Full Length Research

Governance and Leadership Challenges in Africa

Mohammed Yimer

Department of Civic and Ethical Studies, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Arba Minch University
Email: muhamed_yimer@yahoo.com

This paper is a critical analysis of leadership and governance crises in the horn of Africa in particular and the rest part of the continent in general. It argues that Africa's failures have come largely as a result of frequent leadership change, lack of clear ideology, policy reversal and weak institutional setups. It also examines the leadership selection process in Africa and it takes the imposition pattern and that African leaders have frequently come to their position with limited experience or just the source of their authority is beyond the governed (Afegbua, 2012).. Hence, the decline in moral and discipline caused by bad and unsustainable policies, eroded professional standards and weakened the system of governance. It observes that for Africa to overcome the contemporary leadership and governance crisis, those on whom the burden of leadership will fall in the future must fully comprehend their responsibilities. Since the long term salvation of developing countries depends on the quality of its future change makers, they must also be well prepared to face the challenges of leadership in developing society. The paper concludes that only leadership that has maximum empathy for the people can be relevant to the qualitative movement of Africa.

Key words: Governance, Leadership, Challenges, Africa, AU

INTRODUCTION

The governance institutions and practices that were bequeathed to a majority of African states at independence were, for the most part, ill-adapted to the African realities and the continent's development challenges (Afegbua, 2012). Therefore, one of the major challenges that have faced African states since the advent of political independence has been that of establishing and sustaining appropriate governance institutions and practices that would engender democratic practices and promote sustainable development on the continent. In consequence, African governments, both individually and collectively, have over the years, evolved various strategies and responses to the ever-present challenge of governance. (Governance challenges in Africa and the role of the African union, website: www.africa-union.org, (Alphonse, 2005).

Given continued conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where about 5.4 million civilians have been killed in brutal civil wars since 1990 and the intensified mayhem in the Sudan, where more than 300,000 Arabs and Africans have been slaughtered in Darfur and elsewhere since 2003 (Afegbua, 2012) ensure lack of clear ideology that is compatible with the history, culture and the realities at the ground. Since the conception of its independence, south Sudan has entered in to asocial and political instability that calls for the international community. Moreover, the continued tension between the north and south in Côte d'Ivoire; battles in the Niger Delta, where oil wealth exists amid extreme deprivation; a war in northern Uganda and piracy at sea and bitter struggles on land in Somalia, the unconstitutional removal of a legitimate leader in Egypt in 2014, and its increased openness and the consequent vulnerability to external forces, the long lasting hydro-politics between Ethiopia, Egypt and other riparian states, the challenging issue of terrorism in the horn of Africa, no governance, or prolonged bad governance, might seem more the sub-Saharan African trend than good governance(Ibid).

Enhancing good governance is a considerable challenge for the African region. Despite good progress in recent years, there is still much work to be done to address bad practice including corruption and political interference in decision making. A key aim of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) is improving corporate governance. It believes that without it, new programs and projects to promote Africa's development will not be delivered. (New Partnership for Africa's Development, (http://www.nepad.org.))

Good governance is a critical element required for effective and sustained peace and security, economic growth and human development. As African States make strenuous efforts to meet the developmental goals enshrined in the internationally-agreed Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), it is becoming increasingly apparent that without improved governance such goals cannot be attained. Managing climate change is also a governance issue. Africa is now facing a significant undertaking on climate-change adaptation amidst great adversity, instability and economic challenges (Afegbua, 2012). Governments are tasked with the responsibility of designing and implementing effective policies of mitigation and adaptation to climate change. This requires organizational and institutional capacities as well as coherent actions built on accountable, transparent and participatory systems of governance.

LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

The problem in an intellectual discourse of this nature is usually concerned with the definition of terms. It is really very difficult to attempt a definition of leadership, or in other words it is difficult to define what makes certain persons to be "leaders. For example, some researchers define leadership in terms of personality and physical traits, while others believe leadership is represented by a set of prescribed behaviors.

Leadership is the process of creating the subordinates' identification with the group's mission and creating their desires to achieve the group's goal. According to Graig (2005) leadership is defined as a social influence process in which the leader seeks the voluntary participation of subordinates in an effort to reach organizational goals. While Robert et al (2004) affirms that leadership involves a complex interaction among the leader, the followers, and the situation.

With so many definitions of leadership, Hackman (2006) classified these conceptions into four primary definitional themes; these are;

(a) Leadership is about what you are: this definitional theme focuses on leader traits and attributes and is one of the oldest ways of conceptualizing leadership. This emphasis is on identifying the characteristics that define natural or born leaders.

(b) Leadership is about how you act: From this perspective leadership is defined as the exercise of influence or power. To identify leaders, we need to determine who is influencing whom. For instance Hersey (1984:14) defines leadership as "any attempt to influence the behavior of another individual or group".

(c) Leadership is about what you do: This definitional thread focuses on the role that leaders play.

(d) Leadership is about how you work with others: This definitional theme emphasizes collaboration. Leaders and followers establish mutual purposes and work together as partners to reach their goals (Poulin, et al 2007).

In the views of Aguda (1995) a person may attain the position of leadership in one of several ways. The first method is self-imposition, which is totally devoid of constitutionality. Secondly, a group of persons may forcefully impose a leader on the generality of people. Nigeria, for instance have of course become aware of this since 1966. A person may come to the position of leadership through a demonstration of leadership qualities over a long period of time. Examples of such are Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sertse Khama of Botswana, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

The concept of "Governance" on the other hand is not new. It has been around in both political and academic discourse for a long time, referring in a generic sense to the task of running a government or any other appropriate entity, for example a nation. More recently, it has gained particular significance in the literature on Africa development as a result, among other things, of

the World Bank (1989) identifying the crisis on the continent as one of governance. More specifically, the Bank refers to such phenomena as the extensive personalization of power, the denial of fundamental human rights, widespread of corruption, and the prevalence of illegitimate and unaccountable government.

The concept of governance, in fact, is simple. It is seen as a set of values, policies and institutions through which the society manages economic, political as well as social processes at different levels, on the basis of interaction among the government, civil society and private sector. In essence, the concept of governance is not new and is probably as old as human civilization. It broadly means the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented. The concept of governance relates to the quality of relationship between the government and citizens whom it serves and protects (Afegbua, 2012).

Governance could be defined as one in which the concerned authority if any, exercises power, exerts influence and manages the country's social as well as economic resources leading to better development. In a more precise manner we can say that governance is the way those with power, use the power. Thus, governance has social, political, and economic dimensions (Sahni, 2003).

Governance is defined as the capacity to establish and sustain workable relations between individual actors in order to promote collective goals (Chazan, 1992). It was further defined by Galadima (1998) as; a process of organizing and managing legitimate power structures, entrusted by the people, to provide law and order, protect fundamental human rights, ensure rule of law and due process of law, provide for the basic needs and welfare of the people and the pursuit of their happiness.

Governance is the conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of public realm (Hyden, 1992). Governance consequently, is concerned with the uncovering viable regime forms as well as degree of stateness – the capacity to entrench the authority of the central state and to regularize its relations with society. World Bank (1989) defined governance quite narrowly as "the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs." To Barkan (1992), governance involves less in the way of administrative management and more in the way of political management; with its emphasis on developing networks of reciprocity and exchange, governance increases the possibilities of accomplishing more while spending less.

In the view of Srilatha (2003) governance means…the act and manner of managing public affairs. Through the process of governance, the essential link between the civil society and state is established, giving a shape to the way decisions are made for serving public interest. The constitution and the laws provide the legal framework of governance. The institutions embodying the governance process include the executive, legislature, judiciary, army, bureaucracy, political parties and interest groups. It is the moral principles and rules of conduct, having a bearing on both the legal framework and the institutions, which basically determine the government and the governed.

Governance is legitimate in a real sense when the government is installed by the people through institutional arrangements that are put in place by the people and when the performance of the ruler is adjudge good and accepted by the people and when the people have no power to remove the ruler in case of very grievous offence, such a government is legitimate and democratic.

