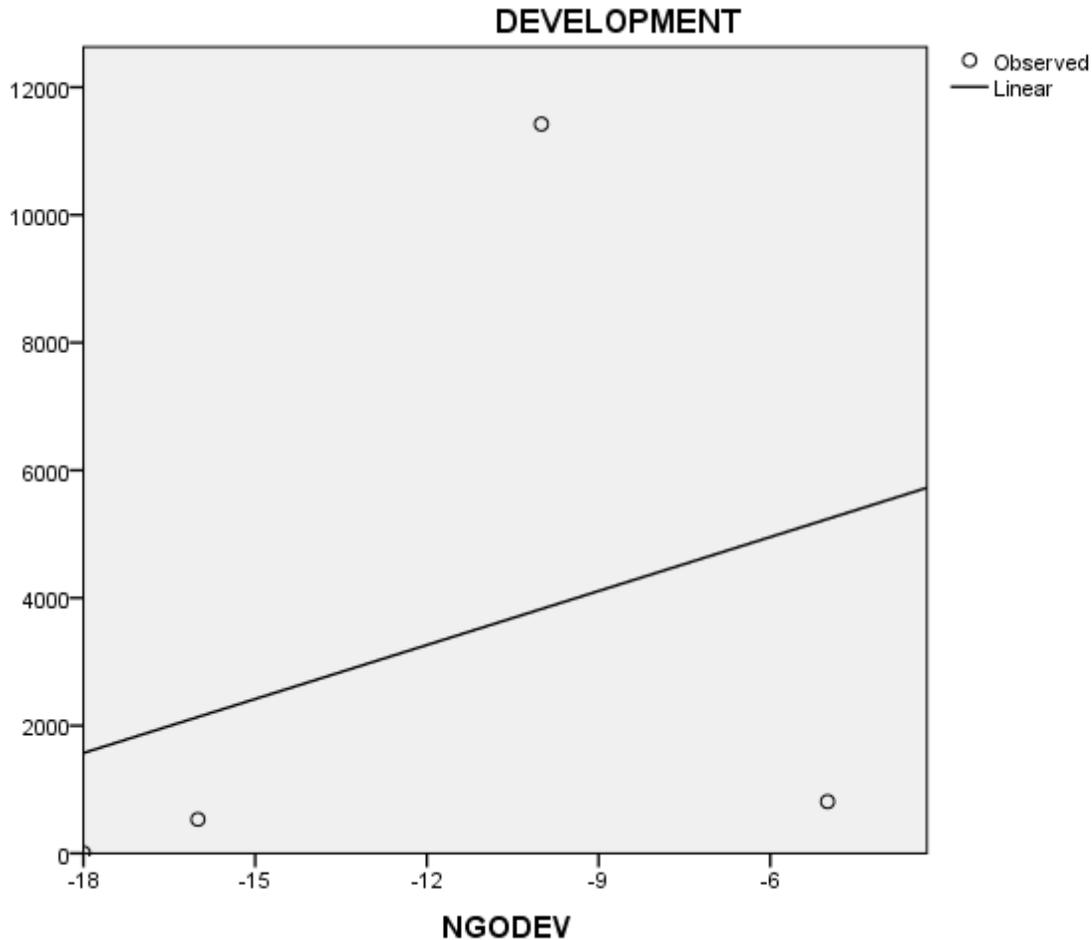


Illustration 5.2 shows the shifts of N.G.O. Activity toward basic relief and welfare throughout post-colonialism in Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles and Tanzania. Such activity shifted despite a) N.G.O. communities' increase in density and diversity and b) increased U.N. involvement in these communities in pushing the eight M.D.G.s. From this illustration, interested parties note the high score on Development for Seychelles. This shows that N.G.O.

Activity was less effective in that country than the O.D.A. from France and Great Britain in bringing development to Seychelles. When combined with the 66.3% certainty that N.G.O.s have a negative effect on Sub-Saharan African self-development (see Table 5.2 above), the research's results again support the arguments of N.G.O.s' skeptics that N.G.O.s are ineffective beyond relief and welfare (Hearn, 2007; Smillie, 1997). The results also support Korten's insistence that N.G.O.s either shift to both local small-scale and national large-scale development or add those to relief and welfare in order to be effective. Such insistence leads interested parties to question the relevance of N.G.O.s in getting Sub-Saharan Africa closer to self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustaining development.

Answering the Hypotheses and Null Hypotheses

With the research's results, displayed in the tables and illustrations in both this chapter and Chapter IV, the following hypotheses and null hypotheses can be answered:

Hypothesis 1. Variations in Western development assistance will make no difference in the levels of Development of Sub-Saharan African countries. FALSE.

Null hypothesis 2. Variations in the quality and quantity of Western development assistance will correlate highly with changes in the levels of development of Sub-Saharan African countries such that increasing quantities of Western development assistance will be matched by increasing levels of development. INCONCLUSIVE. Based on the low certainty (1.1%) from the analysis, the research's results may not convince interested parties that increasing quantities of O.D.A. would match increasing levels of development. Second, because the 66.3% certainty from the analysis on N.G.O. activity went under the 95% threshold established in quantitative research methodology, some interested parties adhering to the quantitative paradigm (Kuhn, 1962, Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, Schutt,

2006; Taylor, 1911) may not be convinced that increasing activity of N.G.O.s is matched by decreased levels of development. However, other interested parties adhering to the qualitative paradigm may be convinced that increased N.G.O. activity resulted in decreased levels of development because they would not go beyond relief and welfare. Third, the reversing results from neo-liberal authoritarianism (Tables 4.3 and 4.4; Illustrations 4.3 to 4.5) to democratic developmentalism (Tables 4.5 and 4.6; Illustrations 4.6 to 4.8) show the disastrous effects of the Public Spending % economic structural adjustment since their imposition, as found in reviewed literature. Yet interested parties must note that the other nine S.A.P.s were not included in this research. Therefore, they cannot be convinced from these results as to the full effects on levels of Development in contrast to O.D.A. or N.G.O. activity.

