UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF KENYA

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R50/12259/2018

SUPERVISOR

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

DECEMBER, 2020

DECLARATION

DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I, the undersigned, declare that this project is my original work and that it has not been presented

in any other university for academic credit.

DAVIDSON MWANGI RUGI   **Signed..   Date............................**

R50/12259/2018

DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR

The research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the Supervisor

Signature ....   Date..

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DEDICATION

To my family, for being such a constant source of support throughout this academic journey. Honoured to have my wife Lorna by my side throughout this process. She has consistently challenged me to give this project the best attention and effort. To my children, thank you for being such a motivating company.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABSTRACT

The role and importance of governance wherever human populations exist cannot be overstated. It is not easy to dispute that Africa's problem of poor human development is, to a great extent, one largely caused by poor governance. How a country is governed plays a critical role on whether the people within its jurisdiction will be empowered or disempowered by the leadership, and whether such a country will conduct its affairs through the modus operandi of all stakeholders in mobilization on the one hand, or an elitist clique that dances to the tune of the ruling elite on the other. Africa's international relations context is bereft with a governance and leadership dent that has largely consigned the continent to a second fiddle role as far as human development and effective agency in international relations is concerned. This study posits leadership that complies with good governance constitutes a critical factor for enabling human development in Africa. The study analyzed such governance instruments as the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want, The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), the African Youth Charter, the UNDP Human Development Reports, Kenya's Vision 2030, Kenya's Foreign Policy Document and the Constitution of Kenya 2010, among others. This study argues that compliance with these (and such) instruments holds promise not only in governance itself, but also in regard to practitioners of leadership and governance. The study advances that leaders' goodwill in creating a context for such instruments to work is greatly important. This study therefore seeks to evaluate the relationship between compliance on the part of the African countries with such governance instruments and Africa's international relations from a human development point of view, with a specific focus on Kenya as a case study. The study used a mixed methods approach and relies on primary data from leadership and governance practitioners, as well as diplomats, in arriving at its conclusions and recommendations. Liberalism provides the theoretical framework for the study, in line with its objectives. This is aimed at arriving at findings that will contribute to knowledge, and to recommend ideas for adoption by policy makers and stakeholders in governance matters from a point of view of complying with good governance practices, and its relevance in enhancing Africa's human development and international relations.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB   - The African Development Bank

AfCFTA   - The African Continental Free Trade Area

Agenda 2063   - The Agenda

APRM   - The African Peer Review Mechanism

AU   - The African Union

AYC   - The African Youth Charter

COK, 2010   - The Constitution of Kenya, 2010

IDIS   - Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

MDGs   - Millennium Development Goals

NEPAD   - The New Partnership for Africa's Development

OPTIVEN GROUP   - Optimizing Ventures Group Limited, Kenya

SDGs   - Sustainable Development Goals

UN   - The United Nations

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

The nexus between governance and human development as it relates to international relations has occupied nations throughout history. This study sets to explore the factors behind Africa's twin identity as rich on the one hand, yet still poor, on the other. This ironic state of affairs is well documented. For instance, "Africa is rich in gold, diamonds, oil and many other coveted natural resources. Yet it has not managed to capitalize on its wealth: its infrastructure is underdeveloped, its economies are small and unsophisticated, and its people languish in poverty."[1] From the widest global level to the narrowest village context, humanity lives within environments that are shaped to a large degree by the type of governance at work within those contexts, and this study opines that governance has a determinative influence on human development.

The study also appreciates that governance relies on leadership. Leaders and their leadership styles determine whether the contexts within which they lead have good or bad governance. Governance in turn determines the level of development that can be achieved in the contexts where they lead. This, in turn, has ramifications on such states' international relations. Indeed, as has been advanced by John Maxwell, "everything rises or falls on leadership."[2] Moreover, "the most important factor in the positive image of a country is the leaders of the country. Today, even in countries where the most advanced stage of institutionalization exists, the influence of leaders has not diminished."[3] Against these considerations, the question of leadership and governance and their role on any

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[1] *If We Are So Rich, Why Are We So Poor?* In The Journal of Good Governance Africa, Issue 2, August 2012, p. 2.
[2] Louis Anthony Love. *Everything Rises and Falls on Leadership: An Assessment of Undergraduate Leadership Development Programs at the University of Arkansas--Fayetteville.*
(https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Everything-Rises-and-Falls-on-Leadership%3A-An-of-at-Love/ee3f24477edd3aed4037dba864cc3be68225f66e, 2013), accessed on 15/4/2020.
[3] İrfan Arik & Cevit Yavuz. *The Importance of Leadership In International Relations* (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Sample). In International Journal of Research in Social Sciences. Jan 2015, Vol. 4, No 5.

country's human development is important. Accordingly, when governance brings about human development, the states benefitted in that manner experience a corresponding rise in their international relations' efficacy.

It is noteworthy that the personnel who are tasked with the role of initiating, formulating, mediating, negotiating in line with, and implementing countries' internal governance and foreign policies occupy a vital place in the international relations contexts within which they work. That is the case with Africa generally, and Kenya in particular. Leaders do not merely rise or simply develop out of vacuums. Rather, leaders emerge from, and are shaped by the contexts in which they evolve, and all that those contexts represent. African governments have a responsibility to ensure the rise of their stature on the international relations arena, and this study opines that such a stature can be greatly enhanced through a sober application of good, context-specific governance and leadership, focused on enhancing human development.

This study views human development as reliant on good governance and leadership in which a mobilized, rather than an elitist culture of governance enables the participation of all, both at home and abroad. Such an approach would ensure backgrounds that are facilitative of contexts in which leaders will grow in enabling governance efficacy to the greatest degree possible, with positive ramifications on human development. The following words, credited with a significant diplomatic leaders of his era further underscore this argument, thus: "From generations of soldiers and government officials on my father's side, I inherited a belief that no life was more satisfactory than

one of selfless service to your country — or humanity. This service required a sacrifice of all personal interests, but likewise the courage to stand up unflinchingly for your convictions."[4]

These words are, in the view of this study, a pointer to the fact that how leaders, including those entrusted with governance in Africa, approach the responsibilities with which they have been entrusted is determinative of outcomes of their countries' human development, and hence their image abroad. The role of leadership and governance on human development is critical for Africa generally, and Kenya as a country. This study views Africa's twenty-first century international relations as a "superstructure" undertaking whose success in terms of outcomes must be predicated upon the "substructure" of good governance practices, informed by broad participation at home, thereby facilitating human development.

As already mentioned, this research sets to study the role that good leadership and governance plays on human development in Africa's international relations. Accordingly, this study is titled "The Role of Leadership and Governance on Human Development in Africa: The Case of Kenya." This was influenced by the researcher's interest in the subject of leadership and governance as it relates to human development within the area of international studies. This is well within the purview of the scholarly field of International Studies, by virtue of the fact that it is itself a multidisciplinary area.

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[4] Cordier, A.W. and Foote, W, eds., Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations, vol. 2, Dag Hammarskjöld, *1953–1956* (New York: Columbia University Press); p. 194.

1.1. Background to the Study

Africa is a resource-rich continent, although it continues to lag behind in terms of human development as compared to other continents. Indeed, "With One Sixth of the world's arable land, Africa is one of the richest and most endowed continents on earth."[5] The potential arising from this position for Africa's growth has unfortunately not been translated into significant human development, with the bulk of Africa remaining foreign aid dependent and largely underdeveloped, alongside its human resources remaining denied in the freedom to exercise agency. This study appreciates that the "achievement of sustainable development requires an enabling environment, and that governance plays a crucial role in creating those conditions."[6] Owing to the interconnected nature of its impact on human societies everywhere, leadership is, and ought to be treated as a priority area in enabling good governance policies, from the national to the international level, hence the need to address the question of the role of leadership and governance on Africa's human development.

Africa's leadership has a moral obligation to steward the continent's international relations towards sustainable human development, and at the very heart of that stewardship is the need to appreciate the importance of an enabling leadership and governance context. Such a measure is necessary, and needs to be undertaken in tandem with all factors unique to the continent, considering that Africa boasts an environment in which a rich array of natural resources, as has already been stated. Leadership concerns itself with governance. This study seeks to underscore the importance of leadership and good governance in human development as it relies on factors

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[5] African Union Foundation & African Economic Platform (2017). *Africa at a Glance: Facts and Figures*. Available on https://au.int/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/31884-wd-aep_brochure_facts_figures.pdf. Downloaded on 9/4/2020.

[6] Friends of Governance for Sustainable Development. Governance for Sustainable Development: Ideas for the Post 2015 Agenda. (New World Frontiers, 2015), p. 12.

including environment and climate. The researcher therefore proposes to study Africa's compliance with good governance as an important and powerful tool for mobilizing all its stakeholders for sustainable human development. The study assumes that embracing and implementing such policies in its leadership and governance context will make Africa the truly rich continent in human development it is supposed to be, matching its wealth in natural resources with a corresponding wealth in its development.

The researcher attaches great value on the necessity of good governance, and for it to be intentionally and strategically prioritized by the continent's leaders because it has efficacy in enabling the rise of Africa's international relations, image and stature. Africa's policy makers, as well as politicians and governance and leadership practitioners therefore have a huge task of ensuring that their foreign policies are informed by the need to embrace a coordinated approach that will guarantee a sustainable and coordinated implementation approach when it comes to dealing with intra-Africa and extra-Africa issues on the international relations arena.

With this in view, the researcher advances that Africa has to be proactive, intentional and strategic in directing its efforts towards a genuine commitment to good governance. The idea here is that with a sustained focus on a foreign policy approach that negotiates consistently at the local, national, bilateral and multilateral levels, and with good governance as its basis, there is a likelihood of enabling stakeholder mobilization towards the cause of sustainable human development. Consequently, this will have positive cumulative ramifications on Africa's international relations. Mobilization of all stakeholders is important, in the view of this study, and requires a "comprehensive national dialogue that involves all the people, and not primarily a

dialogue among African Heads of State or Government, or a selection of informed Africans, political leaders and senior government officials."[7]

Selected respondents are anticipated to provide vital ideas on what can form a basis for valuable input into the enhancement of governance and effective diplomacy by Africa and Kenya, with the possible consequence of driving a broad consensual approach that will strengthen human development. This research also chose Kenya for its case study due to Kenya being one of the countries in Africa, and that Kenya has ratified or acceded to various governance instruments, such as the APRM. In its own words, "The Kenya government remains committed to the APRM process as we consider good governance a precondition to the achievement of our stated vision to become a prosperous country, providing a high quality of life for all our people."[8]

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

As already stated, it is a historical fact, that Africa is vastly endowed with enough natural and mineral resources to drive its own development agenda and curve its own image internationally. Specifically, the continent is "known to have more than 40 percent of the world's reserves of Platinum Group Minerals (PGMs), phosphate, gold, cobalt, vanadium, vermiculite, chromite, manganese, and diamonds."[9] Whereas this wealth of resources is not evenly distributed, Africa cannot use that excuse to explain away its responsibility from running with a strict compliance to good governance principles, so necessary for the benefit of the continent's international relations voice and mandate.

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[7] Economic Commission for Africa. *Capturing the 21st Century: African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) Best Practices and lessons learned.* 2011, p 4.
[8] *African Peer Review Mechanism. Kenya Progress Report on the Implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (Aprm)* National Programme of Action, 2006, p 3.
[9] Mohamed Jalloh. *Natural resources endowment and economic growth: The West African Experience.* IN Journal of Natural Resources and Development *2013; 03: 66-84.*

Africa and Kenya have remained donor-dependent. What ails Africa? What is it that has accounted for such a sorry state of affairs? Against this background, this proposal endeavors to address the problem of: "what can be done to ensure that Africa does not remain a captive of poor governance, a condition that has largely accounted for impended human development and the efficacy of its international relations voice and mandate?"

1.3. Research Questions

In order to effectively study this subject, this proposal sought to answer this main question: what is the role of leadership and governance on human development in Africa?

1.3.1. Specific Questions

i. What issues have historically defined Africa's leadership and governance as they relate to Africa's human development?

ii. What interventions has Africa and Kenya put in place to address leadership and governance in the quest to enhance human development?

iii. What challenges have Africa and Kenya encountered in efforts to address poor governance as an important enabler of human development?

1.4. Objectives

1.4.1. Main Objective

This proposal aims at achieving this main objective: To evaluate the extent to which Africa's leadership and governance interventions have been effective in enabling Africa's human development.

1.4.1.1. Secondary Objectives

To:

i.   Evaluate the importance of good governance on Africa's human development,

ii. Analyze Africa and Kenya leadership and governance interventions in view of their role on human development,

iii. Evaluate the successes that Kenya has achieved in terms of human development arising from good governance.

1.5. Literature Review

1.5.1. Introduction

The Literature Review focuses on two areas. The first one is theoretical literature concerning leadership and governance in human development on the international relations arena. This is with a view to identifying key debates around the subject of governance and human development. The researcher anticipates that this will also aid in putting the study in historical perspective, so that readers can appreciate the contextual relevance that such an approach can bring forth. Additionally, it seeks to identify strengths that will need emphasis, as well as weakness areas that could be improved. The second area of focus is on empirical literature on the subject, which will enable clear focus on the objectives of the proposed study. Accordingly, the study sets to look at studies on this area and the findings that they have brought to the fore. This will enable identification of any gaps (if any) arising from previous studies on the area under study, with a view to providing a basis for justification of the study, as well as to strengthen the possibility of an outcome of this study that will be rich in terms of policy suggestions to policy makers and other stakeholders.

1.5.2. The Concepts

This study by all means relies on previous studies and literature on the subjects of governance and development, while acknowledging that much more will continue be done in the areas of governance and human development. To begin with, it is necessary to give a definition of the key issues in the literature, especially the main concepts. Nayak has defined governance as:

> The traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes (a) the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced; (b) the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies; and (c) the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.[10]

This definition serves the purposes of the literature review, hence its choice as the working definition for this study. The study will therefore use that definition to provide a basis for arguments in relation to governance. On its part, human development has been defined as a "process of enlarging people's choices"[11] which in principle "can be infinite and can change over time."[12] This study particularly recognizes the importance experts on the subject insist on, thus:

> That all levels of development, the three essential choices are for people to lead a healthy and long life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living. If these essential choices are not available, many other opportunities remain inaccessible. But human development does not end there. Additional choices,

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[10] Kaufman etal.

[11] Nayak, P (ed). Growth and Human Development in North East India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp.3-18. (HumanDevelopment-ConceptualandMeasurementIssues.pdf). Downloaded on November 16, 2020.

[12] Nayak, P (ed). Growth and Human Development in North East India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp.3-18. (HumanDevelopment-ConceptualandMeasurementIssues.pdf) p. 3. Downloaded on November 16, 2020.

highly valued by many people, range from political, economic and social freedom to opportunities for being creative and productive and enjoying self-respect and guaranteed human rights.[13]

This literature review also adopts the above as its working definition and will use these definitions to advance arguments and carry out analysis of the key issues being advanced within that framework of liberalism. In the assessment of this study, African states must enable stakeholder mobilization and participation in their development efforts. Indeed, there is necessity for governments to focus their attention on good governance as also required by development partners.[14] To that extent, the liberal theory comes into view, especially as it advances a participatory approach in which all stakeholders are mobilized. Noteworthily, many studies in this important area have suggested that good governance onboards the people. One such study argues that "development should be participatory and for this, people must have an opportunity to invest in the improvement of their capabilities in health, education, and training. They must have an opportunity to put their capabilities to use by participating fully in community decisions and to enjoy human, economic and political freedom."[15]

As one considers the above, one can see that among the key issues in the debate around the themes of governance and leadership is that African governments must give priority to contextually relevant governance interventions that can enhance human development. The import of this is that "good governance can be considered as the policy variables through which we can obtain high economic growth and human development"[16] in Africa. Leaders therefore need to give it the

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Pradhan, R.P. and Sanyal, G.S. *Good governance and Human Development: Evidence form Indian States*. (Journal of Social and Development Science Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 1-8, Feb 2011), p. 2.
[16] Ibid.

highest priority. Accordingly, this study appreciates that leadership serves as an intervening variable in the interaction of governance and development. In view of that, this study argues that bad leadership would lead to bad governance, which in effect would impede human development. In view of the above, Africa must continue to improve on governance that is development-enhancing.

Africa has suffered under poor governance in terms of where the agency of development is to be anchored or have its locus standi. If it solely rests on the state machinery, then the people are likely to be left at the mercy of the political class who have monopoly of power, together with their cronies. It is important to note that many states in Africa have tended to project themselves as the main source of wealth, a state of affairs that can hinder personal initiative and innovative participation by citizens.

The choice of the liberal theory was informed by the fact that liberalism is about cooperation rather than coercion, as it argues for coordination of all actors rather than the coercion by the state. This state of affairs notwithstanding, Africa stands to gain immeasurably from good governance. This can be enhanced through compliance with governance instruments that member states have ratified in the course of their interactions. The objective is to examine them within the framework of the liberal theory, especially on account of the theory's advancement of cooperation, without which such instruments as the APRM, the Agenda 2063 and others would not have been established.

Such instruments as the APRM "are traced to discussions on Millennium Development Goals internationally, along with intra-Africa discourse as a result of which came up The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)."[17] The importance of this instrument is that

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[17] Pappoe, A.D. *Reviewing Africa's Peer Review Mechanism A Seven Country Survey*. available on the Partnership Africa Canada web site www.pacweb.org

through it, the continental body "was successful on setting up a system for assessing governance in the countries, and in enabling such development as would be achieved by way programmes of action that dealt with target areas."[18] For purposes of this study, it is essential to highlight the argument that the "the APRM was essential to the extent that make NEPAD outstanding in comparison with the instruments that preceded it.'[19]

1.5.3. Conclusion

This literature review has served to identify gaps that could provide a basis for justification of the study. These gaps are both in the area of practice as well as that of theory. They include areas in opening up the democratic space so that the agency of development is not exercised at the whims of the state, but diversified as a tool for people empowerment. The study posits that if Africa's leadership continues to uphold a consistent commitment to implementing the policies that NEPAD and similar governance instruments stand for, it is likely to spur Africa's human development, with positive ramifications on the continent's stature and international relations. Moreover, the potential held by the APRM and similar instruments provides a critical answer to the ironic but unpleasant twin identity of the continent of Africa as vastly rich in its potential on the one hand, and yet lacking in terms of translating that potential into reality, on the other.

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[18] Ulf Magnus Killander. The Role of The African Peer Review Mechanism in Inducing, Compliance With Human Rights. (University of Pretoria, 2009), p 18.
[19] A De Waal '*What's new in the "New Partnership for Africa's Development"?'* (2002) 78(3) *International Affairs* 463-75 471.

1.6. Justification of the Study

1.6.1. Academic Justification

The achievement of sustainable human development and its potential to afford equity for all stakeholders is an important characteristic of civilized societies, Africa's population being a part and parcel of that category. This study finds great justification in studying the relationship between compliance with good leadership and governance instruments as a tool for rallying Africans together for its human development as a continent, as well as in its being an instrument of Africa's foreign policy, with international relations efficacy ramifications. This study is therefore justified in the fact that it will help identify gaps from previous studies on the subject as identified in theoretical and empirical literature, and established through the findings from data, thereby forming a basis for similar studies in the future.

1.6.2. Policy Justification

Data arising from this project can form the basis for policy formulation by the stakeholders, key among them being the relevant government and non-governmental personnel and agencies. A study in this area therefore has tremendous policy justification. Additionally, this proposal has justification in its potential to add to the current knowledge on this field.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

1.7.1. Introduction

Theory is important as it provides a perspective or perspectives within which to study a phenomenon or phenomena. This study proposes to apply the liberal theory in its approach to leadership and governance; and Africa's human development. Furthermore, the people entrusted with governance and the conduct of diplomacy and international affairs or relations are essentially

leaders by virtue of their positions, offices and roles. That is to say that leadership, just as governance and international relations, is a process.

It is especially noteworthy that Liberalism as a theory advocates the principle or idea of cooperation among international relations actors, and emphasizes that such players are not just state actors, but their non-state counterparts as well. Accordingly, focus will also be on development partnerships for Africa's development as envisioned in the NEPAD. This argument accords with the understanding that "the liberalism envisions international relations as an expansive, all-accommodating structure that has a place for every stakeholder; including non-state actors."[20]

An undertaking of studying good leadership and governance compliance is well within the purview of Liberalism, especially when one considers Robert Keohane's argument that "liberalism really reemphasizes that effort by institutionalists to gain a good grasp of what politics entails, and thus create cooperation-enabling institutions with corresponding improvement in welfare, and dignity of all."[21] Additionally, this study chose Liberalism out of consideration of the fact that, among others, Liberalism can help a great deal in understanding how actors in international relations have interacted during the course of their existence. The fact that the APRM, for instance, "is an arrangement willingly adopted by AU member States as an African self–monitoring tool"[22] is important for two reasons. One, it addresses Liberalism ideas to the extent that it is an instrument

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[20] Viotti, P.R & Kauppi, V.M. (2012), '*International Relations Theory'. 5th Edition* (Glenview: Pearson), 129
[21] Keohane, R.O. (2002), '*Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World'* (London: Routledge), accessed May 17, 2020, http://ir.nmu.org.ua/bitstream/handle/
[22] NEPAD Secretariat. *African Peer Review Mechanism (ARPM): Base Document.* 6th Summit Of The Nepad Heads Of State And Government Implementation Committee 9 March 2003 Abuja, NIGERIA). p. 3.

voluntarily (which emphasizes the idea of cooperation) acceded to by Africa's Member States. Two, it aligns with Liberalism theory to the extent that it is an African self-monitoring mechanism.

Moreover, Liberalism helps to provide insights into how respected and reputable institutions can actually help resolve conflicts or issues that portend conflict in such a manner as to enable peaceful outcomes (and therefore sustainable international relations), without which sustainable human development would be impeded. This study opines that such a context requires leadership that has goodwill and that transformational, development-minded leadership speaks into that kind of context.

1.7.2. The Historical Context of Leadership and Governance

This study assumes that human society can realize development and therefore enhance human dignity by appreciating the role of such principles of Liberalism as Liberal Democracy, and that leaders play a key role in that process, hence a theoretical framework that includes ideas from the Transformational Leadership Style. Further, the researcher views Liberalism as an important facilitator of peaceful contexts, owing to the fact that countries that have governed themselves through liberal democratic ideas have tended to enjoy peaceful interactions during the course of their existence. This has been true for instance in the case of the US and Canada, the European Union countries and East African countries, although only to a lesser degree (in the case of the latter category) because their democracy is younger by comparison. Moreover, this study finds justification in the choice of Liberalism because of the Constitution of Kenya which upholds Human Rights, one of which is the right to a healthy environment, as well as a whole Chapter (Chapter Six) which is dedicated to integrity and ethical governance. This will enable the study of the subject from the perspective of Kenya as a Case study.

1.7.3. Transformational Leadership Ideas

This study considers leadership that transforms, on the premise that it best addresses a liberalism framework for understanding the interaction between leadership and good governance compliance, are agreeable with the principle of cooperation between international relations actors, and therefore that the impact of their interaction can be measured when considered against Africa's (and Kenya's) international relations. These ideas can also be seen as being in tandem with the Review Panel of APRM in terms of its requirement that "for one to be appointed to the position of Chairperson, such a person must have good credentials in areas of Government and development, among others."[23]

1.8. Hypotheses of the Study

Africa stands to benefit greatly in terms of its human development and improving its international image if it makes the championing of good leadership and governance conversation and practice a key component of its foreign policy and international relations. Along these lines, this study is informed by the researcher's belief that good governance plays an important role in any country's achievement and sustained improvement of human development. In its choice of the hypotheses, this study values the definition of hypothesis as a "tentative answer to a scientific question."[24] More importantly, this study is about testing its hypotheses against data and findings thereof.

Accordingly, for its positive hypothesis, this proposal undertakes to test the hypothesis that good governance will lead to development. This hypothesis is informed by the argument that there exists a vital and direct relationship between good governance and human development, with

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[23] NEPAD Secretariat. *African Peer Review Mechanism (ARPM): Base Document.* 6th Summit Of The Nepad Heads Of State And Government Implementation Committee 9 March 2003 Abuja, NIGERIA). p. 4.

[24] What Is a Testable Hypothesis? https://www.thoughtco.com/testable-hypothesis-explanation-and-examples-609100. Downloaded on November 7, 2020.

corresponding enhancement of Africa's stature internationally. As for its null hypothesis, this study will test the proposition that there is no relationship between good leadership and governance on the one hand, and the achievement of Africa's human development and enhanced international relations, on the other. The study will work on the premise of the stated hypotheses.

1.9. Research Methodology

1.9.1. Introduction

This stage includes an overview of the methodology to be used to guide the process. The overview factored in the adopted approach, design in respect to the phenomena under study and the sample characteristics. It also factored in how data would be collected and analyzed. This was followed by a section on issues relating to reliability in quantitative and qualitative inquiry, before finally addressing the areas of ethical issues that should be upheld throughout the period of the study. The researcher's approach as stated above has been informed by the need to remain consistent with the objectives of the study.

1.9.2. Research Design

This is anchored in in the definition of the concept as a set up for obtaining and analyzing information, connecting how they relate the research purpose[25] and budgetary considerations in respect to the process. The aim of this is to ensure that the major parts of the study will work agreeably towards addressing the pertinent research questions,[26] thereby enabling achievement of the desired research objectives with minimal costs and within the time frame acceptable or practically possible. The researcher also appreciates, with relevance to this study, that choices

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[25] Chadran E. *Research methods: A quantitative approach with illustration from Christian ministries.* (Nairobi: Daystar University, 2004), p. 23.
[26] Kisilu DK and Tromp DL. *Proposal and Thesis Writing.* (Nairobi: Pauline Publications Africa, 2011).

made in respect to all the questions of timelines, place, the research itself and the budget are all well considered[27] are all given serous and careful attention.

Matters of conceptual framework are essential, and this therefore meant that a roadmap of what was to be done, starting with framing of hypothesis and all the way the final analysis of data[28] had to be kept in view. In consideration of all these factors, the study will utilize a mixed methods approach, because of two reasons. One, it will seek to factor in the view of specific governance and diplomatic practitioners in Kenya, which will provide data for qualitative analysis. Two, it will seek the views from members or employees of organizations, who by virtue of that status are affected by governance and leadership issues. This is aimed at collecting and collating data for quantitative analysis, as well as using triangulation in the interpretation of the data collected.

1.9.3. Population

The study was be conducted in Kenya, with a focus on diplomats and leadership and governance practitioners and students. This choice was made on account of the importance this study attached to the whole area of leadership and governance as a driver of human development. The researcher therefore, in addition to seeking the opinions of diplomats, also sought responses from among leaders, their constituents and students in the area under investigation.

1.9.4. Sampling Techniques

Several considerations have been factored in informing the sample population in this study. Firstly, the researcher takes into consideration the fact that the research will be relying on a limited financial budget. Secondly, the study will be carried out within strict timelines, which has

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[27] Mugenda MO and Mugenda AG. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches.* (Nairobi, Kenyai: Acts Press, 2003), p. 32.
[28] Ibid.

implications on sample size. Having considered these factors, the study proposes to use purposive sampling[29] in a quest to ensure that the sample will yield as rich a level of data as possible from the target population. This choice also derived from the fact that the procedures therein helped to "guarantee that interviewees had equal and objective chance of being picked in the sample."[30]

Additionally, this approach sought to ensure the selection of a reasonable number of subjects or respondents representing the target population, access to accuracy in information on a target population that is in itself too large to study in its entirety within the time and budgetary constraints that the researcher will have to contend with. Moreover, it was also the researcher's goal to ensure "generalizability without error and upheld statistical determinability."[31] Further, consideration has also been given to the need to proceed on the basis of a careful selection of the sample so that once studied, the sample will yield, to the extent practically possible, results that will help to uphold generalizability of the population from which the sample will have been chosen.[32]

1.9.5. Construction of Research Instruments

The researcher chose to collect data through questionnaire instruments. These were made available to respondents who constituted the sample population. Careful attention was upheld, in a quest to eliminate as far as possible the possibility of irrelevance, bias, subjectivity and inaccuracies. The instrument was designed with a series of inquiries that required answers in choice selection and written thoughts to which the respondents[33] Copies of the instruments, having been prepared and administered helped to achieve the purpose of obtaining primary data from the target population.

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[29] Mugenda MO and Mugenda AG. *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.* (Nairobi, Kenyai: Acts Press, 2003).
[30] Ibid
[31] Ibid
[32] Kisilu, DK. And Tromp DLA. *Proposal and Thesis Writing.* (Nairobi: Pauline Publications Africa, 2011).
[33] Brown, J. D.(2001)., 'Using Surveys in Language Programs'. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1.9.6. Validity and Reliability

Reliability demonstrates the relationship between the test and the behavior it is intended to measure and determines the validity of the research instrument.[34] Accordingly, the researcher recognized the importance of, and upheld a consistent and intentional commitment to ensuring that the research instruments were able to measure the variables of leadership and governance; and human development. This was subsequent to the researcher's pilot study with data from 5 respondents.

1.9.7. Data Collection Procedures

The researcher sought and obtained the approval of the proposal from the supervisor. The researcher also applied for a permit from National Council for Science and Technology and Innovation. A pilot study was conducted. On conclusion of pilot study and correction of the questionnaire, the investigator proceeded to send out the instruments and obtained data thereby. data in the form of the responses given. The investigator ensured that the respondents worked within an environment in which they were not exposed to the possibility of consulting among themselves in the course of giving their feedback, as this may have compromised objectivity in their responses.

1.9.8. Data Analysis Techniques

The study relied on a mixed-methods approach. The response statements were analyzed according to the themes and recorded. The data was reported by way of graphical tabulations, charts and explanations.

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[34] Mugenda MO and Mugenda AG. *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.* (Nairobi< Kenya: Acts Press, 2005).

1.10. Chapter Outline

1.10.1. Introduction

The part addresses the title of the chapters and part of details pertaining to the content in the chapters as envisaged in the research.

1.10.2. Chapter One

Here, introduction of the topic is given, with a preview of what the same is all about. The issues are set in context, and the problem statement follows. Next follows the justification, theoretical framework, literature review, hypotheses and the methodology sections in that order. This is intended to enable the reader gain an idea of what is to be extended in the subsequent chapters of the study.

1.10.3. Chapter Two

In this chapter, the researcher discusses the background of the historical situation in Africa and Kenya in regard to governance issues, and their impact on the human development context of Africa. The aim of this is to enable the readers to appreciate issues pertaining to factors that have defined the leadership and governance space in Africa's human development and its stature in international relations. Specific focus will be on the role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the African Union (AU). In so doing, there will be focus on factors that have been responsible for poor leadership and governance environment as it relates to human development within the continent of Africa, in line with the study's first objective.

1.10.4. Chapter Three

In this chapter, focus will be on the measures that Africa, through various organs under the aegis of the African Union, has put in place through the years towards addressing the question of leadership and governance and the extent to which such measures have been effective in enhancing the continent's human development. The chapter will also be focused on addressing the extent to which governance measures put in place in Africa have been consistent with sound governance arrangements or instruments on the international arena, as essential in enhancing Africa's human development efforts. This will be undertaken in line with objective two of this study, and will specifically focus on such governance instruments as the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), the African Youth Charter (AYC) and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), among others.

1.10.5. Chapter Four

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss, on the basis of objective number three, the questions related to identifying the challenges Africa has encountered in the efforts to addressing the question of leadership and governance as related to human development. This will be done with a view to finding answers to the research question on how Africa can strengthen its foreign policy in terms of effective and sound governance so as to enhance human development.

1.10.6. Chapter Five

Analyses of the data collected in line with the hypotheses and theoretical framework already stated will form the content of this chapter. The chapter will also provide conclusions of the study. Further, this chapter is also devoted to providing clarity on the gaps identified, give recommendations to stakeholders in the study, and provide suggestions on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

ISSUES SURROUNDING THE SUBJECT AREA IN AFRICA

2.0. Introduction

At this juncture, the study sets to investigate factors that may have defined Africa's leadership and governance landscape, and how they may have affected the continent's human development. This is in line with the objective number one. The approach adopted is to look at a historical evolution of continent-wide governance of Africa, and critic them from the point of view of how they have fared in terms of enabling human development in Africa. This chapter will limit itself to a specific focus on interrogating the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its successor, the African Union (AU), as well as, where the discussion may allow, the United Nations, within the context of which the African organizations have operated during the course of their history. Consequently, the researcher anticipates that this study will provide a basis for addressing objectives two and three.

2.1. Historical Context

It has been observed "that it would be unwise to see any subject in terms of its current status, as that would constrain and distorted the view. Not one single phenomenon can be without roots. This background informs the current state of affairs of the issue, and the latter is actually the former in the sense of the fact that is being always influenced and shaped by new dynamics."[35] With this in mind, this study appreciates that the historical context of anything about post-colonialism Africa cannot be studied without a study of, or investigation into the OAU and the AU, along with all regional bodies across the continent. This is especially so because Africa's past informs its present,

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[35]In Munya, PM. *The Organization of African Unity and Its Role in Regional Conflict Resolution and Dispute Settlement: A Critical Evaluation,* 2013, p. 2. Available at: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/71463206.pdf. Downloaded on August 19, 2020.

and the OAU informs that past for the purposes of this study, while the AU informs the present. It is noteworthy that these continent-wide bodies have defined and been at the very centre of Africa's leadership and governance context, whether it be on the positive or negative side, where sustainable human development is concerned. It is with this in mind that this study chooses OAU and AU as essential to its arguments on governance and human development in Africa.

2.2. The OAU

The quest for Africa's human development could rightly be related to having "started with the Pan African movement in the decade of the 60s. It advocated the cause for the liberation and dignity of Africans against servitude, colonialism and all forms of racial subjugation."[36] Whereas Africa, in the opinion of this study, owes its destiny to itself, the continent's leaders have from time to time been guilty of blaming colonialism, slavery and such other atrocities as have been committed by external players against the continent, especially the Western powers.

This study however proposes that a significant discourse on leadership and governance, and their role on Africa's human development, should provide the natural starting point to the continent's aspirations and international relations' efficacy. That having been said, Africa must begin to take responsibility for what it is that should be done to enable that aspiration, and refuse to play victim of historical injustices such as have been highlighted above. Against this backdrop, governance and leadership instruments come to view, the OAU being among them. This body was founded in 1963 and coincided with the decade of the onset of independence for most of African countries. It has rightly been stated that:

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[36] Vedaste Ndizera and Hannah Muzee. A critical review of Agenda 2063: Business as usual? IN African Journal of Political Science and International Relations 2018, p. 142. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/328639704_A_critical_review_of_Agenda_2063_Business_as_usual. Downloaded on July 11, 2020.

The OAU was tasked advocate the cause of political and socioeconomic African independence. This followed the division of mandates into areas of ending colonialism, enabling peace and security, ameliorating democracy, human rights and good governance, promoting international relations and cooperation and regional integration. On the political front, it sought to end colonization, liberating Africans and bringing an end to apartheid.[37]

In the light of the above quote, it is clear that with a political emphasis on decolonization, liberalization and end of apartheid, the OAU stood at a position where there could have been a proclivity to deemphasizing the areas of leadership and governance and their role on Africa's human development, whether by default or by design. When one considers the excitement that led to the founding of the OAU however, especially with it being a culmination of Pan-Africanism efforts, one would expect the Organization to have succeeded beyond all expectations.

And indeed, to the extent that "the Pan African interests at the onset made African Statesmen at the formative stage of OAU jettison their ideological and philosophical persuasion in an era of thick Cold War to begin a Continental Organization that united them beyond geo-political, colonial and primordial exigencies,"[38] the OAU can rightly be regarded to have been successful especially in those areas. The question however, in view of this mandate of the OAU, would be on the aspects of how successful, or unsuccessful, this institution was in terms of whether it did enhance human development.

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[37] IN Ibid, pp. 142-143.
[38] Edo V.O. and Olanrewaju, M.O. An Assessment of the Transformation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to The African Union (AU), 1963-2007. (Historical Society of Nigeria, 2012, p. 43). Available on: https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/41857189.pdf?ab_segments=0%2Fbasic_SYC-5187_SYC-5188%2F5187. Downloaded on August 19, 2020.

Whereas there could be little doubt as to OAU having contributed to achievements in varying degrees, there can be little contention to the argument that the OAU failed, to a great degree, in terms of enabling Africa to achieve human development as it ought to have done. Concerning the OAU, Akindele put it thus, ""And as the twenty-first century matures, it will either be transformed into a more effective organization or be relegated to functional irrelevance."[39] Accordingly, the question of significance here would be whether the grand visions and pronouncements that were proclaimed by the continent's leaders at the founding of the OAU were actually followed through with political goodwill and corresponding implementation.

This study contends that the question of the success, or lack thereof, of OAU is one of perspective. If the right perspective is considered on the matter of evaluation the overall performance of the organization, such an undertaking is likely to be objective, rather than subjective. With that having been said, it is noteworthy that "a bias-free perspective of OAU success in addressing regional conflicts should necessarily rely on past and ideological context, and intra-African as well as factors outside of Africa factors. Such a perspective would enable seeing the significance of OAU in tandem with the dynamics that have defined Africa.[40]

What cannot be in doubt, in view of the evidence on the subject, is that the OAU failed in enhancing Africa's human development in any sustainable way. Although economic growth is not development, it does aid in the latter. However, even when one discusses economic growth and human development in Africa, one is still bound to arrive at the same conclusion, namely, that the OAU failed on this count. Indeed, as of 1994, there was "no African country that fulfilled the

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[39] R.A. Akindele, "The Organisation of African Unity, 1963-1988: An Introductory Overview," Nigeria Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 14 No 1, 1988, pp. 15-16.
[40] P. Mweti Munya, The Organization of African Unity and Its Role in Regional Conflict Resolution and Dispute Settlement: A Critical Evaluation, 19 B.C. Third World L.J. 537 (1999), p. 539.
http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/twlj/vol19/iss2/1

requirements to be included among those with high human development."[41]Along this vein, a quote that is relevant to OAU-era Africa would suffice to bring the discussion on the Organization's role in human development to a conclusion, as follows: "for long, the African economic narrative has been characterized with poor development, especially the 1980s."[42]

2.3. The AU

The coming into being of the AU was necessitated by shortcomings of its predecessor, the OAU. This can be seen from the standpoint of the many coups and failed coups that took place in Africa while the OAU run its course, as did the failure to bring meaningful socioeconomic transformation to the continent, thereby impeding the continent's human development and its ability to effectively discharge its international relations mandate. The AU had its occasion arising from the understanding that the OAU had not succeeded as envisioned when it was set up. Indeed:

> It was not a surprise that the 35th Organization of African Unity Heads of State and Government Summit, gave effect to the idea of the AU to take the place of the OAU. African leaders undertook the significant task of reevaluating and transforming the OAU, which brought about the African Union.[43]

Of specific importance to this study is the fact that "Generally, the AU distinguishes itself from the OAU in terms of its more comprehensive goals. It was only fitting that with this predecessor having run its course, it was due for being taken over in terms of its role by one whose structure was designed to deal with Africa's contemporary needs and issues."[44] It should remain in view

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[41] UNDP, Human Development Report 1994, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
[42] Organization of African Unity, Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa 1980- 2000, Addis Ababa, 1981, p. 5.
[43] "The African Union ©wiuw.wikipedia.org/wiki/History of the African Union. Retrieved on August 23, 2020.
[44] S.Y. Omoiya, "Pan Africanism: The OAU and The African Union, p 389.

that this study is dealing with how leadership and governance can best serve the aspirations of the African continent in advancing human development. With this in mind, the AU come into view. Accordingly, it is worthwhile that we focus on the vision behind the creation of the AU, because this study views the vision of the AU as critical when it comes to evaluating AU's performance. The AU envisions: "An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, with an agenda that is people-driven, bringing on board an effective voice in international discourse. Agenda 2063, brings into effect a stakeholder-owned process aimed at creating an African continent that boasts prosperity and unity predicated upon shared values and a common heritage."[45]

This study appreciates that it is also significant to evaluate the importance of the AU against its main objectives. This would enable an objective evaluation of the performance of the Organization in the area of leadership and governance in terms of their role in enhancing Africa's human development and its international relations efficacy. With that said, this study advances that the main objectives of the AU cannot be meaningfully addressed without a regard to the issues that necessitated the OAU-AU transition. In that regard:

> The coming into being of the AU heralded a move from supporting liberation from colonialism and apartheid to leading the way in Africa's development and integration. The AU envisioned a context for giving greater pace to Africa's integration efforts; facilitating Africa in the international economy; giving sustained attention the myriad of social, economic and political issues bedeviling Africa; and championing for peace, security, stability, democracy, good governance and human rights.[46]

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[45] African Union Handbook 2019: A Guide for those Working with the African Union, p. 13. https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/31829-file-au_handbook_2019_english.pdf. Retrieved on August 24, 2020.
[46] Ibid, p.14.

In view of the above, one begins to appreciate, in the mandate of the AU, an emergence of a strong commitment by Africa's political leadership toward the issues that this study is all about. These include, Africa's development and unity, hence, an appreciation of a mandate that has a particular concern for human development. In addressing itself on "the myriad socioeconomic and political problems Africa has to contend with; and the promotion of peace, security, stability, democracy, good governance and human rights," the AU, no doubt, also lends itself credible as a refence point on how human development in Africa can be studied from the standpoint of leadership and governance.

2.4. The OAU and Regional Integration

Human development can be enhanced, to a great degree, by regional integration. Regional integration provides opportunity for Africans to move across boundaries to do business and play a role in the socioeconomic transformation of the countries involved in that integration. Whereas certain regions did succeed (and continue to succeed) in that quest, others, including the East Africa region, which had East African Community, ultimately failed in that integration effort due to political differences. Accordingly, this study agrees with the argument that " for the continent to meaningfully reap the benefits of regional integration, her leaders need to go past simple gestures and idealistic visions to more pragmatic and cumulative interventions accompanied with faithful implementation (Qobo, 2007: 1).[47] This sense of responsibility can be maximized, for instance, in such arrangements as Agenda 2063, which, "by virtue of being firmly based in Pan Africanism and African Renaissance, makes possible an affective context for dealing effectively

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[47] Qobo M (2007). The challenges of regional integration in Africa; In the context of globalization and the prospects for a United States of Africa. Institute of Security Studies 145:1-16.

with historical injustices and the achievement of the vision to truly make the 21st Century the continent's Century."[48]

2.5. Conclusion

The governance and human development context of Africa has historically evolved from Pan-Africanism views. This defined the formation of the OAU, as people of black descent in Africa and the diaspora came together to chart a destiny that was informed by the African narrative. The shortcomings of the OAU necessitated the formation of the AU. This chapter has analyzed literature that suggests that the two continental bodies have been affected by the continent's political leadership, which has been largely responsible for impeding gains on good governance and human development.

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[48] African Union Commission. Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want, 2015. Available on: https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063.pdf. Accessed on July 11, 2020.

CHAPTER THREE

GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA'S HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, focus shifts to interrogating the efficacy of the interventions that Africa has variously adopted in its quest to address issues of poor leadership and governance as they relate to human development in the continent. In so doing, the researcher hopes to address the second objective of this study. The researcher anticipates that this undertaking will enable identification of measurable gaps arising from the selected leadership and governance structures or instruments as they relate to Africa's human development issues. Consequently, the researcher anticipates that this study, as already pointed out in the introduction of the previous chapter, will provide a basis for finding answers to the questionnaire questions, leading to findings that will inform recommendations to relevant stakeholders, while providing new knowledge in this important area in the process.

3.2. Agenda 2063

In the opinion of this study, a natural starting point in analyzing the issues in this area would be the Agenda 2063. This opinion is informed by the fact that the Agenda is really a culmination of historical efforts by the continent of Africa in its pursuit of human development. In other words, the history behind the onset of the Agenda is awash with many earlier different alternatives, and therefore seems to really be anchored in contextual relevance to the continent's needs. Indeed, and accordingly therefore, this 50-year blueprint provides a present bridge between Africa's historical facts and its future aspirations. Along this vein, it is noteworthy that:

Within the AU Commission (AUC) the Agenda evolved as a consequence of a citizen-led, stakeholder consultation process that resulted in its adoption in two thousand and fifteen. The process considered historical and contemporary African development efforts, while critiquing the continent's experience and international trends and probable options.[49]

This comprehensive character of the Agenda makes it a justifiable point of analysis in the objective of the present chapter of this study. In the light of the foregoing arguments, the Agenda is deemed as being comprehensive, and therefore regarded as providing a case for stakeholder ownership if properly adhered to, in the opinion of the researcher. Of particular interest to this study is the fact that "the Agenda is fronted as the continent's blueprint for developing Africa into the global powerhouse of the future. It constitutes a significant framework for delivery on stakeholder owned and sustainable development, which attests itself as a reliable testimony of Africa's unity, African initiative and progress realized through Pan-Africanism and the continent's Renaissance."[50]

Whereas it is clear that the framers of this Agenda pronounced themselves clearly on the "Africa We Want," documented evidence strongly indicates that there has really not been consistent political will on the part of the continent's leadership to ensure implementation of this Agenda. Indeed, when considered against "AU's vision of a continent that is integrated, progressing and without conflict, one being moved forward through its own people, and standing as an effective voice in international relations,"[51] the Agenda should, on the face of it, really be a powerful driver of Africa's human development. Politics hover tend to take precedence, thereby, whether by

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[49] Mo Ibrahim Foundation. Agendas 2063 & 2030: Is Africa on Track? p. 8. Available on https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/sites/default/files/2020-02/African_Governance_Report_2019.pdf. Downloaded on October 10, 2020.
[50] Ibid.
[51] The Africa We Want, African Agenda 2063: The Briefing Kit, p. 4. https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063-presentation.pdf. Downloaded on October 10, 2020.

default or design, consigning the efficacy of the Agenda to the periphery whenever politicians' interest may have been, in the perception of the politicians, seen to be under threat.

Examples abound as to whether the Agenda has fared well or not. For instance, during the first decade of the implementation of the Agenda (2014 to 2023), although Africa "embraced the execution of its half of a decade long development template through localizing and executing Agenda 2063 into national and regional development efforts, Africa only managed "an aggregate score of 32% against the 2019 targets."[52]

3.3. The African Youth Charter

This study deems the inclusion of the African Youth Charter (AYC) as crucial in addressing objective two. Documented evidence indicates that "Africa's population is the youngest in the world. In mid-2011, the top 10 countries with the youngest populations were all in Africa. The young, growing, African population is also increasingly mobile – searching for job opportunities across national borders."[53] This should be taken in tandem with the fact that the significance of the AYC stems from the fact that it "requires of Member States to give priority to the development of youth."[54] Secondly, as already pointed out, Africa happens to be a youth-rich continent, which calls for empowering that active population demographic. Thirdly, the AYC is anchored not only in the philosophy of the AU, but also in international conventions, hence has legitimacy at the

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[52] Agenda 2063: First Continental Report on the Implementation of Agenda 2063, p. 7. https://www.nepad.org/file-download/download/public/121893. Downloaded on October 10, 2020.
[53] Danish Institute for International Studies. Demographic Window of Opportunity in Africa – and the Role of Migration, 2012, p. 2. Available on
https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep13130.pdf?ab_segments=0%252Fbasic_SYC-5187_SYC-5188%252F5187&refreqid=excelsior%3Aa1f2308903ddeaaf6a47cc9de9d417a1. Downloaded on August 17, 2020.
[54] African Union Commission, The African Youth Charter, 2006, p. 5. Available on:
https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/african_youth_charter_2006.pdf. Downloaded on July 25th 2020.

highest and widest international levels, including the UN. This is attested to in the preamble of the AYC, specifically the words:

> "GUIDED by the vision, hopes and aspirations of the African Union, inclusive of Africa's integration, the inherent dignity and inalienable rights afforded to all members of the human family as set out in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976), and articulated for the African peoples through the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1986)…"[55]

The AYC envisions a governance and leadership space that "will not just make accessible to young people needed livelihood avenues, but indeed minimize Africa's loss of such educated and able people through migration to outside of Africa"[56] This is an issue that has characterized the continent for the longest time as more and more of the youth keep transferring their skills and expertise to 'greener pastures' in the form of developed countries. The foregoing makes it clear that while Africa does not lack in instruments of governance that could help itself in the achievement of human development, the impedance to the realization of that aspiration is to be seen against the standpoint of non-implementation. The researcher opines that lack of political will so needed for successfully implementing the ideas espoused in such governance instruments as are under consideration here is really the culprit of that inability to develop on this important front.

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[55] African Union Commission, the African Youth Charter, 2006, p. 7. Available on: https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/african_youth_charter_2006.pdf. Downloaded on July 25th 2020.
[56] Ibid, p. 6.

The argument of this study is that Africa owes it to itself to face head-on the historical issues that have been associated with having effectively banished it into the periphery as far as human development is concerned. This study further contends that any government or country on the African continent that fails to mainstream and empower its youth could well be, by that failure, hindering the possibility of reaping from this demographic dividend. Even worse would be the possibility of the youthful population falling into apathy and becoming a potential recruitment ground for all sorts of vices, ranging from minor crimes to even terrorism, thereby denting the possibility of enabling sustainable human development of the continent.

3.4. The African Free Trade Area

There can be little or no doubt that human development cannot be fully realized in a governance and leadership context that does not facilitate the role of trade in economic empowerment of the participants involved. The role and place of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in bilateral and multilateral relations is a clear pointer to the importance that states attach to trade and its role as a driver of human development. It is for that very reason that this chapter reserves a place for the African Free Trade Area Agreement (AfCFTA). It is noteworthy that the AfCFTA was actually founded upon the basis of "being alive to the necessity to set up open, transparent, predictable and mutually-advantageous principles for conduct of commerce, by addressing a myriad of issues for the African countries themselves, and in their conduct with from outside the continent."[57]

In the researcher's opinion, this quote provides a useful framework within which African countries can conduct intra continental trading activities, as well as with partners outside of the continent. Of even greater importance however, is the researcher's view of AfCFTA as significant to the

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[57] The African Union. Agreement Establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area, p. 2. Available at: https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36437-treaty-consolidated_text_on_cfta_-_en.pdf. Downloaded on July 31, 2020.

second objective of this study. It is noteworthy that the promise of all the instruments of governance and leadership that we have looked at so far amount to very little if they do not facilitate the development for which they were set up in the first place. In other words, Africa's leadership owes it to itself to make governance and leadership instruments facilitative of human development.

This comes into special significance in view of the fact that Africa's human resource should be the greatest resource that Africa's leadership should be developing. Part of that enabling strategy should be an intentional and sustained focus on facilitating the movement of African human resource so that those who cannot find trading opportunities within their national borders can find agency in that regard at an international level as envisioned in the AfCFTA. Indeed, "CFTA negotiators ought to always give due regard to commitment made by AU Member States to not prohibit free people movement within the African Economic Community, committing to make good of cumulatively abolishing, among Member States, hindrances to the uninhibited movement of people, among others."[58] Participants in this HRIA have noted how Rwanda, a country which has facilitated entry for Africans, has succeeded in attracting a lot of talent to the benefit of the economy.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed a few governance arrangements that Africa's leadership has ratified during the course of Africa's post-independence history. In view of the discussions on this chapter, it is clear that Africa stands to gain in the war against poverty by taking advantage of the leadership and governance instruments at its disposal, including instruments discussed here, including the

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[58] United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *The Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) in Africa – A Human Rights Perspective.* (Gutenberg Beuys Feindruckerei GmbH, Printed in Germany, 2017), p. 165.

African Youth Charter. It is also clear, in view of the analyzed literature, that what Africa lacks, for the better part, is not a lack of such instruments, but rather, the lack of political goodwill on the part of its leadership to ensure a mobilized approach to human development in which a broad sense of stakeholder ownership and input carries the day, rather than individualistic or elitist tendencies on the part of the leadership. Leadership must therefore continually be projected authentically as an intervening and facilitative tool in the provision of good governance for Africa's development.

KENYA'S GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

4.1. Introduction

Chapter two addressed the historical development of leadership and governance in Africa's human development, while chapter three focused on the interventions fronted by Africa through the years to improve governance for improved human development. The present chapter sets to evaluate any challenges that Kenya has encountered in the effort to address leadership and governance for enhancing human development. While remaining within the broader international and continental context, this chapter will give specific regard to Kenya, on the strength of the researcher's choice of the country for the project's case study.

As in the two preceding chapters, this one places specific emphasis on analysis that will shed light on the challenges that have characterized Kenya's leadership and governance landscape as it is related to the country's human development, The framework of analysis will include Kenya's foreign policy, the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Kenya's Vision 2030, and Kenya's Big Four Agenda, the government's current development agenda. This is aimed at interrogating these documents against their efficacy in enabling good governance for Kenya's human development.

4.2. Kenya's Historical Context

From a continentwide perspective, "most African countries have had to contend with a myriad of challenges, such as civil strife, health challenges, and infrastructure issues, and those related to food security as well as insufficiency on the technological front."[59] This state of affairs raises serious leadership and governance questions, especially when taken in tandem with the fact that

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[59] Miriam Omolo Stephen Jairo Ruth Wanja. *Comparative Study of Kenya US, EU And China Trade And Investment Relations.* (Institute of Economic Affairs, Nairobi, Kenya, 2016), p. 7.

the continent is "vastly blessed in the areas of natural resources well spread across the continent, needing to be made good use of for the good of the countries within which they are domiciled as well as the continent itself."[60] Clearly, there is need for Africa to harness its potential to the advantage of human development, with positive ramifications on its international image and stature. It is interesting to note that:

> At independence in 1963, Kenya's regime had to contend with diverse challenges. This led to the government taking on a task to deal with a verity of challenges. The Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 entitled African Socialism and its applications to Planning in Kenya, clarified the intention to battle the three identified enemies of poverty, ignorance and disease.[61]

On its part, Kenya's post-independence history cannot be studied significantly without making reference to policy issues. The above quote serves to underscore that argument. This is because governments govern through policies, and policies determine, whether a country will achieve human development or not. In terms of its historical context, this paper notes that "beginning from independence, the country has done well economically when taken in contrast with her bordering countries. This has largely been driven by the agricultural sector, especially in terms of cash crop exports"[62] There can be little doubt, as the Switzerland Ambassador to Kenya has written, that Kenya has made significant strides in its economic development. In the words of the Ambassador, which carry great relevance to this study:

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Government of Kenya (1965). "African Socialism and its Applications to Planning in Kenya". Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965. Government Printer, Nairobi, Kenya.

[62] Omolo, M., Jairo S and Wanja R. *Comparative Study of Kenya, US, EU and China Trade and Investment Relations.* (Institute of Economic Affairs, Nairobi, 2016), .

Kenya's Economic development is one of the more dynamic in the world. Of course, Kenya is facing great challenges and has difficult years ahead, not least because of the current Covid-19-crisis, which the country has managed so far, much better than many others. Civil society is strong and vocal, the press is outspoken, young Kenyans are well educated and dynamic. A lot seems possible today that did not seem possible in the nineties. Jack Ma recently wrote that the current mood in Africa reminded him of the circumstances in China 30 years ago when he founded Alibaba, which later became a global success.[63]

The import of the above quote is that whereas the potential is there, it is unlikely to be translated into human development if the leadership and governance context fails to put in place measures that would enable human development. In other words, economic growth in itself is not sufficient, and it must bring about economic development, which has to be predicated upon leadership and governance regimes, practitioners and instruments that enable human development. Secondly, Kenya will also need to transition from depending primarily on agricultural exports while importing manufactured goods. Accordingly, the policies that Kenya will and has already put in place must become intentional and targeted tools for enabling Africa's and Kenya's greatest asset; her human resource or capital, to be empowered participants and stakeholders in Kenya's progress.

4.3. Poverty Alleviation and Development

This study notes the significance of human development in as far as where it is being achieved, it will empower the people out of deprivation that comes as a result of poverty. Kenya is credited with having identified three enemies that needed to be combated in order to bring about development. Shortly after independence, the first Plan, developed in 1964, and eventually

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[63] Alentin Zellweger. How Kenya has risen from the 1990s economic crisis. The Business Daly, Wednesday October 14 2020), https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/bd/opinion-analysis/columnists/how-kenya-has-risen-1990s-economic-crisis-2480182.

transformed into the so called "Green Plan" in 1966 was essentially targeted at bringing about national development. The Second Development Plan had its occasion in the Sessional Paper Number 10 of 1965, established upon "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya"[64] This particular Plan had important ramifications on poverty reduction in that it specifically sought "to minimize the rich-poor gulf within as short a time as possible."[65] Perhaps of even greater relevance to this discussion was the recognition in the Third Plan of 1974 of poverty as one of the enemies of Kenya, along with ignorance and disease (Republic of Kenya, 1974: 1). This Plan was also occasioned by awareness on the part that the population growth rate was not matched by a corresponding decrease in the rich-poor differences, meaning that poverty alleviation efforts were not yielding fruit to the extent envisaged.[66]

4.4. Kenya's Foreign Policy

It is with the above in mind that Kenya's foreign policy comes into view. Instructively, Kenya has bequeathed upon itself a written Foreign Policy document, (which she had never had before) with effect from 2016. This policy envisions 'A peaceful, prosperous and globally competitive Kenya'[67] with a mission "To project, promote and protect Kenya's interests and image internationally by means of innovative diplomacy, leading to a just, peaceful and equitable world."[68] Looking at this document's vision and mission, it is clear that human development and the enhancement of the country's international relations efficacy are in view.

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[64] Republic of Kenya (1964). "*Development Plan*". Nairobi: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Ministry of Finance and Planning.
[65] Republic of Kenya (1964). "*Development Plan*". Nairobi: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Ministry of Finance and Planning.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Republic of Kenya. *Kenya Foreign Policy*. (https://www.mfa.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Kenya-Foreign-Policy.pdf), p. 5. Downloaded on October 16, 2020.
[68] Ibid.

That notwithstanding, that grand pronouncement of intent would matter little if it is not backed up with a leadership that places primacy on implementation. Indeed, this study contends that lofty pronouncements and ideals must leave the shelves, so to speak, and find expression in real implementation. One challenge in the translation of lofty ideals into implementable policies lies with leadership and governance, specifically from the point of view of the practitioners in that space themselves. This is to say that if political leaders and those in the private sector have a genuine commitment to enable human development, this can be achieved. For instance, in earlier years, "under authentic and forward-looking political leaders, some countries, including Libya, Ghana and Botswana have recorded commendable gains in socio-economic development."[69]

4.4.1. Kenya's Foreign Policy and the Constitution of Kenya, 2010

With the vision and mission of Kenya's foreign policy having been spelt out, focus now shifts to determining to what extent other instruments of governance enable or impede a context for human development as envisaged in Kenya's foreign policy. With that having been said, it is noteworthy that chapter six of the COK 2010 addresses matters of leadership and integrity, and therefore, on that count, is relevant to the subject of discussion here. Article 73, Sub-article 1, specifies that "Authority assigned to a State officer is a public trust to be exercised in a manner that,"[70] among others, "vests in the State officer the responsibility to serve the people, rather than the power to rule them."[71] Clearly, on the basis of this provision, the COK 2010 framers had in mind a nation whose development agenda would be carried forward on the modus operandi of all stakeholders in mobilization rather than a few elitist political leaders and their cronies in monopoly of power

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[69] Nzau, Mumo (2010). On Political Leadership and Development in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya. Kenya Studies Review: 3, 3, 85-.110, p. 20.
[70] National Council for Law Reporting. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010, p. 48.
[71] Ibid.

and agency. This project recognizes the significance of the words attributed to the then Kenya's Cabinet Secretary for Foreign Affairs, thus "We must always keep in mind, that working for the Ministry means representing forty-five (45) million plus Kenyans."[72] This is true not only for the Ministry of Foreign affairs staff but indeed for every State officer. If this does not happen, or is compromised on, it jeopardizes the very intent of governance and leadership instruments and the practitioners therein, thereby putting human development agenda in jeopardy. The resulting effect of this is a subdued international relations efficacy of Kenya and the continent of which it is a part.

4.4.2. Kenya's Foreign Policy and the Vision 2030

The Vision 2030 came about as the culmination of broad and long-term approach to planning by the Government of Kenya. Of specific importance with regard to the objectives of this study is the fact the fact that Kenya's Vision 2030, launched in 2008 as the Kenya's new long term development plan, envisioned the transformation of the country into a "Globally competitive and prosperous country with a high quality of life by 2030."[73] There can be no doubt in the light of the Vision 2030 that there was a serious policy commitment targeted at poverty alleviation in the country, and therefore the document qualifies to be among those leadership and governance instruments developed with the purpose of enabling Kenyans to effectively discharge their mandate as stakeholders in Kenya's human development.

Indeed, things cannot change until leadership becomes a tool of mobilization of resources, especially human capital, by empowering all stakeholders with all that is possible, so that the citizens can exercise agency in that development as skillful innovators, issue-based electorate (so as to vote in the candidates who address issues that enhance their empowerment) and informed

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[72] Edwin Limo, Ed. *The Diplomacy: Bulletin. Official; Bulletin of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. (February – May 2018, Volume 1, Issue 4), p. 7.
[73] Republic of Kenya. Kenya Vision 2030: The Popular version.

contributors to national debate. It is unfortunate that even the BBI Taskforce noted from its discourse with citizens that, "political ideas regarding wellbeing were mainly around being given rather than creating."[74] It is for this very reason that leaders must remain alive to the fact that "Socioeconomic development requires targeted goals like literacy or basic education for all. And it should be an overall objective—the central pillar of development."[75] