Lessons from Political Leadership in Africa

Lessons from Political Leadership in Africa:

Towards Inspirational and Transformational Leaders

Edited by

Chris Jones, Pregala Pillay, Purshottama Sivanarain Reddy and Sakhile Isaac Zondi

Cambridge Scholars Publishing



Lessons from Political Leadership in Africa: Towards Inspirational and Transformational Leaders

Edited by Chris Jones, Pregala Pillay, Purshottama Sivanarain Reddy and Sakhile Isaac Zondi

This book first published 2022

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2022 by Chris Jones, Pregala Pillay, Purshottama Sivanarain Reddy, Sakhile Isaac Zondi and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-7790-2 ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-7790-9

CONTENTS

Notes on Contributorsviii
Prefacexiii
Foreword xv
Part A: South Africa
Chapter 1
Chapter 2
Political leadership for improved performance in South Africa: A shift from public management to new public governance S. Mthuli, N. Sing & P.S. Reddy
Chapter 3
Chapter 4
Chapter 5
Chapter 6

Contents

Chapter 7	120
Ethical leadership in the public sector in South Africa: <i>Quo Vadis</i> ?	
P.S. Reddy	

Part B: Selected African experiences

Nigeria

Chapter 9	168
Corruption and political leadership: Lessons from Nigeria	
D. Sotola & P. Pillay	
Chapter 10	189
Corruption and state fragility in Nigeria: The rise of #EndSARS	
as a contrastive leadership	

B.O. Igboin

Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)

Tanzania

Kenya

Chapter 13	264
Political leadership in Kenya: In transition or a failed political project?	
P. Kariuki	

vi

Uganda

Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), specifically universities

Chapter 15	314
Wicked heroes in smokescreen charades	
A.M. Martins & I.M. Martins	
Chapter 16	333
Conclusion: Governance lessons for inspirational and transformational	
leadership in Africa	
P.S. Reddy, C. Jones, P. Pillay, & S.I. Zondi	
Summary	353

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Benson Igboin is a Professor of Religious Studies at Adekunle Ajasin University, Nigeria and Research Associate of the Research Institute for Theology and Religion, University of South Africa. He has published widely in philosophy of religion, corruption, African values and spirituality and African Pentecostalism. He has served as Director of the Centre for Entrepreneurship Development, and is currently Head of the Department of Religion and African Culture.

Paul Kariuki is currently the Executive Director of the Democracy Development Program (DDP). He is also an honorary research fellow in the School of Management, IT and Governance (MIG), at the University of KwaZulu Natal. He has published widely in the fields of public governance, public participation, citizen engagement, electronic governance and monitoring and evaluation in the public sector. He has a wealth of experience in monitoring and evaluation, public participation, e-governance, citizen engagement and organisational development.

John-Mary Kauzya is the Chief of the Public Service Innovation Branch in the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), New York. He has published widely in the fields of governance, public administration, decentralisation, human resource management, transformational leadership and public policy. He has a wealth of experience in public governance and public administration capacity development and the design of public sector governance strategies and systems including public service, local governments, and human resource management, providing an advisory service to senior government leaders and transformational innovation in public sector institutions.

Chris Jones is currently the Head of the Unit for Moral Leadership in the Faculty of Theology, Stellenbosch University, South Africa. He has published widely in the fields of ethics and moral leadership. He has a wealth of experience in theology, ethics, community building and development, and fighting corruption.

Evangelos Mantzaris, at present, is a Retired Professor at the Mangosuthu University of Technology. He has done research and completed reports on stokvels and banking, asset allocation in the stockbroker industry, interest rates and repercussions on the British pound and general and specialised funds, international fund allocation and unit trusts, and liquidation and estates in the private sector.

Ana Martins is an Associate Professor in Leadership at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Graduate School of Business and Leadership, South Africa. Her scholarship encompasses diverse countries, namely, the UK, South Africa, Hong Kong, China, Germany, Portugal, and the Middle East. Her research is indexed in international peer-reviewed academic journals and book chapters with Springer, SAGE Publications, and IGI Global. Her key research fields embrace emerging concerns related to humanising leadership and organisations.

Isabel Martins is an Associate Professor in Organisational Behaviour at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, School of Management, IT and Governance, South Africa. Her scholarship spans countries, specifically, South Africa, the UK, Germany, Portugal, Hong Kong, the Middle East and the Gulf countries. Her research is indexed in international peer-reviewed academic journals and book chapters with Springer, Taylor and Francis, and IGI Global. Her predominant research fields include organisational learning, unlearning, learning organisation, innovation and creativity.

Syanda Mthuli is the founder and Director of the Southern African Centre for Research and Institutional Development (SACRID) and a Research Fellow in the Discipline of Public Governance at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. As a public administration scholar, he has published in areas of maritime policy, bureaucracy and performance management, and public finance, as well as local economic development. He has teaching experience from various tertiary institutions in South Africa and areas of interest include social science research methods, policy and development at all levels.

