

The Rethinking Thesis within the Context of State-Economy Nexus: A Political Theory of Knowledge

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Abstract

Human/political life is fundamentally linked to nature. Nature consequently has a kind of influence on the organization of human/political life for both survival and sustenance. As man attempts to wrestle with nature, he invented the state. What exactly the state is has however, become a subject of disputation particularly from the perspective of its assigned roles, duties and functions in relation to ensuring human/political life survival and sustenance. The emerging disputes in relation to the primary and secondary existence of the state are being influenced by equally related quadrupling developments in which human/political life is embedded and further being permanently determined. This is the inescapable reality of human/political life. Within the context of the foregoing therefore, the paper/article seeks the amplification of state rethinking thesis within the broad and specific ideas in relation to the emerging interrogation organized around important and relevant themes in relation to the knowledge of the subject matter. Relying on qualitative data sources and placed within the usefulness of the concept of economic management to enable the amplification of the state rethinking thesis, the paper/article sets as its central objective the development of a political theory of knowledge founded on carefully formulated intellectual foundation stones relevant to the amplification of the embedded thesis.

Keywords: State. Economy. Role. State Rethinking/Reinvention/Reconceptualization. A Political Theory of Knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

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Just as the world witnessed dramatic developments in the beginning of the 1990s to the extent of leading to the celebrations and triumphalism of one idea of social organization over and above the other, the state, particularly from the dimension of interrogation within the context of the referred to developments, is currently being subjected to new ideas in relation to its fundamental essence and purpose in broad and specific terms. The existing and hitherto assumptions in the theory of the State are being questioned to the extent of suggesting a rethink of the old conceptualization and formulation. This, in literature, is being referred to as “rethinking the state”- see (Evans et al eds., 1985; Migdal, 2001; Ottaway, 2002; Ruggie, 1993; Sassen, 1996; Beckman, 1989; Doornbos, 1990; Edigheji, 2005; Grabowski, 1998, among others). Rethinking the state further has attached to it provocative and insightful arguments and debates in relation to what exactly it is in the existing dimensions and perspectives of understanding and scrutiny. Because the issue of development is central to it, the debates and arguments revolve around what the new roles of the state should be in the

overall interest of the citizens. The paper/article consequently seeks the amplification of the embedded thesis from the economic perspective and by so doing further situates state rethinking within its economic roles. This particularly suggests a kind of nexus between the state and economy which in turn lead to certain important and relevant questions within the ensuing academic body of interrogation. What should be the proper academic context of the contemporary interrogation of the state and economy nexus? What particular idea of knowledge that should help in the isolation of the context for critical scrutiny? And of what contemporary relevance is the interrogation and scrutiny? The questions direct attention to important matters and issues in relation to the organization of the contemporary state so as to be able to justify its continuing existence and why it has not withered away, and will certainly not wither away! A nexus between two subject matters seeks the attendant amplification from an important perspective of knowledge especially in relation to the critical study of the relationship in both theoretical and practical terms. In relation to the nexus between the state and economy, there comes the compelling need to set-out important criteria of interrogation, assessment and evaluation if we desire the advancement of scholarship. The question then becomes immediate to ask: How can the knowledge in relation to the interrogation of the subject matter (i.e. the nexus between the state and the economy) be organized in such a way that the objective in relation to the advancement of scholarship is both maintained and sustained? The answer to the question instantly requires the examination and analysis of the crisis in relation to the “theory of the state” in historical terms.

The subject matter of the state is historically crisis-ridden. The state further from the perspective of critical interrogation is fundamentally enmeshed in academic issues and problems of far-reaching consequences. Interestingly, the crisis both describes and explains the vitality in relation to its amplification. The age-long crisis of actual meaning and understanding of the state is so significant to the extent of shaping and influencing its current rethinking, reinvention and reconceptualization. There is unarguably therefore a political theory of knowledge in relation to rethinking and reinventing the state. There are the attendant questions: (1) how can this political theory of knowledge be described and investigated?; (2) what are the embedded issues and problems in relation to the description and investigation?; (3) how can both the political theory of knowledge and the investigation of the emanating issues and problems provide the much needed idea about state rethinking and reinvention?; and finally, (4) what is the broad significance for both public policy and scholarship is the idea of state

rethinking and reinvention? The questions in their individual and collective existence require peculiarly determined individual and collective answers within the embedded opportunity of interpenetration for usefulness to scholarship. They are hence further individually and collectively appreciated within a neatly formulated thesis/central argument. What therefore is the thesis/central argument of the paper/article? It is about the fact that state rethinking/reinvention has meaning of understanding and relevance to both scholarship and public policy only in relation to the identification of the embedded issues and problems of the political theory of knowledge in relation to the subject matter. The amplification of the contained thesis consequently raises equally important issues/matters in relation to the accomplishment of the thesis. The accomplishment in turn captures the entire presentation particularly from the perspectives of thematic arrangement and methodology in relation to data collection and analysis. The above no doubt necessitates some important preliminaries. What are they? And how do they enhance the quality of the paper/article? The thesis of the paper/article requires organized arrangement and presentation around carefully formulated themes as the very important preliminaries especially within the centrality of the state as representing the gamut of the discipline of Political Science.

The state occupies pivotal place in political science discourse. In fact, it is its subject matter. The state, in addition, helps to define not only the subject matter but further in the establishment and maintenance of the distinction between the subject matter and other subject matters. What exactly it is in terms of character, composition and methods of study are critical and pivotal to the discipline. Political science in short, is about the state. The centrality of the state to the discipline explains and justifies the many dimensions in relation to its examination and analysis. The many competitive dimensions notwithstanding, there is the consensus that the study of the state especially in relation to its fundamental purpose is crucial to both the definition and delineation of the contents and methods of the discipline. The state consequently becomes a conceptual and analytical category with which to regularly interrogate and scrutinize the nature and character of the discipline. As the greatest invention ever made by man, the state becomes assessed and evaluated only in relation to the extent to which it can be able to permanently discharge on its purpose. And therefore, since ages past, the purposes of the state have been classified and categorized into two as primary and secondary. These purposes are as well being referred to as the duties, functions and responsibilities of the state especially in relation to the maintenance of law and order (primary) and the provision of essential services that help to make life livable

(secondary). But how well to discharge the duties, functions and responsibilities in relation to the invention and continuing existence of the state only happen within the context of the economy? In other words, the framework of the state as the public institution essential for the performance of the above can only manifest only in relation to the existence of relative resources of its own creation. The state therefore requires the relevant wherewithal to enable its duty and authority. This particularly explains the relationship between the state and the economy.

What therefore is the knowledge/understanding of the economy in relation to the fundamental existence of the state? This relates to both the capacity and capability of the state to be able to deliver on its promises and foundational essence and fundamentality. The economy in relation to both the capacity and capability of the state therefore becomes a careful arrangement in relation to the existence side-by-side with the state of those forces, factors and processes that help to shape and reshape, modify and re-modify, the realization of its goals and objectives. The forces, factors and processes are in turn embedded in the relationship between and among the productive, distributive and consumptive activities of the state. The forces, factors and processes in addition constitute the amount of resources at the disposal of the state. Because the economy is critical to the survival of the state, its continuity and justifiable existence are hence determined by, and dependent on, the economy. The relationship, from the perspective of critical analysis, indicates further that the state has on its hand a huge and humongous responsibility, duty and function. The latter, in extant literature collectively earn the appellation: “the role of the state in the economy”. While not disputing the fact that the state has a role to play in an economy, however, there are disputes characterizing and describing what this role should be. The question in relation to what this role should be is further embedded in other knowledge fundamentals in relation to its amplification, interrogation and scrutiny. The question in relation to *should be* has in the first instance a philosophical and much later, an empirical basis. What *should be* as an umbrella question, and from the reinforcing perspectives of philosophy and science, hence provides the body of knowledge in relation to the subject matter of the state and the economy. Critical to the paper/article therefore are matters/issues of scholarship in relation to the subject matter. The subject matter, as an academic discourse, compellingly requires its accomplishment within certain knowledge advancement guides and guidelines. The guides and guidelines inevitably constitute the enabling criteria/parameters of examination and analysis, assessment and evaluation.

The necessity of the contemporary usefulness of the paper/article again compels the accompanying justification and relevance especially within the context of Africa and by extension, the Third World. What consequently justifies the contemporary relevance of the paper/article? Global events particularly following post-COVID 19 have not only helped to question the moral basis of science and further in relation to capitalism, the events as well redirect the assumed responsibility of the State to the extent of calling for its rethinking and reinvention. Within the context of the Third World, the post COVID-19 events have helped to ignite the old debate in relation to the appropriateness of the path to sustainable development. In other words, the contemporary relevance of the discourse on the subject matter has meaning only in relation to helping in the advancement of knowledge on development paths and its related priorities- see (Ake, 1996; Asante, 1991; Belshaw and Livingstone, 2002; Chang and Gabriel, 2004, Cornia et al eds., 1992, Himmelstrand et al. eds., 1994; Hope, 2000, among others). And this affects and indicates relevance only in relation to the Third World especially as their peoples and governments continue to battle the challenges in relation to their transformation and development even though the emphasis should be particularly made that the challenges of development are not wholly restricted to Third World alone. The consequences and effects of the COVID-19 pandemic indicate clearly that the long enhanced distinctions between the ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ nations of the world are simply academic. But the fact that the Third World is still affected by the challenges of transformation especially at the social level suggests and justifies the further necessity to situate the paper/article within the context of the Third World to enhance its relevance. Arranged along certain considered fundamental questions which the paper/article seeks to provide both insights and answers to, there is further the need to place the understanding, knowledge and important contributions of same within a research framework that is capable of provoking and stimulating ideas in relation to the knowledge advancement of the subject matter. What therefore are these research questions, and why are they considered fundamental to the paper/article especially in relation to the advancement of the contained thesis? What are their arrangements like, and against what themes and sub-themes of knowledge of the subject matter advancement and propagation? What is the logic of reasoning and argument-building of the questions to the extent of their being able to help in the interrogation of the subject matter engagement? What relationship of research and compatibility that exists between the questions and others in extant literature? How have they been arranged in such a way that underscores the need for objectivity of examination and analysis? Again, how will the objectivity and arrangement of the questions help in the understanding of the

discourse in relation to the subject matter? And finally, how related are the questions to the extent of allowing for systematic understanding and knowledge?

The answers to the above questions are in turn placed within certain important umbrella questions for greater insights and illuminations. What is the contemporary discourse on the state and the economy like? What are the embedded forces and factors of opinion that do permanently shape and reshape the discourse? What are the fundamentals of knowledge and epistemology that do further shape and reshape the discourse? What and what make the discourse appealing? What are the embedded distinctions and separations between the past and present in relation to the trajectory of the discourse? What are the defining elements and characteristics of the discourse? What manner of engagement is the discourse? What are the contained effects and consequences for public policy determination, options and choices? How can the politics and science in relation to the interrogation and engagement be organized for intense scrutiny? Who is arguing what, and to what extent? What historical conditions and circumstances that have continued to both guard and guide the discourse? What is the extent of education, and what is the extent of enlightenment as well? What are the inherited themes of engagement and examination? And to what extent have the themes provided the relevant framework of knowledge for in-depth appreciation of the discourse? What is being discussed and examined and in relation to what knowledge, understanding and advancement? What are the embedded contests, and what is the extent of their contestation? To what extent has the divide between normative and empirical political theory impacted on the discourse? What is the consequence like, and to what extent of impact? The overall goal/objective of the paper/article, its relevance and significance within the context of the discourse, the embedded contents and methods of investigation in relation to the advancement of the contained thesis/argument all revolve around the above umbrella questions of far-reaching academic provocations and direction. Starting from the necessity to place the interrogation and scrutiny of the discourse within important roots of knowledge scrutiny and evaluation, the questions further focus on the defining elements and features in which contemporary debates on the subject matter are being encapsulated, and finally seek their arrangements into themes and sub-themes for thoroughness of understanding and presentation.

CONCEPTUAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

What are the contained terms and terminologies in which the paper/article is embedded, and to what extent are they useful in the understanding of the contained thesis/argument? The terms and terminologies are: (1) state, (2) economy, (3) role, (4) state rethinking/reinvention/ reconceptualization, and (5) a political theory of knowledge. They are here examined, defined and explained in the order listed, though not without some interpenetrating effects relevant to ensuring comprehensiveness and details of knowledge in relation to the rethinking thesis within the context of state-economy nexus.

What is the state within the context of the paper/article? There is, it is being argued here, the need to situate our knowledge and understanding of the state within the body of the paper/article as it seeks to undertake a reinvention of the discourse in relation to the political theory of knowledge of the state and economy. The responsibility though a matter purely of conceptualization and operationalization, needs however be looked at from the perspective of what Vincent (1987:4) called: “Theory of the State”. What is the meaning in relation to the ongoing, and what further implication for the ensuing interrogation? What the ‘state’ is, Vincent (1987) wants us to know, has best its understanding only in relation to the theory on the subject matter. His entire book titled: “Theories of the State” seeks to examine and analyze the many dimensions in relation to the knowledge of the subject matter. The understanding of the ‘state’ from the perspective of the paper/article therefore derives inspirations and insights from the legacy on the subject matter as provided by Vincent (1987). The ‘state’ as here viewed indicates/suggests important ideas in relation to what its functions/duties/responsibilities should be in the existing relationship between it and the economy. This consequently suggests that the paper/article holds the view that the ‘state’ as a concept of research should be approached from the lenses of minimum and maximum roles within the forms of economic framework of organization be it capitalism or socialism. The ‘state’, from the perspective of the paper/article, requires specific and technical explanations in relation to the contained factual elements. The apt question now is: What are these factual elements? They are: (1) government, (2) a monopoly of force, and (3) a legal system. Others include: (1) geographical territory, (2) sovereignty, and (3) population. In other words, the paper/article views the ‘state’ as essentially the institutional framework with which order is exercised only by the monopolistic instrument of absolute control and authority of government. What, it can be asked, is the justification?

Contemporary discourses in relation to the subject matter of the state and economy have the opportunities of better intellectual understanding and knowledge only when placed within the context of interrogation and analysis of the authority, power and control of government. This does not require any further debate and argument.

The idea of minimalist and maximalist state becomes important framework of evaluation and assessment especially in relation to the contemporary discourse on the subject matter of the state and the economy. A minimalist state, by implication of meaning and understanding, can hence be used to describe a free market economy. A maximalist state on the other speaks of a socialist economy. The emanating outbursts on the overall subject matter therefore encapsulate the body of assessments and evaluations in which preferences, options and choices are made as providing the best framework of economic organization useful for the realization of the purposes of the state in both primary and secondary terms. Again, because the concept of the ‘state’ is hotly contested in literature, its existing application in the paper/article requires further amplification to enable permanent clarity of meaning. In the respected opinion of Vincent (1987:43), to the effect that: “...there are diverse views of the State which should be explicated”, there is therefore the academic responsibility to specify what it is especially from the perspective of context of operationalization. He continues: “The state is certainly not one thing. It needs to be unpacked” (Ibid:43). Consequently, the explication, here accomplished, should further be situated within the context of the contained/embedded thesis/argument. The existing discourses in relation to the subject matter of the state and economy further require specific understanding/knowledge only to the extent to which the concept of the ‘state’ as being operationalized and defined helps in the appreciation of other normative elements of assessment and evaluation. The extent to which the ‘state’ is capable of shaping and re-shaping, directing and re-directing, the economy becomes absolutely dependent on its capacity and capability of making and enforcing its decisions and policies.