Although governance is practiced by political elites, it is manifest in the condition of citizenry. This implies that a strong state is unlikely to emerge in the absence of a vibrant civil society. It concerns the institutionalization of the normative values that can motivate and provide cohesion to the members of the society at large (Hyden, 1992). Hyden's efforts to operationalize "governance" inevitably lead to associate good governance with democratic values and procedures. Although Hyde's concept of a governance realm is applicable to all political system, it is addressed primarily to African polities because of breakdown of governance across the continent (Barkan, 1992). It is no coincidence that the diminution of the governance realm across Africa has accompanied the spread of personal rule

GOVERNANCE LEADERSHIP NEXUS IN AFRICA

Governance (decentralized) and leadership capacity in Africa are discussed within the context of the challenges facing the continent and its people. Both must be conceived and implemented with the aim of making leaders and people (followers) capable of effectively addressing the key challenges facing Africa today and likely to face the continent tomorrow, especially at community level. Their programs must be driven by constant reference to the unique challenges that are facing African leadership at the beginning of the 21 st Century and the demands that these challenges will place on the leadership style socially, administratively, managerially and politically. This requires creating an enabling environment in which services could be delivered to the required stakeholder in a short period of time, with a required pace with in every level. For bringing this in to reality, what is paramount is the role of the leader. Citizens by themselves could not make the system accountable, transparent, legitimate and creating participatory environment without requesting the values of a visionary and transformational leader. Therefore, leadership and governance are interdependent areas

which leaders consider both sides of the coin for a sustainable transformation. Most of todays' African problems revolve around creating responsible and transparent political system and institutional setup that can promptly respond to the needs of the governed.

QUEST TOWARDS A PROACTIVE CONTINENTAL POSTURE

However, with the end of the Cold War, issues of democracy, human rights and good governance gained unprecedented prominence. They became regular items in the menu of inter-African relations and in Africa's dialogue with the North. This process, aligned with increasing domestic pressure for democratization within Africa itself, generated an increased propensity among African leaders within the OAU to adopt a proactive posture on the question of good governance on the continent.

Consequently, OAU decisions, declarations and resolutions in the 1990s, have tended to underline popular participation and good governance. These included the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development (1990), the Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World (1990)[1], the Abuja Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community, the Grand Bay Declaration of the OAU Ministerial Conference on Human Rights, the Sirte Declaration of 1999, the Solemn Declaration on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) of 2000, the Lomé Declaration on Unconstitutional Change of Government of 2000 and the CSSDCA Memorandum of Understanding (20002). In this context, attitudes towards democracy, human rights and good governance, became more forthright. This prepared the ground for issues of governance, democracy and human rights to become a centerpiece of the emergent AU agenda as evident in the Constitutive Act of the Union.

THE CONSTITUTIVE ACT OF THE AFRICAN UNION

The new thinking and changing orientation was effectively captured in the fundamental law of the new regional body, which is the Constitutive Act of the African Union. While the emphasis of the OAU Charter was on sovereignty and noninterference, the AU's Constitutive Act stresses a policy of "non-indifference". Accordingly, the Constitutive Act upheld the principle of diminished sovereignty for all its member states by acknowledging the right of the Union to intervene in a member state, pursuant to a decision of the Assembly "in respect of grave circumstances, namely; war crimes, genocide, and

crime against humanity (Article 4 h) and "the right of Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to ensure peace and security" (Alphonse and Valentine, 2005).

These provisions emphasize that the African Community created by the Union, would be one that would be bound by the common values of democracy, liberty and human freedom shared by the wide spectrum of the international society.

CREATING AN ENVIRONMENT OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA

The democratic and good governance ethos embedded in the Constitutive Act was reinforced by the need to create an environment of peace and security as an enabling condition for development and good governance. At the inception of the Union in 2002, the continent was ridden by a wave of conflicts in the Mano River Union (embracing Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia) Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, Somalia, Zimbabwe and the Central African Republic. The chaos, crisis and political turmoil inspired by the conflicts threatened violence, anarchy and disorder.