Hypothesis 2. Variations in the types of foreign development assistance will not make any significant changes in the overall resulting level of Development. FALSE.

Null hypothesis 2. Variations in the type of foreign aid received by Sub-Saharan African countries correspond strongly with different levels of development in Sub-Saharan African countries. INCONCLUSIVE. The results shown in the tables and illustrations in this chapter show that O.D.A. corresponded with different levels of development in contrast to N.G.O. activity. However, the different certainty levels (1.1% for the O.D.A.-development relationship in contrast to 66.3% for the N.G.O.-development relationship) would not convince interested parties of these differences. Second, the reversing results from the Public Spending S.A.P. shown in Chapter IV only show that the levels of development changed only from the continued imposition of that structural adjustment from state authoritarian developmentalism through democratic developmentalism. But, combined with the various degrees of certainty between O.D.A. and N.G.O. activity, the lack of inclusion of the other nine S.A.P.s may not be enough to

convince at least some interested parties that S.A.P.s bring different levels of development than O.D.A. or N.G.O.s.

Answering the Research Questions

With the research's results, displayed in the tables and illustrations in both this chapter and Chapter IV, the following research questions can be answered:

1. In terms of international relations during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how do foreign assistance forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s and N.G.O.s) correlate with self-development? Do the correlations differ? Are those correlations positive, negative or mixed? Based on the results of this research, the answer is that the correlations are *mixed*. From the broader picture, as shown in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 and Illustrations 5.1 and 5.2, interested parties would think that the results are positive. But a closer look shows an incomplete picture. First, the results do not show the effects of any economic structural adjustments, imposed by the World Bank and I.M.F. beginning with neo-liberal authoritarianism, which reviewed literature shows to have strong negative effects. Second, interested parties can be less certain about O.D.A.'s effects. Third, they can be more certain of the effects of N.G.O. activity, but that may depend more on what paradigm or worldview that any interested parties have on foreign aid's relationship with development (Kuhn, 1962). In terms of the separate stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development (as shown in Chapter IV), the results show that the correlations are mixed, at least on the surface. First, increased O.D.A. is shown to correlate to increased development during all three stages. But the low certainty (1.1%) would make interested parties become very skeptical of this correlation. Second, levels of N.G.O. activity beyond relief and welfare went up during state authoritarian developmentalism. The

levels then went down during neo-liberal authoritarianism. They then went slightly up when the U.N. became more involved with N.G.O.s by implementation of its M.D.G.s during democratic developmentalism. The 66.3% certainty may convince some interested parties of N.G.O. effects on development. Third, Public Spending S.A.P. levels went up on the surface (thanks to its imposition) during neo-liberal Authoritarianism. But those levels went down during democratic developmentalism (despite its continued imposition). But again, the other nine economic structural adjustments were not included in this research. Therefore, interested parties cannot see the predicted negative effects of the S.A.P.s as a whole, based on their understanding of reviewed literature (Willett, 2001; Williamson, 1990 & 2000; World Tuesday, 2010).

2. In terms of public administration and public policy during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how relevant is foreign assistance in affecting self-development? Are those effects very relevant, somewhat relevant, somewhat irrelevant or very irrelevant? Even with their limitations, imperfections and lack of at least 95% certainty, the results lead to the conclusion that foreign assistance is at least *somewhat irrelevant* in bringing self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustainable development to Sub-Saharan Africa. Interested parties must consider that this research was done from the “jaundiced eye” perspective from objective science required from the general quantitative paradigm. With that paradigm comes its subsequent critical realism ontology, modified dualist/objectivist epistemology, post-positivist school of thought, quasi-experimental methodology, quasi-experiment strategy, and time series design (Kuhn, 1962, Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Schutt, 2006; Taylor, 1911). The research was not done based on positions for or against foreign assistance taken by

scholars and practitioners in the qualitative, advocacy-oriented reviewed literature. Yet the results seem to favor those insisting that Sub-Saharan African nations do away with foreign assistance (Orjiako, 2001). At best, they would call for leaders of these nations to be very strict in setting certain guidelines for accepting any foreign assistance. But interested parties must also refer to reviewed literature's findings concerning the countries whose leaders adopted the Afro-socialist path during state authoritarian developmentalism and accepted no foreign assistance, instead relying on their own for development through import substitution industrialization (I.S.I.). Those countries did not make enough progress to stay completely away from foreign aid. But interested parties must note that the process toward self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustaining development began with state authoritarian developmentalism, even for the Afro-socialist path nations. Finally, results of this research must make interested parties question the motives of F.D.A. providers (O.D.A. donor nations, World Bank/I.M.F. through imposed S.A.P.s, and N.G.O.s like the U.N.-sanctioned ones analyzed for this research). The results show that these providers all have motives not necessarily in line with the masses in Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles, Tanzania, and other African countries. Such is why it is best to conclude that foreign assistance is at least *somewhat irrelevant*.