How is ‘economy’ viewed in the paper/article? The paper/article takes a theoretical and practical view of the term, economy. The perspectives of theory and practice are considered useful especially in enabling purposeful and intentional clarity. An economy, in the opinion of the paper/article, is that series of embedded systemic interactions and relationships between and among the various parts/segments/sectors of all activities in relation to the organization and utilization of scarce resources. And all activities in this sense refer to the permanent relationships and engagements between

and among the forces, factors and processes of production, distribution and consumption. This same view of the existence of systemic interactions and relationships suggests further either the likelihood or possibility of a breakdown or dysfunctionality to the extent of leading to crises and distortions. The practical perspective to the understanding of the concept of economy extends its knowledge and understanding beyond the framework of mental intuition to include the environment/ecology of the system's operational existence. Both perspectives, it should be further noted and emphasized, influence and shape each other to the extent of establishing a kind of unity of purpose useful in the setting of indices and parameters of assessment and evaluation. A practical perspective to what the economy is seeks the knowledge and understanding of it from the dimensions of the structural arrangement, sectoral distribution and real life existence within the series of the embedded activities of production, distribution and consumption.

What is the paper's/article's understanding and meaning of role? This requires approaching the term from two very important foundations. And these are: (1) semantic, and (2) technical foundations. Let us consider the semantic first. According to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, what role is exists in two categorical meaning which it labels as (a) and (b). It breaks (a) into two as: (1) "a character assigned or assumed", and (2) "a socially expected behaviour pattern usually determined by an individual's status in a particular society". The other category, category (b), according to the Dictionary, can be looked at from two perspectives as: (1) "function", and (2) "an identifier attached to an index term to show functional relationships between terms". The meaning and explanation of role from the perspective of the Dictionary require systematic and careful critique. And the starting point is the question: What education of meaning has the Dictionary provided? The first meaning and understanding of role as already contained in category (a) indicate the fact that it is essentially about an exhibited character either in relation to an assigned responsibility, duty and function, or a by-product of an individual's status in a particular society. The second category of meaning and understanding of role, category (b), sees it only in relation to a function. At this juncture, how are the two ideas related to the paper/article? To be able to answer the question, we are compelled to interrogate, examine and analyze the technical meaning and understanding of role. Why is the latter considered as technical? It is because it goes beyond function to include the complexities and complications in relation to the discharge of a function. What this technical knowledge is fundamentally exists within the academic framework of structural-functionalism. Structural-functionalism, it is

being argued here, provides the most suited and appropriate perspective to the knowledge and understanding of role especially from the society's dimension- see (Almond, 1960; among others).

While this section of the paper/article does not seek the elaboration of structural-functionalism, important to it as earlier mentioned is the fact that the interpretation in which it is best noted for in literature is to enable the understanding of the term 'function' especially within the context of the organization of the state. This has become important to emphasize. The paper's/article's understanding of role as a function, duty and responsibility has the particular/specific advantage within the context of the interrogation and analysis of the relationships between the state and economy in both theory and practice. The role of the state within the context of its relationship with the economy therefore becomes an important concept with which to formulate and develop useful ideas with respect to the understanding of the related concept of economic arrangement. In other words, the appreciation of the role of the state in strict intellectual/academic terms exists within the broader context of economic management. The term economic management consequently provides the standards in both theory and practice for the understanding and knowledge of the concept of role. The knowledge and understanding of the conceptual interpretation and analysis of 'role' as used within the paper/article therefore revolve around the arrangement in relation to the organization of government. This, without argument and debate, has its basis and understanding in the constitution as the fundamental legal charter of any country. The role of the state is therefore as envisaged and spelt out in the constitution. Role, in summary, is used in the paper/article to describe duties and obligations of the state in relation to economic management.

Two other terms/concepts require definitions and explanations within the context of the paper. They are: (1) state rethinking/reinvention/reconceptualization, and (2) a political theory of knowledge. What is therefore state rethinking/reinvention/reconceptualization? State rethinking, reinvention and reconceptualization as words for the ongoing research have meaning of understanding and relevance only in relation to the entrapped dynamics and quadrupling developments in which the contemporary state has become submerged and embedded in. To rethink, reinvent and reconceptualize the state is to seek a reinterpretation of it within the context of the evolving dynamics in which it remains embedded. It is appropriate to ask: What are the evolving dynamics? The evolving dynamics are the imposing and

inescapable realities which exert significant effect on the original meaning and understanding of the state to the extent of compelling a modification especially at the level of idea. To rethink, reinvent and reconceptualize the state therefore entails the formulation and development of the relevant initiatives necessary for the appreciation of the potency and effect of the evolving dynamics in which the state becomes exposed to or embedded in. State rethink/reinvention/reconceptualization is consequently the setting-up of new parametres with which to continue to determine and justify its essence, fundamental purpose and contemporary relevance. The new parametres specifically target the modification and reshaping of state's original functions and duties and these in addition placed within the evolving dynamics in relation to the necessity justifying the modification of the primary and secondary functions/duties/roles as already labelled. Rethinking, reinventing and reconceptualizing the state is a new framework of knowledge about the idea of the state when specially approached from the evolving dynamics and realities about meaningful and time-tested organization of the world system from the perspective of ascribing to the state new functions, duties and responsibilities.

Finally, what is the context of the paper's understanding of a political theory of knowledge? Given the fact that a theory is a body of ideas with which our understanding of the universe/world becomes facilitated through the elaborate processes of description, explanation and prediction, a political theory of knowledge under similar circumstance is the integrated ideas in relation to the critical interrogation and scrutiny of the state within the context of the evolving dynamics. Because the state is the central focus of the discipline of political science, a political theory of knowledge in relation to its contemporary interrogation and scrutiny is the integrated framework of ideas relating to its rethinking, reinvention and reconceptualization. The emphasis on politics as an important descriptive element is deliberately used to capture the diversity and competitions with which the ideas further become captured simply because the new ideas representing the new roles, duties, functions and responsibilities of the state are embedded in interests. A political theory of knowledge therefore seeks to succinctly exemplify and present as well the many competitive ideas in relation to the reinvention and reconceptualization of the state.

Theories of the State within the Context of Political Theory of Knowledge

It is considered necessary to begin the amplification of the political theory of knowledge as being espoused in the paper/article from the dimension of critical assessment and evaluation of the theories of the state as found in extant literature. This has justification in the point that the necessity for state rethinking and reinvention as an embodiment of the paper/article and from which the embedded thesis/argument is further related requires a critique of the existing theories of the state. In other words, the understanding and appreciation of the relationship between the state and the economy from the contemporary perspective and from which the reinvention and rethinking argument develops from require a critique of the existing theories of the state. Consequently, what are these theories, and how do their critiques add to the state reinvention idea? Vincent (1987) classifies these theories as: (1) absolutist, (2) constitutional, (3) ethical, (4) class, and (5) pluralist. What these theories are and their critiques as here accomplished require further detailed individual examination, discussion and analysis.

First to be considered is the absolutist theory of the state. In the tradition of scholarship relevant to its amplification, the question becomes inevitable to ask: What is its central argument/thesis? Others can be further asked. What mode of analysis that can help in both the presentation and appreciation of the contained properties? What role does history play in its appreciation? The understanding and knowledge of the questions in their individual and collective existence require a definitional dimension. In other words, answers to the questions as elements of the accompanying explications require first and foremost the understanding and knowledge of absolutism. According to Franklin (1973:151), absolutism is about the idea that: "...the ruler, however much he may be responsible to God...does not require the consent of any other human agent in making public policy". In the opinion of Lousse (1964:43), absolutism is: "...a form of monarchical government in which the prince's authority is in fact free (unbound, absolute) from check by any higher authority or organ of popular representation". Gleamed from the two definitions above is that absolutist theory of the state sees the latter as the concentration of power, authority and law on the ruler and, in this case, the absolute monarch. The monarch becomes the absolute sovereign under the circumstance. At this juncture, how critical is the theory to the knowledge and understanding of contemporary economic management? In other words, how useful is the theory to the contemporary amplification of the subject matter of state and

economy? Rethinking the state or its reinvention, from the perspective of the paper/article, and further within the encapsulating argument/thesis in relation to the ongoing advancement, compels the formulation, establishment and development of a relationship between the theory and the concept of economic management especially when approached from the perspective of the role of the absolute state in the contemporary economy. The embedded critique consequently revolves around the latter.