The AU explicitly recognized that the persistence of the conflict would undermine its broad agenda of democracy and development. Hence, it adopted a proactive approach to resolving these conflicts. The approach emphasized early response to developing conflict situations and a process of active mediation on a day to day basis with the instrument of special envoys and special representatives. The approach stressed comprehensive coverage so that conflicts are not isolated or treated with indifference.

THE AU AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES

The African Union is committed to assist its member states to build their capacity to realize its core principles and to fulfill their duty of effectively and timely accounting to their constituencies through the setting-up and enforcement of monitoring mechanisms and core operational values. More importantly, the search for effective popular participation leads the AU to capitalize on the promotion of adherence to principles of good governance, gender equality, and the rule of law and the involvement of civil society organizations.

The AU has made a number of commitments in the area of governance. This include among others: the Durban Declaration on Elections, Governance and Democracy; the NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance; the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of

Corruption; and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights Relating to the Rights of Women, just to name but these. It is worth mentioning that these decisions and commitments actually build on the legacy of the predecessor OAU that had adopted valuable instruments and decisions relating to human rights, democracy and governance.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the African Union is very much determined to confront and overcome governance challenges on the continent. Its focus is clear and constructive efforts and methods have been put in place. The overall result has been remarkable. Yet, there is still much to be done. Moreover, there are some constraints and challenges that should be further addressed to consolidate the pace of change and ensure that it has an irreversible momentum.

The very first of these challenges has been that of coping with Africa's complex political environment defined in terms especially of the large number of states in the continent (53) that differ both in their historical experiences and inheritances and also in the realities they face. This has resulted in marked differences in the ways in which individual or groups of African countries have tended to interpret and perceive the continental governance agenda as defined by the AU-OAU and their related programs such as the NEPAD-APRM processes. Some still perceive the agenda as being very intrusive and therefore the key challenge here is to get their buy-ins into the agenda for it to make an impact.

A second challenge facing the AU's governance agenda relates particularly to the difficulties of actualizing its democracy and human rights agenda in the backdrop of the infantile problems associated with the burden of democracy. The rules of the game are yet to be clearly defined and internalized, such that the outcomes of major democratic processes, such as elections, could become both predictable and readily acceptable. What prevails at the moment is that some of those who wield political power are disposed to 'bending' the rules of the game in their favor, while those who perceive themselves as outsiders, have constantly challenged democratic processes.
Importantly also, the plural character of African societies in terms especially of religion and ethnicity, have continued to be a threat to the continent's efforts at democratization. Ethnicity and religion have been politicized in many African polities resulting in serious conflicts that have been a set back to the continent's democratic agenda.

Thirdly, this has created problems in terms of the growth and development of AU governance instruments. The Lomé Declaration on Unconstitutional Changes of Government, for instance, has tended to focus on taking strong action against military interventions. The OAU/AU has applied this framework with remarkable success in Comoros, Togo, Madagascar, etc. However, there is a

new threat of incumbent governments seeking to alter constitutions to extend their mandates. There is also the case of Mauritania where a military coup appeared to have drawn much popular support creating a dilemma for the sustainment of democratic ethos. Implicitly therefore, policy frameworks that have been evolved to address some of the continent's governance challenges, including ensuing conflicts, have at times been overtaken by new dynamics that were not foreseen at the time of the crafting of these frameworks. The challenge here is to make these frameworks broad enough to accommodate more complex situations.

Fourthly, though serious efforts have been made to resolve conflicts with remarkable results, some conflicts have persisted as in Cote d'Ivoire while others have been aggravated, as is the case with the Sudan. The conflict in Sudan has created further problems in Chad and Central Africa Republic, thus raising the scepter of wider regional instability. Even since the eve of its independence, tens of thousands of civilian of south Sudan are being suffering from political instability.

The fifth challenge is that while the AU has recognized the need to collaborate with non-state actors, both continental and international, in the advancement of the continental governance agenda, resistance persists in some quarters, against fully incorporating these non-state actors in the activities of the Union. The challenge here is that of overcoming the rigid mindset of many state actors towards non-state actors such as civil society organizations and the private sector.

There is a need to recognize that they have a huge potential to contribute to the advancement of good governance and also in preventing and managing some of Africa's intractable conflicts.