Bethuel Ngcamu is the Head of the Department of Public Management and Leadership at Nelson Mandela University. He has published in the fields of knowledge management, service delivery, performance management, leadership and transformation, disaster management, organisational development in universities and xenophobia. He has vast experience as a manager, consultant and academic in universities where he has taught and published a number of empirical studies in different disciplines.

Thokozani Nzimakwe is currently an academic in the School of Management, IT and Governance at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He holds a doctoral degree in public administration and management from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Before joining academia, he was employed in public service for 14 years. His research interests are in the areas of local governance, public sector accountability, public finance, ICT and public sector reforms. He has published widely in scholarly journals, contributed various book chapters, and attended and delivered papers at both national and international conferences.

Pregala Pillay is a Professor in the School of Public Leadership and former Vice Dean: Social Impact and Transformation in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. She serves as the Director of the Anti-Corruption Centre for Education and Research and Co-Chair of the Working Group on Ethics and Culture in the Public Sector of the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration. She has published widely in the fields of public administration with particular emphasis on governance, ethics, leadership, women and corruption. She has a wealth of experience and enjoyed a versatile academic career for almost three decades.

P.S. Reddy is a Senior Professor and subnational government specialist in the School of Management, IT and Governance at the University of Kwazulu-Natal, in Durban, South Africa. He is currently Vice-President: Programmes; a member of the board of management and founding Project Director of the Working Group on Sub-national Governance and Development of the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration (IASIA) (Brussels). Professor Reddy is also currently the Chairperson of the Programme and Research Committee (PRAC) of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences (IIAS) (Brussels). He has published extensively, both nationally and internationally, on local government and is the editor/co-editor of fifteen books. He is on the editorial/advisory committee of seven journals in South Africa, India, Estonia, the UK and Australia.

Alfred Sebahene is the Head of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies in the Faculty of Humanities and Education at St John's University of Tanzania. As a social ethics specialist and anti-corruption consultant, he also provides leadership in the unit for the study of corruption. He has published widely in the fields of public theology, public life ethics, and anticorruption, and has a wealth of experience in teaching, leadership, research, consultancy, community engagement, and particularly in assisting government, NGOs and churches in understanding, formulating and responding to anticorruption and public ethics policy. He is also a columnist for the Daily News, Tanzania's leading government newspaper in which he writes on ethics and human flourishing.

Nikita Singh is currently working at the Rhodes University Business School in the areas of sustainable business modelling and strategic management. She was previously a student, lecturer, supervisor, course administrator and research fellow at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Graduate School of Business and Leadership. Her areas of specialisation in terms of lecturing, supervision, consultations, and research include systems thinking, complexity theory, sustainability, strategic management, leadership, followership, public administration and non-profit organisational functioning. Nikita has also gained several years of experience in the corporate sector whilst working at a leading international bank.

David Sotola is a PhD candidate in the School of Public Leadership at Stellenbosch University. He has over a decade of experience conducting policy-relevant research in diverse areas of public policy with research institutes. His PhD research focuses on the private and public sector corruption nexus and he has published on corruption and anti-corruption, public-private partnerships (PPP) and public governance.

Michel Tshiyoyo is an Associate Professor in the School of Public Management and Administration at the University of Pretoria. He has published widely in the fields of leadership, governance and public administration with a focus on the African continent. Professor Tshiyoyo has a wealth of experience in the areas of public financial management, leadership development, international administration and organisational development.

Sakhile Isaac Zondi is a graduate of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, where he completed a master's degree in sociology and a PhD in public administration. He is currently a lecturer in the School of Management, IT and Governance. Dr Zondi is a member of the Association of Southern African Schools and Departments of Public Administration and Management (ASSADPAM), the South African Association of Public Administration and Management (SAAPAM), and the International Association of Schools and Institutes of Administration (IASIA). Dr Zondi's research areas include local government, public policy, and public sector ethics. He has also published research papers and book chapters on

areas of local government, ethical leadership and local economic development (LED).