The absolutist theory of the state is unarguably archaic. The modern state especially from the perspective of the attendant effects and consequences of the series of changes and innovations in relation to human history and civilization emphasizes deconcentration and decentralization of power/authority and law into diverse layers and levels of government. And where there are still monarchs, their powers and authorities have been reconstructed to the extent of making distinct separations between them and government even in theocracies. The absolute state is no longer absolute by virtue of the invention of the constitution and the passage of the acts of parliaments. On the average globally, monarchs and monarchical institutions are now opened to the contents and methods of representative bureaucracies achieved through careful reforms targeted at reducing monarchical powers to only ceremonial functions and duties. Notwithstanding the above, the theory of state absolutism still has meaning and relevance especially within the contest of the economy. Monarchs, though no longer absolute, still play important roles in the economy of the affected nations. Because they are still integrated into the framework of governmental operations, they perform important roles by using the performance of diplomatic duties and responsibilities to attract and stimulate foreign direct investments (FDI) and the general promotion of international trade through the same diplomatic instruments.

Next to the absolutist theory is the constitutional theory of the state. What are its contents and elements? To what extent are the contents and elements critical to the amplification of the contemporary discourse on the state and economy? How are the contents and elements further critical to the argument/thesis in relation to state rethinking and reinvention? And finally, how does the critique of the theory enable further amplification of the necessity and importance of state reinvention in contemporary economic management? An important element of the constitutional theory of the state is the limitation to absolute authority. In other words, absolute authority has the potentials of abuse and recklessness. And because the circumstance of

absolutism creates disorder of both imaginable and unimaginable consequences, effects and proportions, then came the argument: "...that limits are independent of the State", Vincent (1987:78). The constitution, Vincent argues: "...is prior to any particular government". He continues: "It defines the authority, and gives to government the right to exercise its power. The validity of such constitutional rules is independent of the political system - their amendment or repeal is thus a matter of profound importance" (Ibid:78). The idea of limitation which is thus fundamental to the constitutional theory of the state has its exemplification in three things: (1) conventions, (2) written document, and (3) institutional devices. Individually and collectively, the above practically limit the authority of the state. In relation to the ongoing subject matter of examination and analysis, the economy, from the perspective of the constitutional theory of the state, is such that has goals, objectives and operational mode embedded in the provisions of the constitution. The constitution states in clear, unambiguous terms what economic management entails, what the embedded principles and practices are, what the goals and objectives in relation to economic management revolve around, and what institutions there are for regulatory purposes, and other sundry matters and issues just like Chapter Two of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria (as amended) titled: "The Directive Principle of State Policy".

The State, within the perspective and context of the constitutional theory in relation to same, has the responsibility to, among others, set the economic agenda of a country, set further the essential framework necessary for resource mobilization for the purposes of achieving and sustaining the economic agenda, and setting appropriate and relevant criteria for permanent evaluation and assessment in the overall interests of the citizens. The question in relation to the extent of state involvement becomes fundamentally important and critical to its organization. In actual fact, this is a perennial issue and becomes integral and embedded in day-to-day discussions to the extent of determining the contents and loads of public affairs. The constitutional theory of the state addresses important matters such as: (a) whether a political system is socialist or capitalist, what the manner/arrangement of welfare distribution is: whether collaborations/partnerships can exist between and among citizens and between citizens and the state, (b) what forms of power matrixes in relation to the modes of resource mobilization between and among the tiers of government, (c) what degree and extent of economic openness, (d) what institutional agencies and their specific functions, roles and duties, (e) what structure of economic management is or should be, and (f) the extent, duration and requirements of periodic reviews, among others. In this

contemporary time of ours, the above are embedded as provisions in national constitutions. There are however, problems in relation to the perspective of the constitutional theory of the state especially when and where the independence of the judiciary is in doubt and the courts lack the requirements of impartial arbitration.

There is in addition the ethical theory of the state. What exactly it is? How sufficient are its properties in the explanation of the essence and purpose of the state? What is its influence in relation to the body of ongoing discussion and analysis? The answer to the question urgently requires consideration of the contents and elements which make theory to be unique. Coming majorly under the influence of G.W.F. Hegel who lived between 1770 and 1831, the theory, as an explanation of the state, holds that the state is: "...composed of persons related in terms of a specified purpose or interest and who recognize one another in terms of their common engagement to pursue or promote it" (Ibid:315). He continues: "Each associate knows himself as the servant of the purpose pursued. A state understood in terms of purposive association is, then, identified in terms of a purpose and of the persons joined in pursuing it" (Ibid:315). It is important to immediately ask the following questions to enable further amplification and careful understanding of the theory. First, what is meant by "...a specified purpose or interest..."? Second, what is the understanding of "common engagement"? Even though the questions form the basis for the amplification of the theory, they serve as well the role of critique. What the "specified purpose/interest" is, and the understanding of "common engagement to pursue or promote it", remain unclear in the existing manner of their expressions. And in relation to the significance of the theory in the reconceptualization and rethinking of the role of the state in any contemporary economy, one can only resort to guesses. The ideas of: (1) "specified purpose/interest, and (2) "common engagement" probably relate to the advancement and sustenance of the economic well-being of the citizens the knowledge of which compels the commitment to pursue and promote it. But there is still the fundamental question of how to both identify the specified purpose/interest and ensure its pursuance as well.

Next to deserve our engagement is the class theory of the state. The starting point consequently requires the specification of the elements of the theory. Clearly put, the class theory of the state does not try to seek the understanding of the state, but rather an attempt to explain it from the dimension of its economic character. In other words, the class theory of the state approaches the understanding of the state not from its constitutional or institutional form, but from, and as earlier said, its economic character.

The class theory of the state revolves around the argument that the ultimate end of history and class struggle is communism which is a stateless condition. The class theory of the state, it requires further emphasis, uses the intellectual framework of the political economy approach to explore the extent to which the state has its critical understanding and knowledge from the perspectives of the superstructure and sub-structure. And because the state does not represent any overarching common good, there is therefore the necessity to change it. At this juncture and within the focus of the paper/article, the question can now be asked: How does the class theory of the state enable the rethinking and reinvention of the role of the state in contemporary economic management? The question is considered both critical and significant in the political theory of knowledge in relation to the subject matter. The theory is in addition fundamentally limited by the ultimate end of the history of class struggle thesis. If the goal of the class theory of the state is communism, rethinking the state becomes less useful under the circumstance.

The final theory to be considered under the section is the pluralist theory of the state. Notwithstanding the significant varieties in the understanding of the concept of pluralism: philosophical, ethical, cultural and political, there is the generally accepted idea that the pluralist theory of the state revolves around the application of ideas with respect to the ultimate determination of the purposes and goals of the state in relation to solving problems which continue to justify the reason for the state. Because, and as reasoned by Vincent (1987): “Humans do not stand back and spectate”, ideas, he continues, : “...are our plans of actions” (Ibid:181). Again, and according to him, because: “...knowledge was not fixed but open to perpetual critical change..., there was thus no absolute monistic solution to problems, there was no final certainty” (Ibid:181). In relation to the subject matter of the political theory of knowledge relevant for the purpose of contemporary interrogation of the state, the pluralist theory of the state offers opportunity of intellectual interrogation and scrutiny. The modern/contemporary state faces problems and challenges of monumental proportions and scope to the extent of causing or almost causing disequilibrium in the fundamental arrangement and organization of the state into three as: executive, legislature and judiciary, with the first acquiring much more influence and recognition. Because the pluralist theory of the state has within its central element the opportunity and discussion of solutions to the challenges and problems of the state, there is, with particular emphasis on economic management, the opportunity to engage the subject matter with the view to providing solutions on a permanent basis. In other words, the pluralist theory of the state capitalizes on the dynamic nature of social life to make important contributions to the

advancement and sustenance of social progress and happiness. Embedded in the theory further is the opportunity to always initiate relevant ideas and reforms targeted at enhancing and sustaining human survival approached from the distinct role of the state. The challenge of unemployment for instance presents the opportunity to put in place permanent mechanisms with which to measure, evaluate and assess the extent to which the state either alone or in collaboration with the private sector can adequately tackle it.

State Rethinking within the Context of History

Beyond the theories of the state and their critiques accomplished above, state rethinking, reinvention and reconceptualization require situating it further within the context of history in relation to the subject matter. Why? Because doing such has the advantage of helping in the appreciation of the emergent intellectual foundation stones as already embedded within the quadrupling and cataclysmic developments in relation to the subject matter beginning from the 1990s. In other words, the necessity for further appreciation of state rethinking exists in the amplification of the subject matter within the set of interrelated developments of the 1990s onwards and the intellectual foundation stones as the theoretical bases of amplification. The intellectual foundations stones revolve around the concept of economic management as a system of idea relevant for the accompanying interrogation. Economic management as a conceptual terminology therefore presents itself further as constituting the research framework with which to organize the examination and scrutiny of state rethinking and reinvention. Consequently, the relevance and importance of the subsection have meaning in relation to the thrust of the paper/article and the embedded thesis only within the following questions formulated in order to enable detailed elaboration and understanding. How is the discourse on economic management central to the rethinking and reinvention of the state? How, in addition, is a critique of both the models and theories of economic management able to help in the advancement of the embedded thesis? Finally, what context of academic/intellectual engagement best facilitates the necessity to rethink and reinvent the state? The individual and collective answers to the questions require that they be placed, first and foremost, within the knowledge and understanding of the subject matter. So, what are the models and theories of economic management to enable the interrogation of the role of the state and the likelihood of its rethinking and reinvention? Models and theories, here used, have interchangeable meaning and understanding. In other words, the paper/article does not seek any distinction between them. Why? This is because the discourses in literature on the subject matter of

economic management models are in turn situated within the theories and ideas in relation to their formulation and amplification- see (Caldwell, 1994; Holcombe, 1989; among others). Economic management models, notwithstanding their fine-tuning and refinement, are anchored in theories in relation to the organization of economies for maximum results. There is therefore a kind of academic interpenetration in the interrogation and scrutiny of the models and theories of economic management.

Models of economic management seek the presentation and analysis of the organization of the state from the dimension of the economy. The economy, within the ongoing context of pontification, is the framework of exchange within the state and further in the embedded division of labour. Economy as the interaction between and among the units of production, distribution and consumption of any state is fundamentally embedded in problems and issues revolving around how well to manage for efficiency and effectiveness. The state hence becomes the framework from the dimensions of law and administration in particular with which the management is expected to take place. In broad terms, models of economic management are either capitalist or socialist or a mixture of the two called 'mixed economy'. The capitalist model of economic management is embedded in certain important characterization and further within uniquely defined features revolving around private ownership and free, unregulated market competition, among others. The socialist model on the other is distinctly defined and characterized by the state ownership of the entire processes of production. It is important to, at this juncture, ask the question: What is the place of the state in the two models of economic management? In the capitalist model of economic management, the state limits and restricts itself to the provision and sustenance of the required enabling environment for the establishment and thriving of private economic and business initiatives and enterprises. The state distinctly provides relevant infrastructures especially the physical ones and other legal, administrative and institutional supports. Within the latter are legal frameworks defining and regulating the opportunities in relation to the operational workings of private enterprises. Majorly, the constitution and other acts of parliaments spell-out in bold terms and without contradictions and ambiguities the forms and manners of the ownership of these enterprises. In the socialist model of economic management, the state not only owns economic and business enterprises, it determines how they are to be managed as well. Because the state funds the establishment of these enterprises through budgetary allocation from the yearly national budgets, because these enterprises are further integrated into the service idea and mentality in relation to the primary and fundamental

purpose/essence of government, these enterprises become referred to as public enterprises. They are, further within the technical framework in relation to how the state works, consequently labeled as public authorities. The socialist model of economic management has other features that are specific to it within the service component. The enterprises/authorities are as a result of specific instrument of the state/government encapsulated and further defined within particular acts of parliament. They in addition address a distinct subject matter of the economy such as the supply of electricity/energy, water, including their marketing and distribution, among others. Everything in relation to their management is defined by the specific act establishing them specifying as well their management structure, in particular the relationships between the management and the board/council.

The models of economic management in technical sense of expression and amplification derive their origins from the whole body of thoughts, ideas and philosophies underpinning the necessity of government as the greatest invention ever made by man. Within the subject matter of the discipline of political science, the ideas, thoughts and philosophies exist as the body of theories in relation to the organization of the state and the achievement, consolidation and sustenance of its purposes. Within the specific intellectual framework of political pluralism, emerge, historically speaking, the body of ideas, thoughts and philosophies in relation to how best the purposes in relation to the establishment of the state can be met, consolidated and sustained most efficiently and effectively. The history, growth and development of the ideas, thoughts and philosophies as further expressed within the overall responsibility of how best to meet, consolidate and sustain the purpose of the state help to provide the interchangeability between models and theories of economic management. The theories of economic management have consequently led to their critiques and refinements for clarity within the history in relation to the amplification of the discourse on the subject matter. The necessity of the latter especially within the emergent social sophistication and the realization of the usefulness of science to life give birth to the idea of models from the combined interpretations of idealism and realism/pragmatism. The ideas of idealism and pragmatism in relation to what models are hence become critical to meeting the fundamental challenge of how best to permanently organize the state for the realization of its primary and secondary purposes.

Starting from the 1980s especially following the 1980 Report of the World Bank in relation to Africa commonly referred to as the Berg Report, and further within the

“Third Wave of Democratization” globally, the necessity to “rethink”, “reinvent” and “reconceptualize” the state came up in the political theory in relation to the knowledge of the state- see (World Bank, 1981). The idea of an “over-bloated state” as an explanation of the social and economic upheavals of the time i.e. the 1980s, derived scholarly attention not only in the Third World, Africa in particular, but within the entire Eastern bloc of the Cold War regime description and characterization. Just as it came to light that socialism failed in its promises, there was, maybe by sheer coincidence, the celebration of the triumphalism of capitalism especially following the disintegration of the then revered Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). The need for Africa to address the “over-bloated state” problem from the perspective of the World Bank and its intellectual hangers-on, coupled with the need for the new republics following the disintegration of USSR to avoid the earlier pitfalls of socialism, jointly prop-up the rethinking and reinvention of the state earlier made mention of. To rethink and reinvent the state meant undertaking a critical assessment and evaluation of the existing conceptualization in terms of its primary and secondary purposes, duties and responsibilities. The reconceptualization of the state argument further came with some normative ideas that should guide it. An important/critical component of the normative idea/construct revolves around the fundamentals of democracy and capitalism. State reconceptualization, it is further assumed, requires the formulation and development of the knowledge frameworks of democracy and capitalism. Democracy and capitalism, as normative elements, are expected to provide the relevant criteria/parameters of assessment and evaluation. They are both further expected to provide the basis for the formulation and development of both the institutional ideas and frameworks of the reconceptualization.

Re-conceptualizing the state consequently entails overhauling the existing democratic infrastructures to both ensure and sustain popular participation just as the embedded discontents are to be managed most delicately without disrupting the entire political system. In other words, state reconceptualization was to be patterned along the idea of a state still having both the capacity and capability to self-regulate itself in the standard fashion of the Eastonian pattern maintenance- see (Easton, 1965). The democratic component of the reconceptualization is expected to have a multiparty system/democracy with strength build around ideological leanings and liberal world-view and idea of fundamental rights. Within the ongoing, a reconceptualized state is therefore a state whose citizens have the relevant civic education relating to the new roles of the state in the organization of contemporary societies. Capitalism, within the

idea of reconceptualization of the state, is to provide the most efficient and effective framework of resource allocation/distribution. In other words, the state is now to function as if it involves itself in business under a new component of privatization and commercialization arrangement of complete state divestment and minimal profit to ensure that the state keeps itself permanently in the business in relation to its establishment and purposes. The framework of capitalism as the new instrument of social organization is further expected to have the enabling legal and institutional mechanisms for regulatory roles, duties and responsibilities. Clear, bold and specific distinctions and differences are to be made, consolidated and sustained between the state and private individuals with respect to the general management of resources. State roles are to be clearly restricted to the provision of physical infrastructures, legal framework, and other supports to enable the thriving of private enterprise as earlier mentioned.