So What?

Interested parties note that this dissertation's research was based on the quantitative paradigm, not the qualitative paradigm predominant in reviewed literature (Kuhn, 1962; Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Schutt, 2006; Taylor, 1911). The research's results show an incomplete picture of the F.D.A.-development relationship, as should be expected from

research done based on the quantitative critical realism ontology (Layder, 1993; Sayer, 1992). But the research's results support qualitative arguments made by critics of F.D.A. for Sub-Saharan Africa about its negative aftereffects throughout the subcontinent's post-colonial period. The results justify the arguments of those like Orjiako (2001), Pan-Africanists like DuBois, and Garvey, and Afrocentrists like Asante, Dascal, Diop, Hotep and Keto that F.D.A. has crippled the Sub-Saharan subcontinent, if not Africa as a whole, in all political, social, economic, and cultural aspects.

In their opinions, F.D.A. has kept Sub-Saharan African economies in a “vicious cycle of poverty” (Myrdal, 1957; P.T. Bauer, 1965), and in no way has moved them closer to entering a “virtuous cycle of prosperity” (Hanson, 2000; Marx, 1867). First, F.D.A. has kept Africa subordinate to the rest of the world. Second, F.D.A. has maintained the climate and mindset of dependency (Orjiako, 2001). Third, F.D.A. has put Africa further in debt crises carried over from the oil crisis of the 1970's (Willett, 2001; World Tuesday, 2010). Fourth, F.D.A. has made it more difficult for Africa to actualize, sustain, discover and rely on itself. Fifth, interested parties cannot be certain that foreign assistance (at least in the forms studied for this dissertation) would help the masses of Sub-Saharan Africa learn to fish, farm and work for themselves, so that they can feed themselves for lifetimes and generations to come. Throughout Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial period, foreign assistance has not made significant differences, no matter the type, quantity or quality. More than likely, foreign assistance is only giving these masses just enough to get by.

Expected contributions to scholarship and practice

In addition to applying the quantitative paradigm in analyzing the F.D.A.-Development relationship, this dissertation contributes to international relations, international political

economy, and public policy literature in several ways. First, it addresses the relevance of F.D.A. in self-development. Second, it quantifies development based on perspectives of population masses in developing nations, rather than from those of elites from or outside those nations. Such is why development is defined as self-actualization, self-reliance, self-discovery, and self-sustainability. Third, it combines foreign assistance forms and evaluates them both against each other and in correlation to self-development. Fourth, it addresses questions as to the validity and reliability of G.D.P. as a sole measure for development. Therefore, it calls into question the traditional definition of development as economic growth and insufficient foreign assistance. Fifth, it tests David Korten's three distinctions or orientations for N.G.O.s from the quantitative paradigm. This is in contrast to reviewed literature, which only supports or critiques Korten from the qualitative paradigm.

In terms of foreign assistance's relevance, this research's results lead interested parties to pose these and other questions. First, are O.D.A. donors only interested in maintaining hegemonic stability in Africa, especially with the concerns about terrorism in nations like Mali? Second, are the World Bank and I.M.F. only interested in making sure that Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles and Tanzania and other African countries pay their debts (Willett, 2001)? Third, do the desires of both O.D.A. donors and World Bank/I.M.F. reflect continued advocacy for economic neo-liberalism (Gide, 1898; Harvey, 2005; Hayek, 1944, Lippmann, 1937; Orjiako, 2001)? Fourth, are N.G.O.s only interested in meeting the desires of their donors, supporters and administrators? Fifth, is the U.N., who sanctions certain N.G.O.s to get countries to meet its M.D.G.s by the year 2015, only interested in keeping its liberalist influence in the world?

Results from this dissertation's research serve to support the arguments of F.D.A. opponents that foreign aid is becoming more irrelevant in bringing Sub-Saharan Africa any

closer to development. It makes no difference whether that development is defined by neo-classicists like Adam Smith, dependency theorists like Frank, Prebisch, and Wallerstein, or the multiple theories and applications borrowed in this dissertation in defining development as a self-actualizing, self-reliant, self-discovering and self-sustaining process. First, developmentalism and statism, which define the three distinct stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development, are still in the hands of the elites instead of the masses (Ake, 1976, Bates, 1983). Second, the masses in Sub-Saharan Africa are no closer to participatory development advocated by Afro-Marxists (Marx, 1848). Third, countries like Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles, and Tanzania are still undeveloped or underdeveloped peripheries or semi-peripheries within a worldwide capitalist system. Countries that are O.D.A. donors, supporters of the World Bank and I.M.F., and/or are headquarters for many active N.G.O.s. still form the core of that system (Frank, 1966; Prebisch, 1959; Wallerstein, 1974). Fourth, political economists cannot be certain from the research's results whether any Sub-Saharan African country is closer to any partnerships between the public and private sectors (Gadzey, 1992). Fifth, classical economists will notice the same inverse order of development seen by Adam Smith (1776). Again, the incomplete picture from the research's results show enough for interested parties to conclude that Sub-Saharan Africa is no closer to development that is self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustaining that it was in the late 1950s.