PREFACE

E. CLOETE¹

It is a pleasure to contribute, albeit in a small way, to this book that covers aspects of corruption and leadership. The central question is: What drives corruption? At the most fundamental level, one's worldview will influence one's decision-making as a leader and determine whether corruption is an "acceptable practice" or not. One's worldview is determined by one's values, which in turn determine one's character. Good leadership survives on building trust, on a service-oriented and empathic relationship with those one is leading. Trust is generally the most important attribute of a good leader. People do not follow people they do not trust. They may do what a leader wants them to do out of fear, but this is not sustainable over a period of time. Corruption is a sure way of undermining trust and clouding one's leadership, because it favours a few and not those who entrusted one with the leadership position in the first place. The so-called "law of natural consequences" brings corrupt leaders to a fall. A corrupt leader can only get away with "wilful blindness" (a legal term that refers to intentionally turning one's attention away from an ethical problem) for so long before it brings them down. Another trait of a corrupt leader is the desire to be autonomous and to be a law unto themselves to the detriment of others. Considering the importance of "service leadership", corrupt leadership will erode one's leadership position, because the only people who are served are those in positions of power. Greed forms the basis of corruption and has done enormous damage to societies around the world and particularly in Africa. It has left millions of ordinary trusting citizens in dire poverty, to the point where they have given up hope and lost their faith in the democratic system. Corruption resonates with a godless worldview, where ordinary people are seen as objects and not "human". Humans end up being treated as just another piece of matter with no value or dignity and not worthy of empathy. Should one then be in a position of power, one may abuse one's position (justified by the law of survival of the fittest), without having to justify one's behaviour and actions to anyone apart from oneself,

¹ Professor Eugene Cloete is Vice-Rector: Research, Innovation and Postgraduate Studies, Stellenbosch University.

Preface

driven by one's desires. With this worldview, there is no moral order, because one claims the right to determine the moral ground that suits one's selfish needs. All morality becomes relative, often contradictory in nature, where ethics do not count. Unfortunately, this will lead to an unfulfilled, unhappy, and empty life with no significance. There is no ancient and/or modern-day corrupt leader who has died with dignity. Their legacy is corruption associated with a life without purpose and meaning. The true mark of a leader is how they are remembered when not in a leadership position any more. Corruption will not, unfortunately, make this a pleasant memory. This book is full of examples of the interplay between corruption and unethical leadership, and the consequences. Hopefully, the lessons learned will contribute to ethical leadership and development of the African continent and beyond.

FOREWORD

The book draws an interwoven relationship from multi-dimensional perspectives on political leadership as a strategic theme in the corruption discourse. The terms "corruption" and "leadership" have become buzzwords and attained a conspicuous focus on the lexicon of the developing countries of the world, especially on the African continent.

The contribution of this book demonstrates that corruption is a cancer and a disease that must be treated. Otherwise, it spreads throughout the system and eats away at the true spirit and tenets of democracy. Corruption is a major impediment to Africa's growth, development and prosperity. Corruption steals from the poor, destroys public trust and eats away at the moral fibre of society. The world cannot be silent when the gap between rich and poor grows bigger because corruption has blighted their future.

Poverty, unemployment, poor governance, political violence, service delivery protests, lack of accountability, high levels of illiteracy, economic dependency, technological backwardness, oppression, and political instability abound.

In several instances, public funds are diverted from the development agenda into individual pockets and sadly many African leaders have set the pace, scope and scale of corruption indicative of their self-interest, greed and dishonesty. So much for the exemplary leadership that was envisioned by Africans for a thriving Continent!

It has often been argued that the self-centeredness of our leadership is no different from that of the colonial masters. "The catastrophe of bad leadership has created the impression that the African is incapable of finding African solutions to the problems affecting the Continent" (Wafawarowa 2021; also see Niringiye 2019; Pillay & Jones 2020).

Poor political leadership informs the bad governance that is Africa's greatest barrier to social and economic development. In this regard, this book endeavours to highlight that inspirational and transformational leadership is a panacea to achieve growth, development and prosperity in Africa. The editors further accentuate that inspiring leadership means going

above and beyond obligations to make extraordinary efforts to be selfless and contribute to making the world a better place.

True leaders always practice the 3Rs: Respect for self; Respect for others and Responsibility for all their actions (Anonymous). There are no limits to what can be achieved if there are ethical leaders with a profound sense of integrity, humility and respect for the people that elect them to positions of power.

In Africa, we have seen the scourge of corruption as enemy number one and unless we build an ethical, openly transparent culture, corruption will destroy the development agenda and vision 2063, and the dream of transforming Africa into the global powerhouse of the future will be lost forever!

This book brings into life the vision that "real leaders must be ready to sacrifice all for the freedom of their people and what counts in life is not the mere fact that we have lived. It is what difference we have made to the lives of others that will determine the significance of the life we lead" (Nelson Mandela Speech, April 1998).

The Editors

xvi

PART A:

SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: TOWARDS INSPIRING, ETHICAL AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

C. JONES, P. PILLAY, P.S. REDDY & S.I. ZONDI

Keywords: Inspiring; Ethical; Political; Leadership; Corruption; Africa

Introduction

In his article "Africa is seeking a new brand of leadership," Ben Yahmed (2021) reasons that there is a need in Africa for "visionary, upstanding and courageous leaders who are capable of meeting the increasingly complex challenges the continent is facing, while serving as an inspiration to their people".