State reconceptualization within the consequences and effects of “over-bloated state” translates to either reducing/total elimination of the state in some critical areas of the organization of contemporary societies. The fundamental function/duty of the state with particular regard to protecting the lives and properties of the citizens for instance should be divided between the state and the citizens to the extent that the state is expected to limit itself to protection against external aggression, while the citizens, within the framework of the initiation of privately owned enterprises, can for instance handle security matters within their neighbourhoods, thereby either limiting or restricting the scope and framework of the intervention of the state in matters relating to security and protection of lives. And within the scope of secondary responsibilities like the provision of health and other welfare measures, individuals are expected to set-up hospitals, clinics, etc. all intended to either reduce or limit the scope and interventions of the state in matters/issues relating to public administration and management. Critical to state reconceptualization is the idea of the reform of the broad institutions of public policy decision-making. The reform of public institutions has two components. One, a new thinking or rethinking the philosophy with respect to its foundation and establishment through innovations within the context of redesign and rebranding, and through the integration of the new philosophies as formulated and developed into the frameworks of training and training tools. Two, deliberate extension of the above into training schools, administrative academies, colleges and universities within the framework of the formulation and development of new syllabuses original and creative enough to challenge the old/archaic idea of the state through critical interrogation. The

new idea of the state is expected to be taught based on the necessity informing the rethinking and reinvention. Bureaucracy and the idea in relation to its invention should be interrogated with the view to reducing/eliminating the cumbersomeness of administrative hierarchies, procedures and processes. Departmentalization is to be specifically promoted and enhanced as a necessity arising from how knowledge specialization makes important contribution to the fundamental needs of the citizens for efficiency and effectiveness of delivery.

Rethinking the State: The Nigerian Experience

Notwithstanding the fact that state rethinking emerges from the international system of relations especially in the light of the emerging globalization, its academic discussion, the argument is being advanced, needs be placed within the context of the history of national experiences given the interpenetrations between and among nation-states and international citizens as earlier mentioned. Rethinking the state consequently requires specific context of national experience for further intellectual exposition. The choice of case study is Nigeria. There was in Nigeria by August, 1985 when General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida seized power through a palace coup d'état the formal introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The programme provides the much needed philosophical and theoretical framework for the interrogation of state-economy nexus and further within the relevant academic criteria and public policy for the attendant amplification. The knowledge of SAP particularly requires situating it within the history in relation to it especially following the realization of the need for home-grown solutions. In the Budget of 1986, particularly following the rejection of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan facilities overwhelmingly by Nigerians, the Administration of General Ibrahim Babangida, further within the context of the 1987 Political Bureau Report and the then "Third Wave of Democratization" of the middle and early periods of 1980s and 1990s globally, formulated the twin policies of Political and Economic Transition Programmes. The twin policies, again within the context of the emerging liberalization, provided the ground rules for a rethinking/redefinition of the Nigerian State especially in relation to its roles, duties and functions within the broad framework of the economy. Rethinking the Nigerian State from the perspective of the nexus between it and the economy requires situating it further within the context of the rise and fall of the Second Republic between October 1979 and December 1983 following the consequences and effects of the over-bloated state as recognized by the World Bank Report of 1981. There was, it should be emphasized, the necessity for state

reinvention within the context of the failures in general terms. Unemployment, stag-inflation, deindustrialization, balance of trade and payments deficits, infrastructural decay and collapse, extremely low agricultural prices, oil-price collapse and the attendant low foreign exchange earnings, salary and pension shortages, low productivity, etc., as indications of the failures, became important matters and issues of public administration and management which later influenced the Recommendations of the Political Bureau and its attendant Report and the White Paper in relation to the same subject matter. The programme of structural adjustment thus became Nigeria's indigenous response to rethinking the state through divestment from business. The state, the argument emerged, should not have had business in business, and if any at all, it should be the creation of the enabling environment for business to thrive. SAP, among others, was packaged in line with the objectives to diversify the Nigerian economy and the determination of the actual value of naira through market forces i.e. the forces of demand and supply.

The wholesale implementation of SAP, it was further realized, should include the privatization and commercialization of public enterprises and authorities. There was the initial Decree No. 25 of 1988 which, among others, created the Technical Committee on Privatization and Commercialization (TCPC), housed in the Presidency, and headed by a Director-General in person of Dr. H.R. Zayyad, a technocrat of repute. The return to democracy and constitutional rule in 1999 compelled the review of the Decree into an Act now titled: Public Enterprises (Privatization and Commercialization) Act of 1999. The Act has contained in it, and boldly expressed in its Part Two as the "National Council on Privatization; in Part Three as the "Bureau of Public Enterprises"; in Part Four as: "Legal Proceeding"; in Part Five as: "Public Enterprises Arbitration Panel; and in Part Six as: "Miscellaneous". It has become important at this juncture to clarify that this section of the paper/article does not seek to undertake an assessment and evaluation of either the adjustment programme or the privatization and commercialization of public enterprises/authorities. Rather, the focus of the section is to amplify the extent to which the 1999 Act has made an important contribution to the political theory of knowledge in relation to state rethinking, reinvention and reconceptualization within the context of the Nigerian experience as an illustrative framework. The set task consequently entails the amplification of state rethinking only in relation to the politics and law which remain critical to its exposition. The attendant question then is: How does the 1999 Public Enterprises (Privatization and Commercialization) Act provide the relevant academic/intellectual framework for the

discussion/interrogation of the knowledge in relation to the amplification of the state reinvention thesis? Its answer requires the immediate amplification of the politics and law in relation to the exposition on the state as an academic subject matter. In other words, the answer to the question exists in the politics and law in relation to the exposition on the state. The Act of 1999 exemplifies the fact that the state is both a political and legal construct. Political in the sense that the Act aligns itself with the fact that state is a political creation which further requires the element of force (law) as an instrument for the realization of the overall objective particularly in relation to its dynamic existence.

Part One of the Act titled: “Privatization and Commercialization of Public Enterprises”, divided into eight sections, among others, provides important preliminary information about the context of state reinvention through divestment. It gives the essential information about the enterprises to be privatized, the mode of privatization, the management of the privatized enterprises, and further listed the enterprises for partial and full commercialization, etc. The Act addresses in broad terms important and significant pieces of information which remain crucial and critical to state divestment. Further within the context of politics with which to interrogate state rethinking and reinvention, are parts two and three of the 1999 Act. Embedded in the politics, it should be emphasized, are the elements of administration, elements particularly in relation to ensuring the relevant bureaucratization. With the emphasis of Part Two on what it titled: “National Council on Privatization”, the contained sections nine, ten and eleven describe the establishment and membership of the council, the tenure of office of members, and the functions and powers of the council. Part Three: “Bureau of Public Enterprises” is the administrative component of the embedded politics. It states in sections twelve, thirteen and fourteen the establishment and functions of the Bureau with broad coordinating responsibilities. Parts Four and Five describe the legal proceedings and public enterprises arbitration panel, etc. Finally, Part Six in sections thirty-one, thirty-two, thirty-three and thirty four provide the miscellaneous information about the Act.