In further consideration of quantification, this dissertation seeks to quantify this development process as to whether the process benefits the masses, as called for by the Belmont Report (1978). This poses the issue of whether both the concept and measure used for development fit the definition borrowed from the multiple theories and applications for this dissertation. Interested parties can strictly critique whether the quantitative economic growth and

insufficient foreign aid concept borrowed from the modernization theory (Rostow, 1960) fits the definition of development as a self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustaining process. A similarly strong critique of fit applies to the change in G.D.P. growth measure borrowed from traditional economics.

The question of fit raises the issue of the validity and reliability of the modernization concept and the traditional G.D.P. growth measure. First, the research's results show that foreign aid cannot be completely tied to any economic growth, at least in Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles, and Tanzania. Interested parties recall the only 1.1% certainty on any positive effects that government-to-government O.D.A. had on development. They also recall the drastic changes brought by continued imposition of the S.A.P.s from neo-liberal authoritarianism to democratic developmentalism (Chapter IV, Tables 4.3-4.6; Illustrations 4.4-4.8). Third, they recall N.G.O.s' up and down effects during Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonialism period.

Second, the change in G.D.P. growth measure for development in post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa does not explain what a country in the subcontinent does with its G.D.P. Reviewed literature indicates that G.D.P. could be used in various ways – to maintain or increase elite power (as was the case during state authoritarian developmentalism), to pay off debts (starting with neo-liberal authoritarianism), or to justify other outside involvement. In analyzing the results of the S.A.P.s, World Tuesday (2010) found that N.G.O.s. funded by international agencies took over some government functions (particularly the social sector), citing Uganda as an example. Additionally, the G.D.P. growth change measure for development does not explain where a country's G.D.P. comes from. For example, World Tuesday (2010) found that two-thirds of Mozambique's G.D.P. comes from foreign assistance. That explains why that country has struggled to gain self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant, self-sustaining development.

In evaluation of foreign assistance (F.D.A.) in various forms against each other, the research's results again show an incomplete picture. On the surface, O.D.A. would more than likely result in increased development than economic structural adjustment programs (S.A.P.s) or the activity of U.N.-sanctioned N.G.O.s. But the low certainty (reflected in the .011 statistical significance score in Table 5.2) cannot convince interested parties that these comparisons are accurate. Second, the 66.3% certainty on N.G.O.'s mixed effects may not convince advocates of N.G.O.s like Korten, or those of the quantitative paradigm of such effects. But they may still convince critics of N.G.O.s like Hearn that they do not meet the needs of the Sub-Saharan African masses that they are supposed to help, especially toward self-development. Third, this research uses the quantitative paradigm to show the S.A.P.s' negative effects on development, which support the qualitative reviewed literature critiquing the S.A.P.s (Willett, 2001; Williamson, 1990 & 2000; World Tuesday, 2010). Fourth, interested parties should notice from Table 5.2 the .147 statistical significance score of the comparisons of the three F.D.A. forms under study. The 14.7% certainty increases doubts in the minds of interested parties as to which of these forms are more effective or efficient in affecting development. That low again raises the question of foreign assistance's relevance that this dissertation introduces to scholarship and practice.

Finally, this dissertation specifically tested Korten's three distinctions or orientations for N.G.O.s from the quantitative paradigm. The test included analysis of his arguments that only N.G.O.s that do more than relief and welfare will bring any developing country closer to self-development. As noted in Chapter IV, the researcher converted the historical and longitudinal data for the N.G.O. independent variable into numerical data. The researcher then used both thematic and human coding in order to distinguish and then calculate the percentage of U.N.-

sanctioned N.G.O.s that went beyond relief and welfare to use for the interval measurement (Flick, 2006; Schutt, 2006).

Such conversions and coding strategies open up critiques from interested parties on whether those conversions and coding strategies make the interval measurements for the N.G.O. Activity variable more valid and reliable. This goes back to the qualitative definitions for N.G.O.s used by Korten and other scholars like Ghimire. But the research's results show the weaknesses of those definitions because of their qualitative nature. The 66.3% certainty from the quantitative research leaves the issue of N.G.O. relevance and effectiveness up for more debate among interested parties. But the results must lead to stricter, more quantitative critiques of Korten's arguments in favor of small scale or large scale development N.G.O.s over relief and welfare N.G.O.s. Finally, uses, collection, measurement and analysis of data of N.G.O.s sanctioned by the U.N. through E.C.O.S.O.C. must also lead to critiques on two points. First, interested parties will question whether countries can meet any of the U.N.'s M.D.G.s by 2015. Second, and perhaps most importantly, this research's results may further spark debate on the U.N.'s relevance in international relations through its F.D.A. involvement through its sanctioning of N.G.O.s.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Restatement of the Research Questions

This dissertation has sought to explore the relationship between foreign assistance (F.D.A.) and Development during Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial period (1960 to 2010). This relationship is established from the modernization theory of development for developing countries. The theory emphasizes that foreign assistance would help enable countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and other developed areas to overcome poverty (Rostow, c1960). Reviewed literature shows that Africa's greatest challenge from its mass independence period of the late 1950's and early 1960's was to overcome poverty.