Thomas Sankara, a great African leader, who embodied what a country looks for in a political leader, in his address before the General Assembly of the United Nations (04/10/1984), used the following words which should resonate more than ever with Africans today:

We have chosen a different path to achieve better results. We have chosen to establish new techniques. We have chosen to seek forms of organisation that are better adapted to our civilisation, abruptly and once and for all rejecting all kinds of outside diktats, so that we can create the conditions for a dignity in keeping with our ambitions. We refuse simple survival. We want to ease pressures, to free our countryside from medieval stagnation or regression. We want to democratise our society, to open up our minds to a universe of collective responsibility, so that we may be bold enough to invent the future.

Sankara had "vision, intelligence, courage, empathy towards the citizenry, audacity and a sense of duty and the greater good" (Ben Yahmed 2021), the kind of leadership that is mostly absent in Africa today.

Introduction

According to Ben Yahmed (2021), "we have to acknowledge that the world has changed significantly and that being a leader today is much harder". Nowadays, "leaders have to 'bring everyone else on board', be 'inspiring' ... make things 'meaningful', persuade, explain and justify their decisions. They also have to think about 'well-being' on top of growth and development". He (2021) then strikingly says:

Africans are desperately awaiting another kind of leadership, the sort that would eradicate incompetence and mediocrity and thereby create a virtuous circle fostering excellence and efficiency for the benefit of the population. This would mean a more rational use of the skills that exist – because they do exist – by putting the right men and women in the right positions to achieve the objectives set and see results.

This search for men and women, is not limited to politicians alone. Although the focus of this book is primarily on political leadership, it "inevitably extends to the corporate world, as only the private sector can absorb the workforce and minds that flood into the labour market every year and is best able to adjust to international competition and do its part to transform our economies or ensure long-term development" (Ben Yahmed 2021).

It also "encompasses civil society and both our moral and intellectual elites". Everybody should share the same set of goals namely:

- promoting new values based on our history and our culture,
- unlocking our very real, but untapped, potential,
- and proposing initiatives that will give rise to progress. (Ben Yahmed 2021)

Inspired by great African leaders, and in the light of what leadership could look like in our continent according to their vision, values and courage, this book provides an overview of the insights given by several African scholars from different academic disciplines and backgrounds. The open and authoritative arguments in the different chapters around lessons that can be learnt from political leadership in Africa, both good and bad, are briefly addressed and will hopefully inspire and transform the next generation of leaders to take the continent to the next level in terms of development.

This book endeavours to reflect on various African country specific examples to show how political leadership is, in fact, a great obstacle to achieving growth, development, transformation, and prosperity in Africa.

The book highlights the leadership conundrums in selected African countries. It is hoped that the respective country specific case studies will cement the notion of the overall objective that leadership plays an overarching role in rooting out corruption in Africa.

What is clear, is that one needs to develop a generation of new African leaders to tackle corruption and make Africa's indelible mark on the world stage.

This book aims to help to alleviate the lack of scholarly publications in this regard by focusing on the particular issues attended to in this volume by its very specific (and carefully selected) grouping of authors, issues, and countries. It is presented systematically and inter-sectionally and all the chapters are based on original research.

In this disciplinary area of expertise, collecting these insights in a single volume will provide a solid basis for advancing existing knowledge and a rational and clear framework for future research.

The authors were permitted to follow their own research methodology; most of them chose to do a literature review of the academic resources available, however, there are exceptions. Limited academic literature is available on some of the themes, therefore some authors used more popular sources. Each author, however, aimed to provide a thorough overview of the latest research efforts in their chapters. Each chapter comes as a separate contribution complete in itself but directly related to the book's aims and objectives, namely, to stimulate a future generation of inspirational and transformational leaders by exploring case studies of political leadership in Africa.

In tackling some of society's most pressing issues, such as political leadership and corruption, the book shows that studying these topics necessitates analytical thinking and critical thought in order to (help) make the world a better and kinder place to live in. It emphasises that people engage in a continuous process of attempting to become more human, enabling themselves and their fellow humans to grow and achieve their full potential through reflection and action.

With the following brief overview of the various chapters (2-16), it must be stated that the limitations of an introductory chapter such as this make it impossible to do justice to the full richness of the content of each of these chapters.

4

Content and structure

Svanda Mthuli, Nikita Singh and Purshottama Sivanarain Reddy point out in Chapter 2 that political leadership refers to those elected by the people to hold public office in typical modern-day governance systems. A government system is a structure that addresses the needs and wants of its constituencies through policy intents, by performing various activities within a state to make socio-economic development possible. For policy intentions to be realised and for performance to be considered virtuous. government institutions must be effective, efficient, and economical. Most African states came into existence from a dark past involving the continent's colonialization, followed by independence. The presence of neo-colonialism and young and weak democracies, as well as apartheid (in the case of South Africa), created a breeding ground for dictatorships and corruption to thrive on the African continent. Nevertheless, the performance of government institutions remains at the heart of development on the African continent, whilst development itself is pillared on the performance of public sector institutions. Unfortunately, the performance of government institutions and the role that political leadership can play in improving the situation in African countries, have remained questionable. This chapter explores the evolution of public administration performance and leadership on the African continent through the lens of new public management (NPM) and new public governance (NPG) and interrogates the applicability of each of these approaches to the South African context specifically.

In Chapter 3, Evangelos Mantzaris and Bethuel Sibongiseni Ngcamu focus on the relationships between political leaders and corruption in South Africa and internationally, indicating that this has been a topical research issue for a number of social science disciplines such as sociology, political science, and public administration, amongst others. The same cannot be said of the associations between political party antagonism, factionalism, and corruption. This chapter attempts to dissect the connections and realities of political factionalism and corruption in municipalities and their operational realities. This case study is rooted in the qualitative and interpretative frame and founded on primary data, online interviews with 12 political administrative figures at the municipal level, trade unionists, and members of nongovernmental organisations, selected through judgemental sampling and situated in two provinces in South Africa. The research findings pinpoint the importance of the relationships between administrative officials and political leaders concerning factionalism and corruption, and the important role of mediators and their relation to corruption, as well as the realities of life that play a key role in the connection between political factionalism and

Chapter 1

corruption. The chapter seeks to make a significant contribution to a more or less neglected but very significant political and social reality. The contribution lies in the fact that the chapter has enhanced the knowledge of a set of relationships established and perpetrated amongst political and party factions, administrators and mediators associated with the private sector. Despite the perpetration of a wide variety and different types of corrupt acts perpetrated by different sections of the public sector and a multiple variety of operators and mediators associated with the private sector the key element of political leadership, factionalism and corruption and its multiple dynamics has not been researched extensively.

In Chapter 4, Sakhile Zondi and Pregala Pillav provide a glimpse of how, over the years, local government across South Africa has been characterised largely by ineffectiveness and inefficiencies due to the nature and scale of corruption and lack of ethical leadership. The situation is no different in other African countries. The topic of ethical leadership and good governance has grown in importance in the contemporary public sector landscape as a mechanism to promote responsible actions by public officials and community representatives in order to maximise service impact. Ethical leadership is closely intertwined with the concepts of respect, integrity, dignity and impartiality. Ethical leadership should be institutionalised at a municipal level and serve as an integral part of the developmental local governance system in South Africa. The authors also raise concerns over the weak oversight mechanisms for safeguarding good governance and ethical leadership among political and administrative structures in many municipalities of the country. The chapter aligns ethical leadership theories with the implementation of good governance in local government. The methodological approach of the study is premised on unobtrusive research in which a comprehensive analysis of case studies is explored to present findings. The chapter proposes some recommendations for limiting risks of unethical behaviours when municipal functionaries face ethical dilemmas.

Thokozani Nzimakwe, in Chapter 5, reasons that leadership in the public sector is critical, not only for good governance in general, but also for good public governance in particular. Public sector organisations have become increasingly dynamic and turbulent in recent years and new approaches to leadership are required in the public service to address the constant and rapid change it is confronted with. In this respect, the public leadership challenge has real potential for helping public sector organisations, including local government, to respond positively to these changes in order to ensure continuous improvement, to create and maintain resilient and liveable communities, and also for future generations to prosper. This

Introduction

chapter presents recent developments in leadership literature in order to emphasise the critical importance and value of public leadership while also offering food for thought for South African public leaders. Taking into account the vast scholarly literature on leadership, recent theoretical and practical research of public leadership is highlighted, followed by an overview of public leadership in local government. The chapter ends with future recommendations.

In Chapter 6, Pregala Pillay and Evangelos Mantzaris refer to the numerous theoretical and empirical research expositions and analyses of political leadership and their multiple varieties that have been the topic of intellectual, theoretical, and production knowledge topics for many years in Africa, South Africa, and internationally. The same is true of corruption, a social and economic phenomenon in both the public and private sectors globally and in the African continent due to its immense expansion in all aspects of life and society. While international, theoretical and empiricallybased literature has been produced on the relations between political leadership and corruption, the role of the state administrative bureaucracy in relationships between the two, has not received the necessary attention. This means that the generation of new beliefs, ideas, and theories is important at a number of levels, because the synergy and cooperation bases of administrative and political ethics, planning, and actions are a fundamental element of organisational anti-corruption at all levels. This research into municipalities, examines the relationships and the link between political and administrative leadership and their management repercussions on all aspects of public management with an emphasis on corruption. The epistemological orientation of the research is rooted in qualitative and interpretative methodology and based on ten in-depth interviews with politicians, administrators, civil society groups, and community activists belonging to ward committees in two municipalities in South Africa.