How do the parts and sections of the Act constitute in themselves a political theory of knowledge? The answer should be situated within the extent to which they help in the description, explanation and prediction of state reinvention/reconceptualization especially within the context of the emerging debates in relation to state-economy discourse. State-economy discourse following the

triumphalism of capitalism of the 1990s presents new insights into the challenges of human existence to the extent of compelling the reinvention of the state. State failures, as indications of the lack of efficiency and effectiveness in the allocation of scarce resources within the debilitating circumstance of underdevelopment, are sufficient enough to call to question the fundamental purpose in relation to the establishment and sustenance of the state. It creates further significant tensions within the space of state-civil society relations to the extent of calling for the rethinking of the roles of the state with particular regard to how well to enable public management of resources for the overall benefit of the citizens. Because the state is both critical and fundamental to human life, its failures represent a big set-back to it as the greatest invention ever made by man especially in the face of the challenges, complexities and complications in which contemporary human survival remain encapsulated and defined. Again, because it is difficult for the state to continue to assume full responsibilities over important matters and issues of human survival, managers of the state now have the compelling responsibilities to relief the state from some tasks which private entrepreneurs have the comparative advantage in their provisions with state's roles and responsibilities limited to the provision of physical infrastructures and broad regulatory guidelines in relation to their production, distribution and consumption to be able to allow for the welfare of all. The 1999 Act consequently makes important contribution to knowledge in relation to the subject matter of state-economy discourse by specifying both the rules and procedures of privatizing and commercializing state enterprises for overall efficiency and effectiveness in the allocation of scarce resources.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology

The political theory of knowledge in relation to rethinking and reinventing the state within the overall nexus between it and the economy requires comprehensive methodology of research. A comprehensive research methodology is needed within the requirements and goals of: (1) understanding the subject matter, (2) explaining and interpreting it, and (3) determining its consequences for scholarship. The methodology of the paper/article is consequently here broken into three given the embedded inescapable technicalities. The first part engages itself with a kind of theoretical explanation essential for the understanding of the subject matter. The second takes the form of interviews with scholars on the subject matter. The third takes the pattern of

carefully designed questionnaires distributed within ministries, departments and agencies of government to accommodate the framework of public policy decision-making. Overall, the data collection and analysis processes and procedures take the form of qualitative research methodology.

(i) The First Procedure and Process

This is the procedure and process of theoretical interrogation and advancement with the view to building the argument/thesis of the paper. Important to this are the works of: Laski (1982), Onyeoziri (2005), Williams (1980), Oyovbaire (1984), and the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended), among others.

State reinvention/rethinking first technically require thematic and sub-thematic arrangement relating to its interrogation. The thematic and sub-thematic arrangements are here placed within the origin in relation to what the state is, and later the necessity justifying/necessitating the need for reinvention/reconceptualization. In what Laski (1982) refers to as: “The Crisis in the Theory of The State”, he argues that: “No theory of the state is ever intelligible save in the context of its time” (Ibid:i). He continues: “What men think about the state is the outcome always of the experience in which they are immersed” (Ibid:i). According to him: “As always, ...men have gone back to the foundations of politics; and they seek anew to explain the nature and functions of the state” (Ibid:i). He goes further: “What is in issue now is not the minor matter of the state’s form; what is in issue is the nature of the state itself. We cannot, as I conceive, understand the profundity of the debate unless we realize that it is a crisis which involves the ultimate substance of society’s constitution” (Ibid:ii). The state, notwithstanding the crisis in relation to its theory, Laski (1982) concludes that it existed and still exists to continue to: (1) secure order, (2) provide technique of peaceful change, and (3) enable demand to be satisfied on the widest possible scale (Ibid:iii). Pushing the argument of Laski (1982) further in relation to the crisis in which the intellectual understanding of the state is immersed, Onyeoziri (2005) observes: “Defining the state is one of those journeys we begin and are not sure how or where it will end” (Ibid:35). He, notwithstanding concludes that: “The state is not the power of an individual or that of the group. It is the public power, the power of the entire public that makes up the body politic. This power is continuously deployed in the service of the body politic. It is not an off-an-on thing but is continuously in operation” (Ibid:35).

The methodology in relation to the political theory of knowledge of the state and economy discourse, as earlier argued, particularly requires situating it within specific contexts. This has the advantage of enabling the determination of the reality and practicality of the theoretical explanation as here being accomplished. In other words, it has the advantage of practical usefulness to the extent of enabling and sustaining simplification of both knowledge and understanding in relation to the subject matter. The above compels the simplification of the masterpiece; “The Nigerian State as a Conceptual Variable” by S. Egite Oyovbaire. Oyovbaire (1984:129) notes without mincing words: “The concept of the Nigerian State has recently become in vogue in the Nigerian social sciences, especially in the critical social sciences”. He continues: “The phenomenon exists, but what it is that actually exists, how does it exist and in what manner does it discharge the functions which called it into existence? As a concept to provide both the basis and context of a model let alone theory of politics in Nigeria, it retains hardly any more than a skeletal existence with most usages being a matter of intellectual suppositions about its meaning and instrumentality” (Ibid:129). The empirical interrogation of the State within the ongoing methodology of accomplishment requires careful invention/formulation and development of important indices of practical assessment and evaluation to serve the overall purpose of knowledge amplification and advancement. In the words of Oyovbaire (1984:12): “A concept, regardless of the academic usefulness of its abstractness, must possess empirical roots. To be relevant and utilizable, it must demonstrate a reasonable degree of correspondence to historicity of the ‘facts’, structures, motivations and norms of people in time and space. This is not a matter merely of ‘the empiricist practice of the theoretical ideologies’ or of worshipping as the ‘cult of facts and fetishism’ as Marxist and Marxian scholars are wont to charge bourgeois social science”.

Demonstrating/highlighting the point in relation to the specific context of the State as an important basis for further empirical amplification leads us to the examination and analysis of the 1999 Nigeria’s Constitution (as amended). The referred to Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Chapter Two titled: Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy” unambiguously declares in Section 14(1) that: “The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice”. It continues in sub-section (2b) and declares further that: “The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”, and concludes in sub-section (2c) that: “The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution”. So

far, what has been the import of the theoretical interrogation and advancement of the State, and how critical is same to the methodology of the paper/article as already adopted? The import has meaning of understanding only in relation to the ongoing thematic arrangement of the idea of the State. Starting from Laski (1982) through Onyeoziri (2005) to Oyovbaire (1984) and the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended), the State has any sense of knowledge and understanding only in relation to its function and this revolves around “the security and welfare of the people” just as Section 14(2b) of the above constitution sums it up. In other words, either at the levels of abstraction or reality, what the State is is essentially determined by its function in clear and specific terms. This is the original conceptualization of the State.

The idea of State reinvention/rethinking, a necessity beginning from the 1990s, came into being to enable re-evaluation and re-assessment. What therefore is State reinvention/ reconceptualization? And how can the methodology, here adopted, help to advance it? The answers to the two questions require an intellectual engagement and this exists fundamentally in the political economy in relation to the subject matter in literature. According to Williams (1980), the above revolves around the interrogation of the embedded theoretical connections between and among what he calls: “Politics, the State and capitalist development” (Ibid:47). Within the above context, he notes that: “During the colonial period, merchants, traders and professionals sought political power as a condition of furthering their economic interests against their colonial masters” (Ibid:47). There is therefore, within the embedded methodology, the understanding of the State and the purpose in relation to its existence, as a political power for the furthering of economic interests against the colonial masters. This same understanding equally subsists even after independence. In other words, the inherited understanding of the State is therefore a political framework of economic interest actualization and sustenance. Because this has with it consequences of great magnitude especially in relation to retarded growth and mal-development, the state therefore deserves a rethink and reconceptualization; rethink and reconceptualization especially within the context of realigning it to its appropriate roles, duties and responsibilities to enable for efficiency and effectiveness. The ‘business’ of the state is to therefore approach its duties and sundry functions ‘business like’, even though the emphasis should not directly focus on profit-making but should rather organize itself sufficient enough to continue to justify the purpose of its existence most creditably.