From reviewed literature, the researcher has identified three forms of F.D.A. that predominated between 1960 and 2010. Those three are government-to-government Official Development Assistance (O.D.A.), economic structural adjustment programs imposed by the World Bank and I.M.F. (S.A.P.s), and non-governmental organizations (N.G.O.s) sanctioned by the U.N. through E.C.O.S.O.C. to assist countries in achieving the eight Millennium Development Goals (M.D.G.s) by the year 2015. Second, the researcher has used as a definition for Development a process of self-actualization, self-discovery, self-reliance and self-sustainability. The definition is based on multiple theories of development and their applications as found in reviewed literature. Those theories are the Pan-African and Afro-socialist philosophies, which call for complete independence by and for Africans from influences outside Africa, b) Afro-socialism's emphasis on developmentalism and statism, c) Afro-Marxism's emphasis on participatory development, d) neo-Marxist, imperialist and world system paradigms

of development in undeveloped or underdeveloped countries, and the “positive capitalist state” political economy model (Gadzey, 1992).

The dissertation has focused on these research questions:

7. In terms of international relations during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how do foreign assistance forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s and N.G.O.s) correlate with self-development? Do those correlations differ? Are those correlations positive, negative or mixed? From the research’s findings, foreign assistance has mixed effects in Sub-Saharan Africa’s development.
8. In terms of public administration and public policy during post-colonial self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa, how relevant is foreign assistance in affecting self-development? Are those effects very relevant, somewhat relevant, somewhat irrelevant or very irrelevant? From the research’s findings, foreign assistance is somewhat irrelevant to self-development in Sub-Saharan Africa’s development.

Review of Dissertation Organization

The research has focused on two particular issues. First, it sought to explore the relevance of foreign assistance (F.D.A.) in Sub-Saharan Africa, as to whether or not foreigners could bring self-development to other countries through this assistance. Second, it sought to explore the efficiency or effectiveness of F.D.A. on Sub-Saharan African post-colonial development. The research has explored the F.D.A.-development relationship over the aforementioned 50-year period, split into the three stages of post-colonialism identified in political economy literature. Those three stages are state authoritarian developmentalism (1960-c1973), neo-liberal authoritarianism (c1973-2000), and Democratic Developmentalism (2000-2010, for this research’s purposes) (Ake, 1976, Bates, 1983). To illustrate the two issues, the research has used the Sub-Saharan African nations of Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), Seychelles, and Tanzania as examples.

In terms of the relationship under study, the dissertation has identified development as the dependent variable. It has used the concept of economic growth based on both traditional

economics and modernization theory. It has used the change in gross domestic product (G.D.P.) growth to measure development, also based on traditional economics (e.g., I.M.F., World Bank). The research has evaluated the variable via each of the three Sub-Saharan Africa post-colonial stages.

The dissertation has also used the three distinct foreign assistance (F.D.A.) forms as the independent variables. It has used the concepts of O.D.A. (Dudley and Montmarquette), S.A.P.s (Williamson, 1990 & 2000) and N.G.O.s (Korten, 1980 & 1987); all three involve a donor-to-recipient process. It has used the change in net O.D.A. per capita, change in the percentage of Public Spending S.A.P., and change in percentage of N.G.O.s going beyond relief and welfare to measure foreign assistance's effects. The research has evaluated the independent variables via each of the three Sub-Saharan Africa post-colonial developmental stages.

For its research, this dissertation has been based on mostly qualitative reviewed literature. The question of F.D.A.'s relevance in Sub-Saharan African development is based in part on the understanding of a common theme found in reviewed literature – who controls development. This theme dictates the advocacy taken on either side as to the effectiveness, efficiency and continued reliance on foreign assistance and its aftereffects. It also dictates how development is defined. Finally, it dictates who benefits from development – the elites from both in and out of Sub-Saharan African countries, or the masses of people in those countries.

The dissertation has based its research on the general quantitative paradigm to make the research as objective as possible (Kuhn, 1962; Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Schutt, 2006; Taylor, 1911). This is unlike the reviewed literature, which offers arguments and presents qualitative and quantitative data to back up those arguments without using quantitative research. From the paradigm, the dissertation has based its research on the critical realism

ontology, the modified dualist/objectivist epistemology, the post-positivity school of thought which teaches that objectivity matters, and the modified experimental or quasi-experimental methodology.

From these breakdowns, the dissertation's research has used the time series design to analyze the Foreign Assistance-Development relationship in a nomothetic causal explanation (Schutt, 2006). The design has enabled the research to break down the relationship into the three aforementioned stages of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial period, and to then present a broader picture of that relationship over the over-50-year general period under study. The researcher has used Sub-Saharan African nations Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo (D.R.C.), Seychelles, and Tanzania, and the three major F.D.A. forms (O.D.A., S.A.P.s and N.G.O.s) with activity in these nations as group level units of analysis to test any empirical associations. It has used contemporary events to answer "how" questions concerning the F.D.A.-Development relationship.

In terms of sampling, the dissertation has used the probability stratified random strategy for the four countries and for O.D.A. and S.A.P. evaluation, and non-probability purposive and multistage cluster strategies for the N.G.O. activity variable (Schutt, 2006). The research has selected the Africa continental and Sub-Saharan sub-continental frames, and the African Free Trade Zone regional sub-frames to identify Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles, and Tanzania. It also has based the selection on political associations with each other during post-colonialism (Walters, 1997), ties with former colonial powers, and development paths taken during state authoritarian developmentalism – capitalist, Afro-Marxist and Afro-socialist (Lenin, 1964; Marx, 1867; Nkrumah, 1957, 1971 & 1973). For the analyzed N.G.O.s, it has used the frame of listings from U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. (2010).

The research has collected secondary historical, longitudinal and cross-national data from a triangulation of documents and archival records (Yin, 2009), and numerical data from the World Bank, I.M.F., and O.E.C.D. It has used content analysis to convert the historical, longitudinal and cross-national data into numerical data in order to use interval measures for the development dependent variables and the three foreign assistance independent variables (Babbie, 2004; Schutt, 2006). It has used thematic coding to test the hypotheses and null hypotheses, and human coding to construct the N.G.O. Activity categories (Flick, 2006; Korten, 1987; Schutt, 2006). The research has used statistical regression analysis, with analytic induction to identify all variables (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Schutt, 2006).

Research's Relevance

The dissertation's research is relevant for two reasons. First, it has been done from the quantitative paradigm perspective. This paradigm has enabled the researcher to conduct his research without injection of any personal bias, using the objective scientific approach. This research is unlike the reviewed literature, in which scholars and practitioners inject bias based on smaller paradigms identified in the literature. These scholars and practitioners view the F.D.A.-Development relationship based on their views of Africa and the developing world. Western parties like Kipling view Africa negatively as primitive, uncivilized and in need of help, while Pan Africanists like DuBois and Afro-socialists like Nkrumah view the world outside Africa as intrusive and domineering. In the middle are the Afrocentrists, like Diop and Keto who view Africa as not independent enough, but do not suggest that the continent completely cut itself off from the rest of the world.

Second, this research is relevant in that it addresses the issue of foreign assistance's relevance to Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as its efficiency and effectiveness. This relevance is

taken from the perspective of what the masses of Sub-Saharan Africa need and desire, not necessarily the wishes and aspirations of foreign assistance donors. This relevance addresses the issue of satisfying the welfare of the general public of Sub-Saharan Africa, not the ideals of select elites and outsiders from in and outside Africa, such as the U.S., Great Britain, China, or the former Soviet Union (Belmont Report, 1978). The relevance also address the issue as to whether the general public in Comoros, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Seychelles, and Tanzania or any other Sub-Saharan Africa country can feed, farm, fish, work, play and do for themselves so that it can thrive for lifetimes and generations to come.

Despite the questions about F.D.A.'s relevance and effectiveness addressed in this dissertation, leaders of countries in both Africa and its Sub-Saharan sub-continent continue to depend on such assistance (Orjiako, 2011). Foreign assistance donors still insist on providing the assistance (Manuel, 2003; Sodhi et al, 2011; U.N. and U.N. Development Group, 2010; U.S.A.I.D., 2002 & 2006; U.S. Embassy, 2013; White House Office of the Press Secretary, 2013). Quantitatively, foreign assistance is shown to have resulted in trade imbalances between developing countries and developed countries (*Ebony*, 2007; I.M.F., 2009). Qualitatively, foreign assistance is shown to create a dependency mindset among both the masses of Sub-Saharan African countries and their leaders. The research's findings support these truths, but only to the point of continuing debates about F.D.A.'s role in Sub-Saharan African self-development.

Directions for Future Research

With understanding of this dissertation's research, some interested parties interpret its contributions to scholarship and practice in terms of Amitai Etzioni's New Economics socio-economics paradigm (1988). In terms of development, it combines the private market with the

public square. In terms of public administration, it combines costs and benefits with preferences. In terms of public policy, it combines Public Choice with its intangible benefits and consequences. In terms of political economy in Africa (e.g., Ake, Bates), Etzioni's New Economics is closer to Gadzey's "positive capitalist state" model (1992). In terms of the role and relevance of foreign assistance (F.D.A.) in international relations, it combines the costs and benefits of its recipients with those of its donors, administrators and supporters (Etzioni, 2004). In terms of Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial period, it is closer to the Afrocentrist paradigm.

Etzioni seeks to fuse the qualitative and quantitative in both general terms (Kuhn, 1962; Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008), and in more specific terms of neoclassical economics (Adam Smith, 1776) and social sciences (Etzioni, 1988). In its desired contributions, this dissertation has aspired to follow Etzioni's fusion. First, it has taken a qualitative definition for development (self-actualization, self-discovery, self-reliance and self-sustainability), and has used the quantitative paradigm to analyze the relationship with and relevance of foreign assistance in post-colonial Sub-Saharan African development. With that definition, it has used quantitative concepts, variables and measures (economic growth with insufficient foreign aid measured by change in G.D.P. growth) in the analysis. Second, this dissertation has taken the general forms of foreign assistance identified in reviewed literature (O.D.A., economic S.A.P.s, and N.G.O.s) and has used quantitative concepts, variables and measures (change in net O.D.A. per capita, change in Public Spending Percentage S.A.P., and change in percentage of N.G.O.s beyond relief and welfare) to analyze the F.D.A. forms.

Unlike Etzioni, many interested parties prefer a dichotomy of the qualitative from the quantitative paradigms, and their defined breakdowns (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008), instead of a fusion or triangulation of smaller paradigms and their breakdowns (Flick,

2006). In terms of post-colonial Africa and its Sub-Saharan subcontinent, they favor separating the Westernized paradigm from the Pan-African and Afro-socialist paradigms, and reject the Afrocentrist paradigm. Those interested in future research on the relevance of foreign assistance in its relationship to development in countries like Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles, and Tanzania and areas like Sub-Saharan Africa must take this into consideration. They must decide whether to follow either the traditional qualitative-quantitative dichotomy and choose between the two, or a fusion or triangulation similar to Etzioni's New Economics.

In any case, future researchers can use Etzioni's New Economics paradigm to evaluate the relevance of foreign assistance forms, together or separately. First, Etzioni cites the role of U.S.A.I.D. in advocating capitalism through O.D.A. instead of service learning. Second, Etzioni cites the role of the I.M.F. and World Bank in pushing for market mentality instead of community concerns; he uses as an example their efforts along with some N.G.O.s to push construction of dam projects in India, despite opposition from the population masses. Third, he notes the roles of N.G.O.s as advocates for transnational values and norms, which may differ from those of the countries that they are active in. Fourth, he critiques the U.N. for rubberstamping actions taken by superpowers, some of which have an adversarial relationship with the U.N. (like the U.S.) (Etzioni, 2004). For future research, interested parties can evaluate foreign assistance's relevance in bringing self-actualizing, self-discovering, self-reliant and self-sustaining development to Sub-Saharan Africa.

For General Future Research

Interested parties who seek to further or follow up on this research should consider analyzing other nations in Africa (both North and Sub-Saharan) besides Comoros, D.R.C., Seychelles and Tanzania. For example, in noting the effects of O.D.A. from 1980 to 1995,

Orjiako (2001) listed Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. Future researchers can choose these countries as a whole sample or draw samples from lists like these. But Orjiako's data only covers part of the neo-liberal Authoritarianism period (c1973-2000). Future researchers should cover the three stages of Africa's post-colonial period in whole. This would include state authoritarian developmentalism (c1960-1973) and democratic developmentalism (since 2000).

As an alternative, future researchers can sample countries based on the three paths taken by African leaders during state authoritarian developmentalism. Interested parties can take the capitalist path nations, Afro-Marxist path nations, and Afro-socialist nations as separate samples, or take one country from each path in a separate sample. Additionally, interested parties interested in evaluating the F.D.A.-Development relationship for South Africa must consider that the country is an outlier in the past, present and future of Africa and the international community in all aspects (Gadzey, 2010).

For Future Quantitative Research

Much of the reviewed literature isolates the three predominant F.D.A. forms during Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development period (O.D.A., economic S.A.P.s, N.G.O. activity). For future research, interested parties can continue this separation, but from the quantitative paradigm, unlike the qualitative one predominating the literature today. For O.D.A., researchers can follow up on Orjiako, by either comparing O.D.A. from more than one country coming into a Sub-Saharan Africa recipient country, or comparing O.D.A. from one donor country (such as the U.S.) to more than one recipient country. Future research must recognize the internal factors determining the amount and type of O.D.A., based on comparative politics (Adolino and Blake,

2001; Esposito, 2005; Obinger and Wagschal, 2001). For U.S. O.D.A., for example, parties must recognize variables from American government literature, federalism literature, and/or state politics and policy literature in dichotomy or triangulation. They must be aware that the variables are from the qualitative paradigm, and must be converted to more quantitative form in order to analyze the F.D.A.-development relationship from the quantitative paradigm.

As for the economic structural adjustment programs (S.A.P.s) imposed since neo-liberal Authoritarianism, future researchers can use all ten programs as independent variables to development, at least as self-actualization, self-discovery, self-reliance and self-sufficiency (Williamson, 1990 & 2000). Interested parties must understand their terms, concepts and mathematical formulas in order to develop more valid and reliable measures in fully analyzing their effects during Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development period. They must be fully involved with or understand economics and/or public finance to fully interpret S.A.P. effects with as much validity and reliability in their research as possible.

As for N.G.O. Activity, future researchers can apply Korten's categories for developing countries, such as those in Sub-Saharan Africa. As an alternative, they can use U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C. data, which contains information on which of the eight M.D.G.s that each N.G.O. focuses on, to categorize the N.G.O. activity variable. This would benefit interested parties because of the year 2015 deadline for countries meeting the M.D.G.s (U.N. Development Group, 2003 & 2010). In analyzing N.G.O.s' effects based on Korten's categories, future researchers should use ratio measures to make the analysis more valid and reliable (Babbie, 2004; Schutt, 2006). In analyzing N.G.O.s' effects based on the U.N. M.D.G.s, future researchers should know and understand the concepts, variables and measures of each M.D.G. They must also be aware of the questions about their conceptual and practical validity and in analyzing the effects

of U.N. E.C.O.S.O.C.-sanctioned N.G.Os reliability (Deneulin and Shahani, 2009; Kabeer 2010). Finally, this type of analysis can allow interested parties to better critique the relevance of the U.N.'s role in Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development.

For Future Qualitative Research

Additionally, on a more qualitative basis as to foreign assistance's relevance in Sub-Saharan Africa's self-development, one must understand the sub-continent's post-mass independence challenges and the relationships involving those challenges. This research focused on two particular challenges: democratization of state power and secular rule, replacing authoritarian rule with participatory democracy, and ending dependency on Western colonialists, particularly in relation to foreign assistance and positions of weakness in foreign trade and other foreign affairs. The first challenge was indirectly addressed in Chapters I and II, and must be understood in order to evaluate this dissertation's research. The second challenge was directly addressed by this dissertation's research. As defined in reviewed literature, there are relationships involved. One is between Africa and the outside world. The second is between the elites in and outside Africa and the masses inside Africa. These relationships define who controls affairs in Africa; in this case, the elites control the masses.

In relations to the challenges addressed in this dissertation, that control involved a certain mindset, namely the "dependency" mindset defined by Pan-Africanists such as Asante, Dascal, Diop and Keto; and dependency theorists such as Frank, Prebisch and Wallerstein. But other scholars have also addressed the issues of the mindset of population masses in their literatures. First, Dr. Carter G. Woodson (1933) addressed a similar mindset of African Americans in their viewpoints of both America and Africa. Second, George Herbert Mead (1934) addressed the

issue of internal individual influences on the mindset of masses. Third, Jane Addams (1964) addressed the issue of society's influences on community mindsets.

Those scholars take sides as to whether external or internal influences affect the mindsets of the masses in Sub-Saharan Africa, especially relating to self-development. Woodson and Addams would side with the Pan-Africanists and dependency theorists in noting that external influences have more impact on the mindset of masses, primarily the foreign assistance providers studied in this dissertation. Particularly, Addams would suggest the importance of a social ethic in political participation, which could be argued was lacking in determining the role of foreign assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa, much less its efficiency, effectiveness and relevance. On the other hand, Mead would side with those who believe in internal influences. He would note the involvement of African leaders through the post-mass independence period studied for this dissertation as internal influences. Namely, he would point to the three paths taken by African leaders for the nations during authoritarian developmentalism, based in part on the statism theory and practice of Louis XIV of France. Yet Mead would even concede the outside influences from those like Louis XIV in African leadership post-mass independence.

For future research, public administrators and public policy analysts should consider the role of community or mass mindsets in affairs related to a nation, particularly a developing nation and the relationship between its elites and masses. A qualitative case study should focus on both external and internal influences, and their effects on such mindsets. It would be based on the Pan-African and dependency theories in terms of political economy and development. It would also incorporate Mead, Addams, Woodson and other scholars in terms of those influences, as they relate to general public administration/public policy theory and practice.

For Research Using Fusions Similar to New Economics and Afrocentrism

The strengths and weaknesses of this dissertation & its subject matter support Robert Yin's (2009) recommendation of the case study as a methodology. As Yin argues, this methodology merges the general qualitative and quantitative research methodology paradigms with its contrasting ontologies, epistemologies, schools of thought, and research strategies & designs. It also merges the contrasting paradigms related to Africa, its heterogeneity and diversity, its history, its relation with the rest of the world, and its self-development challenges presented and exposed in this dissertation. A case study of any African nation would reveal the uniqueness of the selected nation under study. A subsequent case study of a different African nation would reveal a different uniqueness in contrast to the nation explored in an initial case study. The case study methodology would reveal both the Truth behind foreign assistance's relevance to Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development, and the smaller truths of each country (Lincoln and Guba in Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Schutt, 2006).

The strengths and weaknesses of this dissertation & its subject matter encourage scholars, practitioners and other interested parties to spend more time and resources to go inside Africa. To do this, the researcher recommends two paths. First, he recommends the case study methodology, based on Yin's analysis of this methodology. As an alternative, the researcher recommends more qualitative methodologies. These methodologies would include Appreciative Inquiry or *Ai* (Cooperrider, 1986), ethnography from the Afrocentric paradigms (Asante, 1980, 1987 & 1988; Dascal, 2009, Diop, 1974; Keto, 1989; Oyebade, 1990), and social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1973). Incorporation of these methodologies allows scholars, practitioners and interested parties to establish more detailed, valid and reliable definitions of development. Those definitions counter those used in both this

dissertation and its reviewed literature. In other words, people can better define self-reliability, self-discovery, self-actualization and self-sustainability in Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development by application to the unique jurisdictions under study. Those definitions would also better analyze foreign assistance's relevance in relation to that process of development.

An example of the case study methodology related to foreign assistance's relevancy in Sub-Saharan Africa's post-colonial development is Roger Thurow's The Last Hunger Season, published in 2012. Thurow, a senior fellow for Global Agriculture and Food Policy at the Chicago Council of Global Affairs and a former reporter for *The Wall Street Journal*, spent a year studying rural area and small town farmers in western Kenya. Among his conclusions, he finds that foreign assistance providers encouraging and teaching Africans about self-reliance, self-discovery, self-sustainability and self-actualization through assistance beyond relief and welfare are more efficient, effective and relevant. He also finds that providers offering relief & welfare can provide only immediate response to hunger & poverty crises. His findings support Korten's thesis that N.G.O.s as foreign assistance providers must go beyond relief and welfare to be relevant, effective and efficient in assisting development.

Thurow's work is qualitative in nature, because it is based on real world events that a researcher cannot control for, and focuses on one particular area and one particular subject. It is also conducted from a general liberal arts viewpoint, and is written for popular media audiences. It is unlike this dissertation's research, which is a quantitative, quasi-experimental work that controls for events, and focuses on more than one area and more than one factor. This dissertation's research is conducted from a political science viewpoint, using applied science in the form of the scientific method (Taylor, 1911). Additionally, this research targets scholars and

practitioners in international relations in relation to political science, public administration, and public policy.

However, in analyzing Thurow's work, one must note its orientations. First, Thurow spent thirty years writing for *The Wall Street Journal*, one of several publications recommended for content as part of public policy analysis (Grafton and Permaloff, 2005). Second, Thurow is published in media oriented in the Westernized paradigms related generally to the outside world and specifically to Africa. Such is why this researcher recommends qualitative methodologies, such as Ai, Afrocentric or Pan African-based ethnography, and/or social constructionism. These methodologies, and subsequent research strategies and designs, obtain detailed information from the more qualitative Afrocentric or Pan African perspectives.

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CONCLUSION

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