MODELS TO THE STUDY OF GOVERNANCE

Scholars have devised a number of models to guide the study of governance. These are; monocratic and polycentric governance models. The Monocratic governance model hails from Hobbes theory of the state, which holds that supreme authority to govern rests in the Leviathan. In other words, monocratic governance implies a political system that is highly centralized in terms of centralization of powers at the center. In that type of political system, the principle of moonlighting takes preeminence as sub-units within the system only serve as administrative coordinate that function primarily to strengthen the center (Oladoyin, et al, 2004:49-50). The main characteristics of the monocratic model according to them include the adoption of a one-party state or where one party is the dominant party signifies a monocratic order. The extent of a military regime is another indication of the existence of a monocratic political order. Excessive centralization is

nevertheless the main index of monocentricism.

Under this model, political centralization is one of the salient parameters to measure centralization. Political centralization is a situation where there is absence of competitive political parties. Only one political party dominates the political scene. The civic capacity to react against policy decisions or influence are greatly minimized or out rightly absent. In political sense, centralization manifest in military regimes with their policies of unity of command and unity of control.

The monocratic model helps some African political leaders pull a wide array of resources together to generate a handsome quantum of national wealth for welfare programs. In a monocratic order, popular participation is at the lowest ebb; might is right and the popular theories of human right, public morality and legitimacy can be best described as luxuries. Since the system does not favor popular participation, it is thus characterized by high-handedness, occasional unrest, lack of press freedom, shrink space for civil society operations and contested political legitimacy (Olowu, et al; 1995)

THE CHALLENGES OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

This paper highlighted a number of leadership challenges in Africa. It is sad to observe that Africa's leadership selection process takes the imposition pattern directly or indirectly. Worrisome too is the fact that the Africa's political formation is along tribal groupings and ethnic aggregations thus visionary leaders are dropped while mediocre are often selected or imposed on the masses. In view of the above, therefore, the following suggestions are proffered to help to ameliorate the seemingly endemic leadership and governance problems in the continent so as to achieve a measure of credibility and purposeful leadership.

The immediate task of leadership in Africa is to restore hope. To pull our people out of the pit in which they have found themselves, to rescue the people from the ravages of military dictatorship and from the ruling clique, protect unconstitutional removal of leaders from their legitimate position, etc. The challenges for leadership in Africa are enormous, serious urgent and important. A leader of Africa has work to do. He will need vision, organizing ability, wisdom, administrative skills and more.

The search for leadership in Africa is a search for social justice, which automatically, eliminates social injustice. The principle of justice is to give each person or group what is his/her due and to demand the contribution of each on the basis of equal consideration.

Africans should learn to deal sincerely and honestly with one another so that the question of mistrust and suspicion amongst the various ethnic groups in the continent would be wiped away. It is only then that any qualified African can be elected into leadership positions without mistrust, suspicion, acrimony or reference to his/her ethnic or religious background.

The leadership search as opined by Seteolu (2004) should interrogate the option of independent candidacy a basis to attract professionalism, intellectual, business and industrial elite to contest political office without partisan platform. This option will likely enhance the quality of politicking, promote issue-based politics and recruit new entrants into the political class with somewhat personal integrity and pedigree, and reduce the cost of political power. The independent candidate as a political type will more likely suit the local levels of governance where community attachment, honor and integrity as opposed to party influence or domination are the determinants of political choice.

The challenges for Africa and its leadership endowed with courage, determination, tolerant and honesty and the creation and promoting the process of endowing political institutions with necessary legitimacy which is their ultimate safeguard against violent overthrow (Kamuntu, 1993). Africa cannot afford to continue with ill-prepared and unassisted leaders. Those on whom the burden of leadership will fall in future must fully comprehend their responsibilities, duties, and obligations. They must be exposed and there must be a carefully planned preparation for leadership if they are to meet the challenges that will face them.

As recommended by African Leadership Forum (1993), that one solution is to hold periodically the "African Leadership Forum" - a series which may be national, sub-regional, regional, and international in dimension and may vary in duration. The purpose is to acknowledge the awareness of young, potential African leaders, playing special emphasis on diagnosing apparent failures of the past; as well as an understanding of multiple dimensions and complex interrelations of local, national, regional and global problems; and seeking possible approaches at proffering solutions to them.

The problem which troubles Africans most is the failure of political leadership. There are of course failures in other domains, but these are traceable in the consciousness to political leadership deficiencies. Seteolu (2004:74) summarizes the challenge from Nigerian perspective thus; the political elite are not a productive class, but rely on the control of state structures to access economic rewards. The over politicization of the Nigerian state is also understood in the context of the unmediated struggle for power, influence and patronage. The nature of political contest ensured the emergence of a local governing class without ideological commitment. Rather than pursue political contests within ideological frameworks, politics became a contested terrain for shallow, self-centered political gains.

The de-ideologisation of African politics means that

aspirant political leaders do not see a pressing need to state their macro-vision for the continent. There is no explicit formulation of any systems values. The nature of Nigerian state evolved a predatory political class that was concerned with power struggle, consolidation, alignment and realignment in the context of hegemonic control… This is linked to the lack of ideology in the political space, monetization of the political process, expand the basis of political participation and canvass alternative policy agenda (Seteolu, 2004; Obi, 2000). Ake and Onoge (1995:53) also pointed out that;

> Political leadership is parochial rather than national; and corruptly converts national resources into its project of primitive accumulation. Ethnic diversity is manipulated to stay afloat to the detriment of national cohesion. There is an embarrassing lack of national heroes. The failure was usually explained either by the easy manipulability of the cultural pluralist background, or by the "two publics" antagonism.

The personalize nature of rule in so many African countries means not only that public policy making lacks the logic and empirical content that typically characterizes such an activity in order contexts but also that governance structures are largely informal and subject to arbitrary change (Hyden,1992:23). Following the widespread abuses of civil and political rights by such rulers as Idi Amin, Emperor Bokassa, and Macias Nguema in the late 1970's, however, Africans gradually began to recognize their significance. One of the most important messages coming out in literatures is that African government can no longer at will, by invoking the demand for national unity; violate civil and political rights of their citizens.

Nigeria, a country which has the largest population in the continent of Africa, has a dearth of genuine leaders. Also equally relevant and important is the absence of political will. A political will is the compelling force for sound leadership quality, the ability to do what is right, what is relevant and what is attainable within the context of patriotic nationalism. Political will very often means personal or group sacrifices. It implies the ability to implement policies that have a nationalistic important and relevant without allowing pockets of interest to detract from what should naturally be of national benefit. In contemporary Africa, Nelson Mandela represents that model of leadership by personal sacrifice to redeem his people from servitude (Isekhure, 1995). In light of the above, Eze (1995) has this to say about leadership in Nigeria;

In considering the Nigerian situation, there seem to be certain issues in Nigerian leadership which require experimental investigations. For instance, it has been generally asserted that Nigerian management is marked by authoritarian leadership characteristics and practices. They are said to have maintained a rigid dictatorial approach, as well as master-servant, rider-horse relationship with subordinates. In fact, it is been said that a Nigerian man is by nature and training an autocrat who demands nothing but respect and obedience from his subordinates, and those younger and lower in status than him. Also in public sector, the leadership has been associated with certain undesirable traits such as double-standards, pursuance of selfish goals, lack of seriousness and indiscipline. The current governance and security challenge the Nigerian state faced (the issue of Boko Haram[1]) is not seen in isolation from what is already said above.

Most African leaders assumed their role with limited experience and training in the art and science of directing and effectively managing the affairs of a modern state (Kamuntu, 1993).

The challenge to African leaders is thus to develop the capacity that would enable us to strike a balance between the values of African societies and the governance that our nations must follow. However, the concern must be to blend the two rather than to treat them as if they were mutually exclusive.

The political power in Africa became concentrated in one political party and finally in hand of one leader. Making the rise of the supremacy of the office of the President over all organs of government, most African Presidents enjoyed re-election in perpetuity without any competition. Kamuntu (1993) observes further that consequent resistant to the concentration of power to the hands of one man – the President was brutally suppressed with greater violations of human rights, resulting in massacres and millions of Africans becoming refugees or becoming displaced persons and many qualified African's seeking employment opportunities in foreign countries in search of personal security. Africa's continuing crisis presents a tremendous challenge to the continent and its leadership.

Therefore, based on the above analysis, we can possibly assume that the trouble with Africa is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the African character or political system in operation. The character of political leadership became a problem as most of them lost or lacked control of effective leadership. This led to the scramble and partition of state resources to suit their purpose.

CONCLUSION

Leadership is complex and, in practice, it is not as clear

---

[1] A Terrorist group and a significant contemporary cancer for Jonathan Administration in the Northern Nigeria.

cut as the present analyses may seem to indicate. As Collins (2001) noted a paradoxical combination of humility and professional will are important in leadership success. When we talk about leadership, it must be understood purely in the context of its capacity to resolve problems and lead the people to their destined goal and national objective. Africa in this context does not have any identifiable goal and objective. So, when people stumble into leadership positions in this kind of climate, they find themselves dazed and appear as a flotsam in the sea whose destination cannot be determined. Even when such a leaders has reasons for assumption of leadership which may appear patriotic at first instance, actual implementation often turns out to reveal all the hidden motives (Isekhure, 1995).

It has been said that the trouble in Africa is with leadership. People have agreed that there is nothing wrong with our climate, with our environment, our rich endowments in natural resources. A relevant leadership concerned with the people as the centerpiece will have to raise the value and equality of citizenship. Such a leader will, of necessity, require the constant deepening of the democratic milieu for co-leading with the people. Only leadership that has maximum empathy for the people can be relevant to the qualitative movement of Africa. The leadership qualities we have indicated above as relevant to contemporary African situation, have not been pulled out of the magician's hat neither the products of an imaginative voluntarism.

There is no gainsaying the fact that the quest for leadership is an undeniable fact in human history, especially in matters relating to the management of both human and material resources. Therefore, it should be noted that the success or otherwise of any country depends on the effectiveness or otherwise of its leaders. This shows that leadership is of essence in any human setup and it is tantamount to a stable polity and development. Therefore it is our belief that democracy has a role to play in helping to salvage Africa from the nagging problem of leadership. The quality of leadership in Africa leaves much to be desired. There is very urgent need now for able, true and efficient leadership. Such leadership must be in the hands of qualified, competent, enlightened and honest persons for the overall development of Africa. That search may not end until we get principled followership and principled leadership resulting into principled governance of Africa.

The crucial elements in the good governance being called for in Africa are accountability, transparency, predictability, human rights etc. Africans can develop the common values necessary for the governance of Africans societies which in essence must be rooted in the spirit of cooperation, tolerant and adherence to constitutional rules and procedures (Obasanjo, 1993). The long term salvation of African therefore, depends on the quality of its future leadership. In this context, apart from improved quality of education so as to secure able future leadership, the present leader of Africa have a special responsibility to develop a new generation of leaders, tested in our era. This is the new challenge to Africa's leaders and a necessary measure for Africa's future that can sustain stability and development.

As noted by Oputa (1995), leadership in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society like Africa should adopt secularism as its magna carta. It should not be seen to unduly attach to a particular religion. The necessary distinction should be drawn between the private religions life of the leaders and his public image as a leader of many different religious groups. This will give the leadership the credibility it so much requires to inspires and win the confidence of the entire citizenry. He goes on to say that leadership should pursue useful economic policies which will benefit the continent. The acid test of any policy or program is the extent to which it conduces to the welfare of all.

REFERENCES

ACCA, Accountants for business, Leadership and governance in Africa, The Association of Chartered Certified Accountants, October 2011. website:www.accaglobal.com/accountants

Adejumobi, S. (2004). "Democracy, Good Governance and Constitutionalism in Africa", in Odion-Akhaine, S (eds), Governance: Nigeria and the World, Lagos: CENCOD.

Adeola, G.L (2007). "Politics and Democratization Process in Nigeria: The Prevailing Issues", LASU Journal of Social Sciences, Vol 6 Nos 1 & 2, August.

Afegbua, S (2012), The Challenges of Leadership and Governance in Africa: International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences September 2012, Vol.2, No.9 ISSN: 2222-6990.website: www.hrmars.com/journals

Africa Union, governance challenges in Africa and the role of the African union Public Lecture to mark the 20th Anniversary of the European Centre for Development Policy Management, (ECDPM) 19 December 2006 (European Institute for Public Administration) Onze Lieve Vrouweplein 21, and Maastricht, Netherlands.

Agbaje, D.O. and Roberts, Y (2000). Meeting the Challenge of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria, Ibadan: NISER.

Aguda, A. (1995). "Nigeria: In Search for Leadership", Keynote Address delivered at the Third Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue.

Ake, C and Onoge, O (1995). "The Theories and Conception of Leadership", in Fafowora, et al (eds),Nigeria: In Search of Leadership, Ibadan:

Spectrum Book.

Antonakis, J. et al (2004). The Nature of Leadership, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Eze, I (1988). "A Study of Leadership in Nigerian Organizations", ASCON Journal of Management Vol 7, No's 1 & 2, April/October.

Barkan, J.D. (1992). "The Rise and Fall of a Governance Realm in Kenya", in Hyden, G and Bratton,M (eds), Governance and Politics in Africa, Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Bratton, M. And Rothchild, D (1992). "The Institutional Bases of Governance in Africa", in Hyden, G and Bratton, M (eds), Governance and Politics in Africa, Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Chazan, N. (1992). "Liberalization, Governance and Political Space in Ghana", in Hyden, G and Bratton, M (eds), Governance and Politics in Africa, Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Fiedler, F.E (1964). "A Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness", in Berkiwitz, L (eds), Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, Vol 1, New York: Academic Press.

Galadima, H.S (1998). "Militarism and Governance in Nigeria", A Journal of the Institute of Governance and Social Research, Vol 1, No 1, Jos.

Graig, E.J (2005). Meeting the Ethical Challenges of Leadership, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Hackman, M (2006). "The Challenges of Defining Leadership: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly", A paper presented at International Leadership Association Conference, November, Chicago, 11.

Hersey, P (1984). The Situational Leader, Escondibo, CA: Center for Leadership Studies.

Hyden, G (1992). "Governance and the study of Politics", in Hyden, G and Bratton, M (eds), Governance and Politics in Africa, Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Kamuntu, E.R (1993). Leadership Challenges in Consolidating Democracy and Good Governance in Africa, A paper presented at conference of The Leadership Forum, Nairobi, Kenya: March 10-12.

Northouse, P.G (2004). Leadership: Theory and Practice, Thousand Oaks, CA; Sage Publication.

Obasanjo, O (1993). Keynote Address at conference of The Leadership Forum, Nairobi, Kenya: March 10-12.

Obasola, K.E (2002). "Leadership in Religious Organizations and Societies: Traditional Yoruba Perspective", in CASTALIA, Vol. 12, No 2, Dec.

Robert I. Rothberg (2009) governance and Leadership in Africa: measures, methods and results, Journal of International Affairs, Spring/Summer 2009, Vol. 62, No. 2.© The Trustees of Columbia University in the City of New York.

Rost, J.C (1991). Leadership for the 21st Century, Westport. CT: Praeger. Sahni, P (2003). "Introduction", in Sahni, P and Medury, U (eds), Governance for Development: Issues and Strategies, New Delhi: Prentice- Hall of India.

Sashkin, M (2004). "Transformational Leadership Approaches: A Review and Synthesis", in Antanokis, J et al (eds), The Nature of Leadership, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Seteolu, D (2004). "The Challenge of Leadership and Governance in Nigeria", in Odion Akhaine, S (eds), Governance: Nigeria and the World, Lagos: CENCOD.

Srilatha, P (2003). "Governance in India: The Issue of Corruption", in Sahni, P and Medury, U (eds), Governance for Development: Issues and Strategies, New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India.

Udegbe, I.B (1999) "Leadership: Nature and Pathways to Effectiveness", in Udegbe, I.B, et al (eds), Psychology: Perspectives in Human Behavior, A Publication of Dept. of Psychology, University of Ibadan.