(ii) The Second Procedure and Process

This is the interview process. The interview was divided into two. These are the categories of bureaucrats and intellectuals. Both were in turn divided into two to include public officials of the state and that of federal bodies and agencies especially within the context of Nigeria's federal political parametres and system of governmental arrangement. Whether state or federal officers, those interviewed were in directorate level and above. They were considered as the high-ranking individuals with clear responsibilities and involvement in matters in relation to public policy formulation/decision-making, implementation and assessment. Questions asked and the ensued interactions revolve around the tabulation below:

Table 1: *Summary of Interview: Theme, Body of Interactions/Conversations and Conclusion*

Theme	Body of Interactions/Conversations	Conclusion
1 The fundamentality of the state as the framework of social organization.	State has meaning only in relation to its primary purposes. The primary purposes of the state capture the fundamentality in relation to its existence.	The primary purposes are the key fundamentals of evaluation and assessment.
2 The growth and development of the Nigerian State placed within the history in relation to the political development of Nigeria.	There was the general consensus in relation to the historical fact that Nigeria long existed before colonialism. Notwithstanding, the modern state of Nigeria is a product of colonialism and the various colonial constitutions.	Any knowledge of/idea about the developmental state in Nigeria has relevance only in the process of her integration into international capitalism.
3 The idea and experience of the 'developmental state' within the context of Nigeria.	Development is a necessity. There is therefore the relevance of the State in the determination of what type of development.	The state is crucial to the formulation and development of the required framework of development.
4 Practical initiatives of the 'developmental state' under both military and civilian regimes.	Specific ministries, commissions, authorities, utilities, boards, state enterprises, etc.	Development requires practical initiatives and essentials.
5 The embedded roots of the 'developmental state' within the broad pathologies of public administration and management.	Nepotism, tribalism, corruption, politics as the real determinants, etc.	Responsible for the breakdown of the state/state dysfunctionalities.

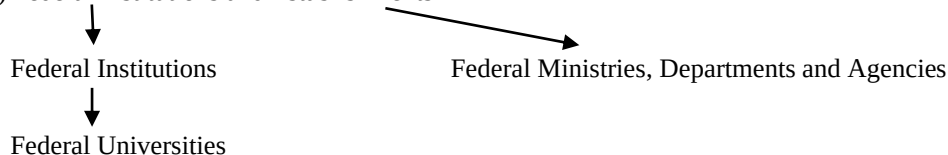
6	Properties and elements of privatization and commercialization as integral policy framework of the structural adjustment programme.	Partial and full privatization; partial and full commercialization.	Poor implementation framework. Massive political corruption.
7	The Nigerian State within the context of multilateralism particularly the World Bank, IMF, etc.	The various loans and their stipulated conditions.	Stagnated growth, de-industrialization and mal-development.
8	An assessment: (a) Whether or not the state can be divorced from its primary idea. (b) The way forward.	State reconceptualization should not be allowed from the idea justifying its existence. Strengthened institutions.	The relevance of the state requires regular assessment.

Source: Compiled from the field

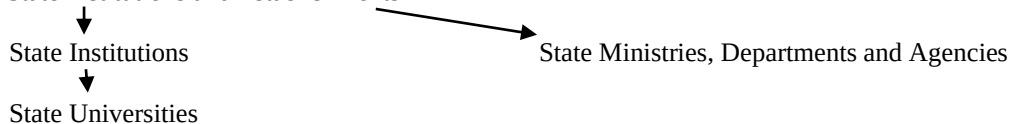
Interview Mode and Conduct

Face-to-face as earlier hinted and within the pattern below:

(a.) Federal Institutions and Establishments



(b.) State Institutions and Establishments



(c.) Targeted Institutions and Departments

- The Departments of Political Science, Sociology and Economics
- Ministries of Economic Development, and Planning, and Budget Offices

(d.) Coverage/Scope

The South-West Geo-political Region of Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory, FCT

(iii) The Third Procedure and Process

This took the form of questionnaire equally and selectively distributed between and among Nigerian citizens with particular emphasis on the politicians, senior executives of political parties and members of the legislative houses after careful study of their profiles to ensure that they are graduates in the field. The questionnaires were crafted essentially within the provisions of Chapter Two of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended).

(a.) Table 2: *Nigeria's South-West Geo-political Region*

No. of State	Name	Capital
06	Ogun State	Abeokuta
	Oyo State	Ibadan
	Lagos State	Ikeja
	Ondo State	Akure
	Osun State	Osogbo
	Ekiti State	Ado-Ekiti

(b.) Table 3: *Number of Questionnaires of Equal Distribution per State*

State	Number	Total
Ogun State	50	
Oyo State	50	
Lagos State	50	
Ondo State	50	
Osun State	50	
Ekiti State	50	
		300

(c.) Table 4: *Returned/Collected Questionnaire*

State	Number	Total
Ogun State	40	
Oyo State	38	
Lagos State	40	
Ondo State	45	
Osun State	36	
Ekiti State	35	
		234

(d.) Percentage of Returned/Collected Questionnaire

$$\frac{234}{300} \times 100 = 78\%$$

(e.) Table 5: *Profile of Respondents*

Total No. of Graduates	Total No. of Graduates of Humanities	Percentage
234	200	$\frac{200}{234} \times 100 = 85\%$

(f.) Table 6: *Thematic Understanding of the Issues in Relation to the State*

Themes	Percentage
1 The knowledge of the State within the provisions of the 1999 Constitution (as amended)	$\frac{234}{234} \times 100 = 100\%$
2 The extent of comprehensiveness of the provisions. In other words, the adequacy of the provisions	$\frac{170}{234} \times 100 = 73\%$
3 The extent of the fundamentality of the State in meeting its purposes.	$\frac{234}{234} \times 100 = 100\%$
4 Disagreement with the provision relating to non-justiceability principle.	$\frac{200}{234} \times 100 = 85\%$
5 Amount and level of the involvement of the State in developmental activities	$\frac{120}{234} \times 100 = 51\%$
6 The extent of reconceptualization along the policies of privatization and commercialization	$\frac{100}{234} \times 100 = 43\%$

Sources (a-f): Compiled from the field

FINDINGS AND THEIR DISCUSSIONS

(i.) The First Procedure and Process

There is a consensus of knowledge and understanding in relation to the state. There is however, lack of same with respect to the scope and extent of its functions, duties and responsibilities. The state, in relation to the latter, has greater relevance of interrogation only in relation to the context of time as Laski (1982) submitted. The state, again, has relevance of knowledge in political theory in relation to the subject matter further from the perspective of its integration within the body politics.

(ii.) The Second Procedure and Process

The interview mode of data collection had the advantage of encouraging cross-fertilization of ideas. This was considered necessary to ensure that the embedded issues of political theory in relation to the subject matter are situated within the dynamics of the political development of the Nigerian State. State rethinking and reconceptualization

given the many areas of the failure of the Nigerian State should particularly be presented and situated within important thematic arrangement and situated within important themes in relation to the amplification of the subject matter. The state remains fundamental to the organization of every society, and within the experience of the Third World in dire need of development. It should be saddled with clearly specified important roles.

(iii.) The Third Procedure and Process

The data collected provides useful insights into whether state rethinking/reconceptualization is desirable and therefore constitutes an important focus of study in contemporary political theory within the subject matter of political science. The case study of Nigeria reveals important fundamentals of knowledge in relation to the idea of the state particularly as an important framework for the realization and sustenance of purposes/goals in which it was primarily founded and created. While 100percent of the respondents revealed their knowledge and understanding of the State as provided in the 1999 Constitution (as amended), 85percent objected to same on the ground of the accompanying non-justiciable principle. In other words, 85percent fail to see the importance of the purpose of Nigerian State as constitutionally defined and stipulated without an accompanying provision to compel the state to perform the accompanied functions in the court of law. 51percent, it should be further noted, indicated support for the existing volume and scope of involvement of the Nigerian State in developmental initiatives and activities.

CONCLUSION

The State is undisputedly important to the organization of both ancient and contemporary societies. The State, with the passage of time and in accordance with the processes and procedures relating to human civilization, has undergone series of refinements in relation to both its conceptualization and fundamental purposes. The accompanying dynamics just as it remains influenced and shaped by the processes and procedures of human civilization becomes the standard for regular evaluation and assessment. The paper/article interrogates the subject matter of the State and follows-up the advancement of the knowledge of same within important and bold imaginations especially in relation to the advancement of the embedded thesis. It finally submits that while there are existing threats and limitations to the idea of the State especially from the perspective of its welfare conceptualization necessitating and suggesting its

refinement and rethinking from the dimensions of privatization and commercialization of its duties, functions and responsibilities, constitutional encumbrances limiting the extent and relevance of its purposes like the Nigerian case study has revealed, renders less important the supposed reinvention and reconceptualization.

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