The South African Government developed a normative framework for ethical behaviour in the public sector, according to Purshottama Sivanarain Reddy in Chapter 7. Despite the normative legislative/policy framework for ethical conduct and the noble intentions of government, there have been ongoing and increasing incidents of abuse of political power, nepotism, misuse of funds, and rampant corruption in the public sector. Unethical conduct has permeated every aspect of public life in South Africa and the appointment of the Zondo Commission of Enquiry into State Capture, which cost taxpayers in excess of R700 million, reflects this current state of affairs. This has impacted negatively on effectual and operative public

Chapter 1

service delivery and eroded public confidence and trust in the public sector and government. The moral deficit in ethical leadership and the downward trajectory in public governance have to be urgently arrested, or the country will be declared a failed state, heading down the same familiar path as many countries on the Continent. Firm and decisive action is needed in terms of serious consequence management in responding to the scourge of corruption and unethical conduct. South Africans have a right to morally upright and ethical leadership, particularly in the public sector. At this juncture, the country desperately needs inspirational and transformational leaders who are morally upright, altruistic, committed, trustworthy, and passionate about service delivery, so that government can get back to basics in terms of enhancing the quality of life of the majority of the populace, as espoused in the Constitution. The research approach adopted was qualitative, based on detailed paradigms of unobtrusive research practices, including a conceptual and documentary analysis of the focus area nationally. Key themes emerging from the literature review guided the further exploration of data, and the subsequent analysis which constituted the basis of this chapter.

In Chapter 8, Chris Jones and Pregala Pillay highlight that South Africa, like many African and globalised countries, urgently needs improved moral leadership. Among other things, true moral leadership is radical, costly and never determined by an obsession with power. Moral leadership brings wholeness to people's lives and helps them to live to their full potential. As a consequence, it causes significant and long-lasting changes in both individuals and societies. The four key-drives theory is specifically examined by discussing the four basic evolutionary drivers of behaviour in humans' lives. Furthermore, it refers to the four core values that correspond to these key drives, namely, prosperity, justice, trust, and knowledge. The great need for role models regarding moral leadership is then addressed. The presidency of South Africa's former president, Jacob Zuma, is evaluated in the light of this model. The chapter ends by highlighting what is needed for the government in South Africa to improve in this regard. It particularly shows that South Africa will have to progress faster on the path of radical moral leadership, as proposed in the evolutionary model, without fear.

Part B: Selected African experiences

Nigeria

In Chapter 9, David Olusegun Sotola and Pregala Pillay argue that corruption is a key theme in governance conversations in most developing

Introduction

societies. The political system and actors are often at the centre of corruption acts and a significant number of countries have experienced corruptiondriven leadership change in recent times. In Nigeria, the political system and leadership are generally perceived as corrupt to the extent that two recent successive general elections were dominated by corruption themed political campaigns. In fact, the involvement of political leadership in corruption in Nigeria requires little or no debate. While the role of political leadership in corruption is taken *a priori*, knowledge about the connection between corruption and political leadership can benefit from further systematic analysis. This chapter discusses selected political corruption incidents in Nigeria, and the political actors, with a view to learning lessons from them. It interrogates the links and dimensions of government corruption by analysing selected cases in Nigeria and reflects on the lessons therein. The chapter argues that political corruption in Nigeria is historical and there are clear links between leaders and corruption. It identifies the difference in political corruption under military and civilian leadership. While there are differences in the form of corruption of military and democratic leaders, not much change can be seen in corruption prevalence, as the country is still mostly perceived as endemically corrupt.

In Chapter 10, Benson Ohihon Igboin reasons that corruption, in all its variegated forms, is a crime against humanity. In both public and private sectors where corrupt activities are enacted, corruption is a morally reprehensive and legally unwarranted act that adversely impacts on institutions of state. Where institutions are weak, corrupt practices almost seamlessly interpenetrate and affect state capacity. State fragility is not only controversial because of the contentious imaginations associated with it, especially from the prism of nuances of developed and developing countries, but the fact that corruption affects and leads to state fragility, is hardly contestable. In the Nigerian context, different descriptions such as fragile, weak, failing, and failed states have been used, though with contentions. Using capacity, security, and legitimacy gap parameters, the chapter argues whether or not Nigeria can be classified into any of these captions. In doing so, corruption is underscored as a constant variable, which in this sense critically relates to leadership and accountability. The inadequacies herein, it was argued, were the cannon fodder for the rise of #EndSARS protests. This demand for leadership accountability could on the one hand give hope that, in the future, a steady counter-corruption movement could be born. On the other hand, should the youth relapse in their demand for good governance, it is possible that a worse corrupt dictatorial regime could be birthed.

Chapter 1

Democratic Republic of the Congo

Michel Tshivovo, in Chapter 11, writes that the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is a country endowed with abundant natural and mineral resources which are sought after by the whole world. Many scholars and development experts have described the DRC as potentially one of the richest countries in the world but, paradoxically also among the poorest countries. Is the DRC too rich to fail or too rich to rise? This brings into focus a critical analysis of the political leadership's impact on the country's governance. The people of the DRC, due to unequal profit-sharing, do not enjoy the wealth of the country; "although the DRC initiated reforms aimed at strengthening governance in the management of natural resources and improving the business climate, the country is ranked 183 out of 190 countries in the 2020 Doing Business Report. Key governance indicators remain weak" (World Bank 2021). It should be noted that, since the advent of independence in 1960, the country has faced perpetual challenges, a major one being the government's inability to adopt and implement policies that could put the country on the path of economic growth and development. The effective implementation of policies has always been crippled by the predatory behaviour of the country's politico-administrative leaders. This chapter explores leadership's implications for governance in the DRC and highlights the need for the emergence of a responsible leadership that could free the potential available in the country.

Tanzania

In Chapter 12, Alfred Wimana Sebahene argues that Africa is still at a crossroads. Two decades into the 21st century, the long-standing problem of leadership has not been resolved and remains a major concern. The ways in which this thorny challenge is tackled are crucial. This chapter seeks to contribute to the ongoing efforts to address the problem. The major question is, how should the continent be equipped to enable her to play a sound leadership role at the forefront of the world stage? It suggests that a new generation of inspiring leaders has to be considered; leaders who are capable of facing up to the challenges of the continent. Tanzania is taken as a case study in the discussion. The discourse focuses on the nation's political journey of fifty years from 1961-2021; that is, from the rise of nationalism to the effort of freeing the country from the colonial yoke and the building of the foundations of a true nation to the present-day democratic processes. The chapter proposes solutions to concerns of governance and corruption as persistent political bottlenecks. It lays emphasis on the youth as a key

Introduction

segment in the African renaissance and the future of inspiring leadership and examines emerging issues for making leaders in the 21st century by engaging the nexus of religion and politics in grooming leaders. The chapter concludes that new hope will be brought by the quantity and quality of investment that the continent will dedicate to the young people of today.

Kenya

Paul Kariuki, in Chapter 13, explores how political leadership in Africa has been characterised by governance failure for the past three decades. Corruption has become endemic and uncontrollable, resulting in significant levels of socio-economic and political instability in most countries on the continent. As nations struggle to extricate themselves from these challenges. new political alliances in the form of coalitions are emerging that seek to restore good governance and ethical leadership in government. Against this background, this chapter focuses on Kenya's political leadership in the past two decades. The country's political leadership can be analysed in two main ways, namely, at national and political levels. At the national level, political leadership has been concentrated in a ruling coalition that has become unstable due to competing political interests that seek control of the executive and its responsibilities. At the political level, the country is always in electioneering mode, with different political parties plotting their moves long before the next general election. What, then, does the future hold for Kenya insofar as political leadership is concerned? The chapter seeks to answer this question by examining the factors that have contributed to truncated political leadership in the country that has failed to meet citizens' expectations, and the lessons that can be learned from this experience.

Uganda

In Chapter 14, John-Mary Kauzya discusses transformational leadership and corruption in Uganda's governance. This is premised on the values and principles enshrined in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UN General Assembly 2015), the Aspirations of the Africa 2063 Agenda (Africa Union Commission 2015), and Uganda's 1995 Constitution. It illustrates that the values and principles include people-centredness, effectiveness, inclusion, equity, accountability, integrity, ethics, etc., which would underpin respect for the public interest and discourage corruption in public governance. The central argument is that the transformational leadership that will end political intrigue, deceit, and generalised corruption in the country's governance, will need to work with the society, enabling it to cherish and defend the values and principles of public governance. From the colonial period, through the post-independence period of Milton Obote (1962-1971), the military regime of Idi Amin Dada (1971-1979), the second Milton Obote regime (1981-1985), to the current regime of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) under Yoweri Museveni, in power since January 1986, political leadership disregarded these much-needed values and principles, and society internalised corruption. Concluding that the institutional legalistic eco-system established is not transformative enough to prevent and fight corruption, the author recommends, in addition, a transformed society with value-based, future-oriented, and people-focused transformational leadership at all levels and in all sectors to prevent and fight corruption in public governance.

Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), specifically universities

In Chapter 15, Ana and Isabel Martins discuss corruption, power, and ambition as themes abounding in the history of humanity, from philosophers as early as Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, and Montesquieu, Shakespearean plays, be they tragedies or comedies, entail these recurring themes of power, corruption, ambition, and greed. In more recent times, George Orwell in his Animal Farm states that "absolute power corrupts absolutely". In essence, this impels the need for future leaders to possess practical honour and integrity. Several contemporary organisations have been plagued by leaders who follow toxic practices and ignominious, unethical, unlawful, and deviant conduct. It is common knowledge that corruption is rampant throughout the African continent. The aim of this chapter is to critique the extant literature pertaining to the charade wherein the individual leader, considered as a distinct individual, is in reality no more than a common thief, performing the role of leader. This setting is due to unethical leaders who pursue their self-interest over and above the justifiable and valid interest of the particular organisation. Anti-organisational and destructive behaviour is derailed, and disloyal leadership prevails based on a charismatic albeit dictatorial, controlling, and autocratic style. This is diametrically opposed to constructive, practical, and beneficial leadership founded on committed, involved employees. Leadership is a pledge to engage in acknowledged and ethical needs for the lawful interest of the organisation. Additionally, leadership should be grounded on high level ethical behaviours, moral purpose, and decision-making, to foster increased degrees of trust, based on respect and credibility.

Purshottama Reddy, Chris Jones, Pregala Pillay and Sakhile Zondi in Chapter 16 (conclusion) alluded to the fact that the African continent has

Introduction

over the past few decades faced several trials and tribulations relative to inter alia, low economic growth; increasing unemployment; poverty; limited capacity due to a global brain drain and bad governance, where high levels of corruption topped the agenda. It would appear that South Africa which is one of the voungest democracies on the continent is unfortunately also experiencing similar challenges, which have served as constraints to development to date. A cumulative analysis of African political leadership signifies the urgent need for democratic aspirations and principles. governance that can be deemed morally upright, and most significantly. ethical leadership. This has to be the moral compass in terms of enhanced governance and an improved quality of life for the Continent's inhabitants. The notion of inspiring, innovative and transformational leadership should be an integral part of the equation in terms of elevating the continent to higher levels of economic growth, good governance and prosperity for all. Key drivers for the process are the practice of good governance: ethics training/capacity development; competent public service; rule of law; a corruption-free environment; and globally competitive economies. Civil society has to facilitate active citizen involvement and participation in terms of ensuring that the political leadership is ethical and accountable and in the final analysis acting in the interests of the populace at all times.

Conclusion

It is a given that bad governance has been Africa's major obstacle and constraint to socio-economic development over the past few decades. This has in turn been informed by weak ethical and political leadership which has in some cases led to disastrous consequences for the majority of the citizenry on the Continent. Consequently, there have to be renewed calls and attempts to tackle the scourge of corruption. The message is quite clear and unambiguous: combating corruption is everyone's business. The role and function of ethics in society and the presence of ethical, effective, and emphatic leaders are also critical and have been underscored. This book demonstrates how corruption harms the weak and the poor and diverts resources form the poor and disadvantaged. It is hoped that the contents of the book and the resultant lessons learnt will in the final analysis motivate, inspire, and enrich the reader's philosophy of life and ultimately promote the notion of good governance.

References

- Africa Union Commission, 2015, Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want, final edition, popular version, Addis Ababa.
- Ben Yahmed, M., 2021, Africa is seeking a new brand of leadership, the Africa report, 6 January 2021: https://www.theafricareport.com/57237/africa-is-seeking-a-new-brand-of-leadership/ [10/06/2021].

Jones, C., 2017, South Africa needs moral leaders, not those in pursuit of selfish gain, *The Conversation*, 25 April 2017: https://theconversation.com/south-africa-needs-moral-leaders-notthose-in-pursuit-of-selfish-gain-76244 [05/10/2020].

- Niringiye, Z., 2019, Combating corruption in Africa: The moral responsibility of faith-based institutions. In: Agang, S.B., Pillay, P. & Jones, C. (eds), A Multidimensional Perspective on Corruption in Africa, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.
- Pillay, P. & Jones, C., 2020, Corruption hampers growth and development in Africa, *News24*, 13 July 2020.
- Rose-Ackerman, S., 1999, Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences and Reform, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Sankara, T., 1984, United Nations, United Nations General Assembly Official Records, 20th Plenary Meeting, Thursday, 4 October 1984, at 10.40 a.m., New York (A/39/PV.20), pp. 405-410.
- Sebahene, A., 2017, Corruption Mocking at Justice: A Theological and Ethical Perspective on Public Life in Tanzania and its Implications for the Anglican Church of Tanzania, Langham Publishing, United Kingdom.
- The Word Bank, 2021, The World Bank in DRC: https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/drc/overview [15/04/2021].
- United Nations, *Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, Resolution A/RES/70/1, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, United Nations, September 2015.
- Wafawarova, R., 2021, Africa's leadership failure, *The Herald*, 23 April 2021: https://www.herald.co.zw/africas-leadership-failure/ [03/05/2021].