RACE IN A MAZE: THE RELENTLESS SEARCH FOR AND CHALLENGES OF LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an analytical and diagnostic appraisal of the leadership question in Africa. The paper stresses that the search for leadership in Africa may remain a search in futility except dire attention is paid to the leadership vacuum currently experienced across Africa. Instead of leaders, Africa is littered with rulers with stayist mentality; they view power as their birth right and see development as tied around personality rather than institutions. It behooves Africans to engender good followership which is a precursor to good leadership. By focusing on the structures that produce leadership as well as the training that births these leaders, Africans can stimulate a monitoring mechanism, pre-evaluation system and a model to assess the actions of the leaders against nondiscretionary leadership tendencies. Indeed, the continent can no longer be trapped between inefficiency and economic mismanagement which has relentlessly rocked the African political boat. It is in view of this that the paper recommend that Leadership Training Institutes should be established across African States under the auspices of the African Union (AU) and to ensure that emerging African leaders are properly trained in the art of leadership. More so, the Fourth Estate of the realm should intensify their efforts in speaking against authoritarian rule in the continent while orientation agencies should be established where there are none. Albeit, existing ones should be properly funded to sensitize, orient and educate the continental populace on the need to be good ambassadors of the continent both at home and abroad.

Keyword: Leadership, Africa, Leadership in Africa, Leadership Theories, Decolonization

Introduction

The post-colonial epoch of African states revealed the level of unpreparedness of the then 'nationalists' clothed with hypocrisy of unseating the colonialists so as to pave the way for good leadership needed across the continent. If for nothing, the continent was marred by social exclusion, aggravated deprivation, and heightened social alienation imposed by the colonial masters. Thus, the need to right this anomaly cannot be questioned any more than the craving for regime change can be faulted. This was the premise upon which the longing for prototypical African leaders was based, even though at the wake of decolonization, these leaders were either unpatriotic, sectional, un-nationalistic, parochial, tribal-compliant and in most cases primordial. Decades after the 'demise' of colonialism, the search for good leadership in Africa is more of a race in a maze. Africa has had leaders whose interests have advertently conflicted with national interest and who have not showed recourse or remorse for truncating rule of law and more troubling, for perpetuating wastages and encouraging corruption. Indeed, political victimization, economic mismanagement, authoritarian rule, deepening of ethnic cum religious differences and multiple illegal governments are common to many African states. The Rwandan genocide, conflicts in Sudan and conflicts between different clans in Somalia, readily attest to this submission.

The short-lived First Republic of Nigeria and how soon the state came under military rule defines the level of credence of her nationalists' struggles. Regrettably, this interregnum did not stop there with the Nigerian state falling in and out of military rule till the start of Fourth Republic in 1999; even though the leadership problem protracted. This picture of leadership challenges canvassed of Nigeria is diminutive of what obtains around Africa. It is indeed a shame that for a continent such as Africa, it is imposible to lay hold of exceptional leaders to mentor other leaders, nay, rulers in Africa except for leaders who accumulate state properties for personal gain and who are unwilling to part with ruler-ship. The primordial sentiments of kingship in Africa has been imported to modern rule to form an amalgam of modern-primordial rule where the leader assumes the position of a divine ruler without whom development cannot be attained. This form of sit-tightism is not common to authoritarian regimes alone but can also be found in democratic dispensations and has often seen states relapsing into chaotic statuses especially when not cooperatively managed. Thus, the

trampling upon and encroachment on constitutional rules and agreements, disregard for human rights, enthronement of gun and rule-by-barrel cultures, repression, and incarceration became the popular response to demands for fairness. The imprisonment of Nelson Mandela in South Africa and deaths of Adaka Boro, Ken Saro Wiwa and the Ogoni eight, Dele Giwa, in Nigeria are cases in point.

Ineffective leadership has undoubtedly impacted negatively on sustaining democratic stability across Africa. Though, democratic experimentations are not guarantee for development [with sufficient lessons from China and North Korea], nonetheless one cannot convincingly argue that for an *infant* continent such as Africa with strict reference to development, solidifying democratic principles and ideals should be just another item on the wish list. Scholars such as Walter Rodney (1973), Kwame Nkrumah (1965), Patrick Bond (2006) and Samir Amin (2014, 2011, 1977) view African challenge as arising from its colonial and post-colonial capitalist and imperialist economic exploitation and marginalization while some other such as George Ayittey (1999, 1992), Greg Mills (2011) Robert Calderisi (2007) and Tope Akinyetun (2016) have explained African underdevelopment as a result of internal arrangements and weaknesses within Africa itself. In his conception of 'Afrojugation', Akinyetun (2016) explained that Nigerian (African) leaders [who have been in power since independence till now] still have to be held accountable for their adequacies and inadequacies in relation to underdevelopment. He went further to note that improprieties such as bad governance, leadership crisis and sit-tightism, corruption, electoral violence, military intervention, ethnicity, insecurity and authoritarian rule can be attributed to the Nigerian (Africa) state actor, all of which are responsible for Africa's state of perpetual underdevelopment [*emphasis added*].

African leaders have been blamed for much of the continent's economic, political and social woes. According to Mills (2010; 2011), Africa's poverty is not because of the lack of capital, access to world markets, technical experts, or the unfair global economic system, it is rather because African leaders have made poor choices and decided to keep the continent in abject poverty. This observation is shared by Mbah (2013: p. 142) who argues that the 'fundamental cause of African underdevelopment and conflicts lies in the vicious leadership in the

continent from 1960s'. It is in light of the above that this paper is aimed at assessing why good leadership in Africa is a *quest* of some sort. Whilst exploring ideals of a good leadership, the paper also seeks to find solutions to the leadership crack in Africa.

Statement of Problem

There is an imminent volcanic threat to the African project without adequate answers to the leadership question. This is an area that has engendered voluminous scholarly work with a view to not only understand this shortfall and its attendant effects but to find ways of fixing this flaw and situate the continent on the glorious path of development. Indeed, there is no discussing underdevelopment in Africa without paying dire attention to the role of effective leadership and good governance which is nothing but an elementary necessity for development in both the economic and political realms. Unfortunately, these realms have been broadly characterized by lack of political ideology, electoral violence, primordial sentiments, military intervention, ethno-politics, godfatherism, insecurity, ethnic clashes and cleansing, low mortality rate, infant mortality, illiteracy, absence of food security, corruption, devaluation, mismanagement and wastage of resources, lack of social amenities, omnipresent poverty and most distressing of which is alienating economic policies.

Indeed, the alienation and distance between the leaders and the *led* is more disturbing and this sort of disconnect will never allow for governance to thrive. A plausible explanation for this is the notion of absolute rulership exported from ancient Africa. Another problematic element in African leadership is that many of the African leaders that took over power at independence were poorly prepared for the duty and were merely child-of-luck-and-circumstance with nothing more than trial-error-mentality. Hence, their inability to lay good economic foundations or establish institutions to strengthen democratic and good governing principles. Their pitiable qualification can be best understood in the context of lack of clear economic direction, policy and initiative. Afegbua and Adejuwon (2012) pointed out that African leaders have frequently come to their position with limited experience. Though most of them have battled on, confronting their awesome problems of development and nation-building essentially not only unprepared but unaided, their efforts have been at best only a qualified success. The duo further submitted that there are no institutions in Africa devoted to

preparing potential leaders with a global outlook, leaders who will be able to cooperate within and across national, regional and institutional boundaries.

The outright disdain for vacating office either at the expiration of tenure or due to pressure mounted by the populace for inefficiency, scandals, socio-economic crisis, and even confusion is yet another element to contend with. Contrarily, what we have experienced in Africa is the alignment to 'Communist' or 'Capitalist' bloc(s) to garner support needed to remain in office indefinitely while some have gone as far as declaring themselves president for life, Emperors, God, or amended constitutions to stay on.

According to Mkapa (n.d.), African leaders in the period before the end of the Cold War can be put into six categories:

• The visionary idealists, such as Lumumba, Nkrumah, Nyerere, and Senghor

• The pragmatists, such as Khama and Kenyatta

• The incompetents, such as Idi Amin

• The military juntas, of which there are too many to list

• The tyrants and thieves, such as Bokassa and Mobutu

• A combination of two or more of the foregoing.

The above is an exposition into what foundation of leadership after decolonization looked like and why fashioning a panacea becomes imperative. It is against this background, that leadership in Africa has become a quest so much as it is an expedition.

Conceptual Framework

Ayodele in Ebegbulem (2012) defines a leader as an individual appointed to a job with authority, and accountability to accomplish the goals and objectives of the society. He further opines that a leader must be a good manager as well as an individual who is able to effectively coordinate the activities of followers or a team towards pre-agreed or pre-defined goal or objectives within the limits of available resources. A leader must be astute with both man and material. A leader must possess the ability to create in the followers the necessary enthusiasm/motivation to put in every necessary effort to deliver on set goals. Thus the ability not only to conceive but also to communicate a vision or idea is of utmost importance as an

attribute of leadership. Above all, a leader must first and foremost be a member of his own team, internalize their feelings and galvanize their potentials towards reaching the goal.

Eze (2002) posits that all over the world, leadership is the most important number one factor that determines whether a nation can develop. He argued further that a leadership that is free, brave, patriotic, people-oriented, and destination-bound; the leadership that understands the psychology of leading and applies it to the development of the people must be at the affairs of men. Ajayi in Ebegbulem (2012) defines leadership as one of the essential determinants of development and a core ingredient in organizing, mobilizing and inspiring societal resources for the attainment of goals. As conceived by Graig (2005:132), leadership is 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 the conceptions of leadership 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.
(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 2007:302).
In the view of Aguda (cited by Afegbua & Adejuwon, 2012) 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 Nkurumah of Ghana, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sertse Khama of Botswana, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

Leaders place themselves before the group and facilitate progress and inspire the group to accomplish organizational goals. In order to inspire, leaders have to envision the future, instill values and show a concern for employees and customers. To achieve this, leaders use four ingredients and these are the ability to use power effectively and in a responsible manner, the ability to comprehend that human beings have different motivating factors at different times and in different situations, the ability to inspire and the ability to act in a manner that develops a climate conducive to responding and arousing motivation (Weirich and Kroontz, 2005).

Theories of Leadership: Relevance in Africa

Reviewing leadership theory is essential in understanding the characteristics and behaviours expected of a successful leader without absolving the nature of followers in the context of leadership. Various theories have been propounded in explaining leadership and each has evolved over time, ranging from Great Man, Behavioural, Contingency, Transactional, Transformational, then more recently to Dispersed leadership. This section of the paper discusses these theories from an individualistic perspective solely to gain a wider view of leadership and to classify the applicability of these theories to solving leadership challenge in Africa.

Trait Theory

This theory is an offshoot of the Great Man theory which assumes that leadership capacity is innate and that leaders are born, not made. This theory presupposes that great men or great leaders are heroic and are destined to assume such positions. This theory was more common to the military. Trait theory however, identifies particular personality or behavioural characteristics shared by leaders which makes them outstanding and leader-worthy. These characteristics can be sought for and such carriers isolated, recruited and groomed into

leadership positions. Traits advanced for this theory are assertiveness, cooperation, persistence, self-confidence, tolerance, ambitious, persuasion, dependendability, decisiveness, dominance and adaptability. The shortcomings of this theory rests in the fact that years of research has shown that no consistent trait can be identified or measured. This is not to say that there have not been charismatic leaders in Africa, but looking out for traits is not enough in addressing leadership challenges in Africa. Indeed, such notion of 'trait-carrier' has led to proliferation of military rule in Africa with every plotter convinced of having the required traits and characteristics for leadership. At the same time, relying solely on these traits can be detrimental to such a state by encouraging patriarchal systems and discouraging the strengthening of leadership mechanisms or structures.

As noted by Wyk (2007), Mazrui refers to the African political system as patriarchal, i.e. a political father figure emerges as the symbol of the venerated elder and patriarch. This often resulted in personal rule and personality cults (such as Toure, Banda, and Mobuto), and the phenomenon of 'long distance men'. African political (state) leaders are, on average, older than leaders elsewhere in the world. Citing further, Nkrumah of Ghana was accused of actively promoting a cult of his own personality, i.e. the Cult of Nkrumahism. By extrapolation, this leadership theory is applicable in clans or hamlets. Meanwhile, the theory remains relevant in explaining leadership and remains a brilliant contribution to literature.

Contingency or Situational Theory

This theory was put forward against the backdrop that no one leadership style is right for every manager under all circumstances, hence, the style to be adopted is contingent and dependent on variables such as situation, people, organization, task and environment. Situational theories proposes that leaders choose the best course of action based upon situational variable. Different styles of leadership may be more appropriate for certain types of decision-making.

This theory, developed by Fred Fiedler, postulates that three important situational dimensions are assumed to influence the leader's effectiveness. They are:

• *Leader-member relations*: the degree of confidence the subordinates have in the leader. It also includes the loyalty shown the leader and the leader's attractiveness. Leader-member

relations are the amount of loyalty, dependability, and support that the leader receives from followers. It is a measure of how the leader perceives him or her and the group of followers is getting along together.

• *Position power*: the power inherent in the leadership position. It includes the rewards and punishments typically associated with the position, the leader's formal authority (based on ranking in the managerial hierarchy), and the support that the leader receives from supervisors and the overall organization.

• *Task structure*: the degree to which the followers' jobs are routine as contrasted with no routine.

In Africa, leadership is not given this form of outlook where the subordinates have a say. Instead, power rests solely in the leader who with or without popular majority remains in power. Regardless of the lack of loyalty and dependability enjoyed from followers, African leaders perceive themselves as semi-gods, political engineers, and economic engineers without whom there cannot be meaningful development; how else does one explain an individual (Omar al-Bashir of Sudan) clinging to power as president from 1989 to 2019. At the same time, power in Africa is nothing but a weapon of oppression, repression and suppression used mainly to induce, threaten or eliminate opponents out rightly. This explains why despite tight-fitting power for so many years, many African leaders still do not exercise authority as do power.

According to Seligman, personal politics, personality politics and politics by leadership are distinguishing features of contemporary African politics or what Okuko (2005) termed 'stayism'. Sklar (2006) explained that it refers to the centralization of all political power in the executive, i.e. the institutionalization of executive political leadership. In Nigeria, for example, the personalized nature of the political arena is evident in the domination by a powerful 'godfather' at the apex of a vast patronage network at federal, state and local levels. Political outcomes are the function of intense competition between these godfathers, often at the expense of the population.

Transactional and Transformational Theory

Transactional leadership is such in which both the leader and the follower derive mutual benefits from their relationship wherein the leader rewards the follower for his commitment and loyalty. In other words, this form of relationship is based on tit-for-tat or this-for-that system of reward and punishment. This form of leadership emphasizes reciprocity of values which may even involve exchange of goods. The objective here should not be confused with a joint effort but is a bargain to aid individual interests of persons or groups going their separate ways.

Burns in Zimbango (2013) describes transformational leadership as a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents. He further states that the transforming leader shapes, alters and elevates the motives, values and goals of followers achieving significant change in the process. The premise of this leadership is that whatever the separate interests persons might hold, they are presently or potentially united in the pursuit of higher goals, the realization of which is tested by the achievement of significant change that represents the collective or pooled interests of leaders and followers.

As opined by Bolden, Gosling, Martuano and Dennison (2003), transformational leadership occurs when a leader transforms, or changes, his or her followers in three important ways that together result in followers trusting the leader, performing behaviors that contribute to the achievement of organizational goals and being motivated to perform at a high level. Transformational leadership is a process in which the leaders take actions to try to increase their associates' awareness of what is right and important, to raise their associates' motivational maturity and to move their associates to go beyond the associates' own self-interests for the good of the group, the organization, or society. Such leaders provide their associates with a sense of purpose that goes beyond a simple exchange of rewards for effort provided.

Table 1: Comparison of Transactional and Transformational Leadership

Transactional Leadership	Transformational Leadership
• Builds on man's need to get a job done and make a living • Is preoccupied with power and position, politics and perks • Is mired in daily affairs • Is short-term and hard data oriented • Focuses on tactical issues • Relies on human relations to lubricate human interactions • Follows and fulfils role expectations by striving to work effectively within current systems • Supports structures and systems that reinforce the bottom line, maximize efficiency, and guarantee short-term profits	• Builds on a man's need for meaning • Is preoccupied with purposes and values, morals, and ethics • Transcends daily affairs • Is orientated toward long-term goals without compromising human values and principles • Focuses more on missions and strategies • Releases human potential-identifying and developing new talent • Designs and redesigns jobs to make them meaningful and challenging • Aligns internal structures and systems to reinforce overarching values and goals

Source: Bolden, Gosling, Martuano, & Dennison (2003)

These forms of leadership, though essential to Africa's goal for development, seems unrealistic. The level of alienation between the leaders and subordinates in Africa, where the leader sees himself suspended beyond the state and the followers as subservient would not make this a near possibility. The primordial affinity attached to governance by Africa leaders is devoid of maturation of ability, compromise, bargain, motivation, attitudes, and values; which are ingredients for transactional and transformational leadership. Put simply, the average African leader who is deficient in higher levels of moral and ethical standards cannot convince a follower to employ same. In the same vein, this primordial ties of particularism and ascriptiveness is such in which the leader is all-encompassing and exerts his power and influence on his followers at will.

According to Kebonang (2005), contemporary African political leadership is neo-patrimonial, featuring presidentialism, clientelism, the use of state resources, and the centralization of power. Khanna (2006) noted that in presidentialism, the leader's power is unlimited, unopposed and unchecked. Here, formal institutions exist, but are merely symbolic rather than democratic. Post-independence examples of presidentialism include Ghana during Nkrumah's rule, Sierra Leone under Siaka Stevens, and Uganda during Idi Amin's rule. A

recent example of presidentialism is Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe whose power increased incrementally since independence. Enjoying absolute power, Mugabe sidelines parliament, allows elections, but crushes any signs of political opposition. Presidentialism establishes imperial presidencies and produces strong presidents centralizing all power in the office of the president. Constitutional amendments are one way of staying in power. Historically, African presidents have been hesitant to leave office. Limited terms intends to prevent 'presidents for life' as they have a bad record of accomplishment, elimination of opposition, narrowing of the political field, establishing personal armies, often looting national wealth and using the constitution to consolidate personal power (Okuko, 2005).

Dispersed Leadership

Otherwise known as informal or emergent leadership, dispersed leadership stresses the importance of social relations in the leadership contract and the need for a leader to be accepted by their followers; after all, no one individual is the ideal leader in all circumstances. Here, leadership role is dissociated from the organizational hierarchy allowing for individuals at all levels and in all roles in the organization to be eligible to exert leadership influence over their colleagues and influence overall leadership of the organization. Heifetz in Bolden et al (2003) distinguishes between the exercise of 'leadership' and the exercise of 'authority'– thus dissociating leadership from formal organizational power roles, whilst Raelin (2003) talks of developing 'leaderful' organizations through concurrent, collective and compassionate leadership. The key to this is a distinction between the notions of 'leader' and 'leadership'. Leadership is regarded as a process of sense-making and direction-giving within a group and the 'leader' can only be identified on the basis of his/her relationship with others in the social group who are behaving as followers. In this manner, it is quite possible to conceive of the leader as emergent rather than predefined and that their role can only be understood through examining the relationships within the group (rather than by focusing on his/her personal characteristics or traits).

It is quite unfortunate that leadership in Africa revolves majorly around an individual, to whom such power at times, is patrimonial. Dissociation, devolution and decentralization of power is quite difficult due to distrust shared by the power wielder and power seekers which

explains why military governments are usually centralized. This is where politics of identity comes into play with the leader surrounding himself with trust-worthy cronies who often times are from the same ethnic cluster as the leader.

As documented by Elcock, after independence, leaders who were able to retain power grew extremely rich and retained power more coercively. Signaling the rise of the so-called Big Men, these leaders used their control of state resources to build vast networks of clients across ethnic boundaries. Robert Michel's 'iron law of oligarchy' applies here−as powerful individuals retain their position as long as possible. Consequently, this form of leadership is not emerging in Africa where the roles of the leader is still predefined and focuses on his personal traits. The search thus is still on!

Leadership Challenge in Africa: Reviewing Literatures

Africa's challenge of leadership and its consequent effect on Africa's development as well as governance and Africa's role in the international system has generated serious concerns especially by development scholars who hold that development in Africa without square-holing the square-pegs will only amount to self-deceit. These scholars and other concerned individuals have come to the realization that development and underdevelopment in Africa cannot be discussed in full without giving recourse to the leadership question. This has consequently generated myriad scholarly works addressing Africa's leadership challenges and how it has undermined development in the continent, which this section of the paper now turns to examine.

It is imperative to remark that pre-colonial legacies has had decisive impact on Africa's leadership challenges. This is a view held by scholars such as Mkapa (2010), Obiyo (2011), Poncian and Mgaya (2015). To Mkapa (2010:24-25), it is not surprising, therefore, that until recently the effect of colonial rule on African politics, economics, and social life has remained strong, and not just because Africans were taught and pressed to think and speak in the languages of their colonizers. It is also because at independence, Africans inherited with a few variations, the political and economic systems of their colonizers. An objective evaluation of political systems, processes, and governance in contemporary Africa has to go

back to its colonial past and ask: What did Africa learn and adopt from the colonial rulers, and how has it shaped and directed postcolonial leadership, political systems, and governance on the continent? In all of those years of colonialism, the relationship between the rulers and the ruled was basically one of master and servant. Every white man, woman, or child was made out to be superior in all respects, including color and culture, and the black man, woman, or child was made to feel inferior. African confidence and dignity were deliberately undermined. Humiliation was pervasive. This is a historical fact. Slavery, which in itself was an enforced inferiority on the black people, was superseded by colonial administration that made little if any effort to disabuse the black people of such imposed inferiority.

In other words, Africans were protected from slavery abroad, but were condemned to be an underclass at home. The white people's democratic values that were maturing in Europe in the nineteenth century were not spread to Africa, and any efforts by Africans to demand democratic rule and civil rights were ruthlessly suppressed. Traditional political and administrative systems in Africa were also rendered inferior to the colonial administrative systems, which were developed specifically for the colonies. These too were presented as superior, except where local chiefs could, through carrots and sticks, be enlisted to be part of different forms of indirect rule. It is also a historical fact that indirect rule, coupled with "divide and rule" tactics, characterized most colonial administrations in Africa and planted the seeds of postcolonial ethnic conflict, the most tragic manifestation of which occurred in Rwanda and Burundi.

As observed by Mohiddin (1998), the first generation of African leaders failed in five broadly related areas. One was their inability to respond positively to the domestic and global changes that had taken place since independence. Two, they failed to creatively utilize the inherited colonial state as an engine of economic growth. The colonial state per se was not an obstacle to growth. It was clearly not a democratic state. In its specific African manifestations the colonial state was oppressive and repressive to the majority of the people, while at the same time beneficial and responsive to the interests and needs of the few most of whom were foreigners. However, creatively and purposefully utilized the inherited colonial state could be a very efficient intermediate engine of economic growth. In the hands of dictators and tyrants

it could be an effective instrument of regimentation, coercion, repression and exploitation. And this is what took place in many African countries. Worthy of note is the fact of that many leaders at independence were either visionless, unprepared, ill-equipped or incompetent. Obayan (2006) notes that Africa has not had too many in the likes of Mandela and Nyerere. African rulers have dreams but not visions and they soon tire out and get stuck or reach a cul-de-sac when their dreams have been accomplished. What follow such "height" of accomplishment of dream are diminishing returns or what he calls anti-climax. Put more succinctly, when a ruler has had his dream fulfilled, he does not know what else to do, or how else to act because the actualizing of that dream represents the ultimate aspiration. A vision however is not just a long-term plan but a life-long projection. After a stage, another stage unfolds, and another, and another, until God's kingdom comes. For the African in the 21st century, a dream come true is a tempest to ruin.

Folarin (2013), opined that on achieving independence, African nationalists got lost in the charade of power and forgot their mission because they lacked a vision. Some like Nkrumah, Emperor Bokassa, Kamuzu Banda, Gnassingbe Eyadema, and Mobutu Sese Seko lost their focus and became power drunk and made themselves life presidents or monarchs as the case may be because they lacked a vision. Some like Nnamdi Azikwe, Ahmadu Bello and Joseph Kasavubu degenerated from "nationalists to ethnic or even tribal leaders at independence because they had no vision, but dreams of independence, thereby knowing not what else to do after achieving this great feat. Without vision, rulership reaches a bus stop of ideas, running out of ideas and destroying great legacies that had been built.

This view was also held by Mkapa (2010) when he averred that

> "…*the question is, was there any effort by the colonial administrators to train and prepare these potential leaders before independence? Even before we look for evidence, this clearly is an unlikely scenario. The colonial authorities would naturally consider those agitating for independence enemies of the realm to be stopped, incarcerated, or even killed. They would not see them as potential leaders of independent Africa to be properly trained for the job. It would also have been tempting for the departing colonial powers to leave a country in the hands of incompetent*

leaders who would mess up so much that the nationals would long for the more 'efficient' or 'orderly' colonial administration.
Champions of African independence would then be seen as having been irresponsible in pushing for premature independence and handing over countries to weak and incompetent leaders. Weak and incompetent leaders would also create a perfect environment for the political influence and economic advantage of the colonial powers to persist" (pp.25)

Weakness and eventual failure of political parties as well as the incapacitation of civil societies and late democratization weakened by years of persistent military rule is another element for leadership failure in Africa. As noted by Muthien and Taylor (2002), Africa's wave of democratization started in the 1990s. This process did not consolidate properly. This is evident in the continued weakness of African political parties vis-à-vis the governing/dominating party (for example, Namibia, South Africa and Malawi), the manipulation of the electoral process (such as the Zimbabwe election of March 2005), a narrow political field, i.e. a focus on loyalty (with regards to the governing party as liberator) rather than issues (as in the case of Zimbabwe and South Africa), a constrained civil society and the absence of civility (when Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe severely cracked down on civil society manifestations of opposition), a controlled press (this is evident throughout Africa), privatized violence and politicized armies, intra-state conflict manifesting in ethnic rivalries (as is in Rwanda and Burundi) and international support for dictatorships (such as the support of Laurent Kabila of the DRC by multi-national corporations interested in the country's mineral wealth).

As noted in the introduction, military intervention constituted a bane in consolidating good leadership in Africa. Reeve (2006) affirmed that since 1991, there have been 19 occasions in 14 African states where governments have been overthrown by the military. Since 2000, successful military interventions occurred in the DRC, the Central African Republic (CAR), Guinea-Bissau, Togo and Mauritania, whereas failed military interventions occurred twice in Burundi, the DRC and the CAR, and in the Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger, São Tomé & Principe, Mauritania, Equatorial Guinea and Chad. In Mauritania, a bloodless military coup ended Ould Taya's (who himself took over via a military coup) authoritarian regime in

August 2005. Taya's rule was characterized by severe actions against any form of opposition, which resulted in a failed coup attempt in 2003. Ely Ould Mohamed Vall, Taya's director of national security, his nephew and commandant of Taya's presidential guard led the coup in 2005. Vall appointed a junta, the Military Council for Justice and Democracy (MCJD) and promised to establish the conditions for a democracy. Vall's coup has been described a "consolidation of instability" in the country (N'Diaye, 2005). In Chad where numerous domestic and neighbouring rebel groups vie for political power, President Déby maintains power with the assistance of the army − supported by a French garrison stationed in the country. Since 1986, France maintains three military bases in Chad. President Déby is a Zaghawa, whose tribe comprises just 2% of the Chadian population. This group, then, profits from presidential patronage and dominates all ranks in the armed forces (Massey and May, 2006).

Leadership Challenge in Africa: Assuasive Measures and Forging Ahead

Various steps have been taken at the continental level to nip the challenge in the bud which includes the establishment of The MO Ibrahim Foundation meant to recognize and award 'best' performing leaders and to celebrate excellence in African leadership via awarding a monetary prize totaling $5 million over ten years and $200,000 a year for life thereafter to former African Executive Head of State or Government who left office in the last three years, was democratically elected, served his/her constitutionally mandated term and demonstrated exceptional leadership. Since its inaugural in 2007, only six former Heads of States namely, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela of South Africa (Honourary, 2007), Joaquim Alberto Chissano of Mozambique (2007), Festus Gontebanye Mogae of Botswana (2008), President Pedro de Verona Rodrigues Pires of Cape Verde (2011) and President Hifikipunye Pohamba of Namibia (2014), Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia (2017) have received a prize (http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/ibrahim-prize/). The prize was not awarded in 2009, 2010, 2012 and 2013, 2015 and 2016 respectively in the absence of qualified candidate(s), revealing how intense the challenge of leadership is in Africa.

More so, in 2004, a group of past and present African leaders established the African Leadership Council purposed to confront the continent's pathology of poor leadership with

deeds as well as words. Rotberg (2004) submitted that by this initiative, the leaders put in place a Code of African Leadership with 23 commandments, issued a Mombasa declaration to promote better leadership and pledged to train their successors on the art of good governance (Rotberg, 2004). At its establishment, the council included former President Sir Ketumile Masire of Botswana, former Nigerian Head of State General Yakubu Gowon, Vice President Moody Awori of Kenya, former Prime Minister Hage Geingob of Namibia, and other present and former prime ministers and cabinet ministers from Sierra Leone, Kenya, Malawi, and Uganda. Rotberg also noted that such a bold and African initiative was promising, dramatic and represented a step forward irrespective of whether or not it could curb the challenges. In the same year 2004, the African Leadership Academy was established. The academy, based in Africa was envisioned to transform Africa by developing ethical and entrepreneurial leadership by admitting youths aged between 15 and 18 to its two year pre-university programmes designed to 'provide young leaders with the knowledge and inspiration they need to take action as agents of positive change on the African continent' (http://www.africanleadershipacademy.org/).

Going forward from here, it is pertinent to note that Africa cannot afford to take the back seat in guaranteeing good leadership needed if the continent is to make headway in growth and overall development. It is in view of this that Mpaka (2010), listed ten issues that are critical for leadership in Africa:

• The leadership capacity and ability to create and/or sustain politically stable and peaceful states.

• The leadership capacity and ability to create and/or sustain stable and viable economies, in terms of their internal capacity for survival, as well as their external capacity for significance and relevance. This includes capacity for regional integration and significance in a global economy.

• The political will to create and sustain democratic, responsive, and accountable governments—both national and local—that bestow legitimacy upon any government.

• The imperative to focus on agriculture, food security, and rural development as a cornerstone of poverty reduction efforts.

• Human development, including education and health (especially with regard to diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis).

• Constituting strong governments with effective, efficient, and capable institutions, including regulatory ones.

• Leadership to develop and facilitate skills for contemporary Africa, business environment, local entrepreneurship, and guarantees for the property rights of the poor.

• Investment in integrative market and economic infrastructure.

• Economic and financial market facilitation and intermediation. This includes the advocacy and institutional promotion of a savings and investment culture.

• Leadership that ensures participation and sharing, not only of political power, but of economic prosperity as well.

The author is also advocating the need to entrench leadership practices across Africa so as to make the practice an inherent and integral part of Africa. Taking a cue from Kouzes and Pousner (2006), though leadership is a relationship, there are certain practices that are used to transform values into actions, visions into realities, obstacles into innovation, separateness into solidarity, and risks into rewards. They (Kouzes and Pousner) further identified leadership practices as;

Model the way – Setting the example for behaviour expected of subordinates starts with leaders themselves. Leaders need to be clear about what they think and believe in. Consistent deeds no matter how small tend to set a lasting impression on subordinates. Modelling the way is about earning the right to lead through involvement and action and this involves such things as coming to work on time and respecting rules of the organization etc.

Inspire a shared vision –Every organization or social movement begins with a dream or vision. While dreams or visions are an inspiration, there is need for communication with other team members so that all effort is directed towards a common goal. Visions seen by the leaders only are insufficient to create an organized movement to significant change in a company. Commitment from team members needs inspiration from the leader. As leadership

is a dialogue, leaders need to know what inspires subordinates and so communicate it in a way that shows they have knowledge of people's dreams, hopes, aspirations and values.

Challenge the process – Those who lead others to greatness seek and accept challenges. Leaders are pioneers who search for opportunities to innovate, grow and improve. As change comes from different sources, a leader's primary role is the recognition of good ideas, the generation of support for those ideas and the willingness to challenge the system to get new products, processes, services and systems adopted. Leaders take rights but do things gradually; they are learners who learn from both failures and successes.

Arnold Toynbee (2006), the historian once said; ¨Nothing fails like success¨. By this, he meant that when there is a challenge and the response is equal to the challenge, that is success, but applying the same response to a different challenge, the once successful response does not always work and it suddenly becomes a failure. Challenging the process is thus relative and it affects the way we communicate, motivate and discipline subordinates.

Enable others to act - Leaders need to foster collaboration and build trust. They engage all those who must make something work so that they take ownership and feel strong, capable and committed to make a mark. When people feel trusted and have more discretion, more authority and more information, they shy away from gossiping and concentrate on successfully completing the task at hand. This way, they are more likely to use their energies to produce extraordinary results. People who feel trusted always respond positively all the time but failure to give opportunities to staff prevents managers from tapping into those people's highest motivation, talents and genius, leaving those people to perform only when they are being watched. They do this because they feel insulted, alienated and depersonalized from their work by attitudinal restriction from their leaders.

Encourage the heart - Genuine acts of caring uplift the spirits and draw people forward. Encouragement comes from dramatic gestures or simple actions like showing appreciation for people's contributions and creating a culture of celebration. Everyone loves encouragement and it lifts them up and motivates them. Leaders have to visibly and

behaviourally link rewards with performance and also strive to make people see the benefits of positive behaviour that is aligned with cherished organizational values. Collective identity and community spirit comes from celebrations and rituals done with authority. Most people do not have faith in themselves and they see difficulties in every situation but with a little faith and encouragement, they can do great things. These same people often do not have someone who has faith in them and if a leader identifies this and addresses it, they encourage the heart such that the person will feel like somebody and realize their full potential. People's instincts are good at knowing when others have faith in them and they can tell if the belief is genuine or not. When they think it is genuine, they will do anything to live up to the faith and solidarity shown. They rise or fall to meet the leader's level of expectation of them. If a leader expresses skepticism and doubt, he gets rewarded with mediocrity. Leaders who encourage and allow mistakes will get subordinates who will do their best to live up to this expectation. In the end, the leader and subordinates benefit from the faith and creativity shown.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Leadership in Africa in this century is more challenging than ever especially in the face of e-governance where comparative politics has become everybody's work. African leaders are faced with more weights from the citizenry who demand more from their governments while the continent as a whole is also pressured to make developmental strides in the comity of nations and make meaningful progress in the international system especially with various across-continent agreements such as ACP/EU, EPA, FTAA etc.

It is in view of the review of this paper that the following recommendations are made:

i.   That leadership system in Africa should be based on a value-laden system that gives recourse to morality, ethics and honesty.

ii.   Of a truth, leadership is a function of followership because there cannot be good leadership without good followership. After all, leaders are selected from among the followers. In view of this, the paper recommends that the followership system in Africa should be such that places significance on honesty, equity and transparency.

iii.   Considering that a paltry number of African leaders are formally educated, it is therefore instructive that the minimum educational qualification for leadership position in Africa should be a Bachelor's Degree.

iv.   In addition to the above and considering the peculiarity of administration in Africa, Leadership Training Institutes should be established across African States under the auspices of the African Union (AU) to ensure that emerging African leaders are properly trained in the art of leadership.

v.   Sit-tightism, stayism and power drunkenness should be widely condemned in Africa while military rule should not be spared either. The Fourth Estate of the realm should intensify their efforts in speaking against authoritarian rule in the continent.

vi.   The advent and proliferation of social media has no doubt permeated all spheres of the society without prejudice to age, class or sexual orientation. This medium should be massively exploited to decry the evil of Draconian rule in Africa.

vii.   Orientation agencies should be established where there are none while existing ones should be properly funded to sensitize, orient and educate the continental populace on the need to be good ambassadors of the continent both at home and abroad.

viii.   Unbiased Non-Governmental Organizations are also encouraged to speak out against totalitarianism and fascism in Africa.

ix.   Africa needs to focus more on creating strong institutions instead of creating strong individuals who in most cases act above the law and become a burden to the said institutions.

x.   The rule of deterrence should be entrenched wherein political off-siders who perpetuate and foment violence during and after election would be punished. This also means strengthening the judicial arm of the government to enforce Electoral Laws and make examples of offenders.

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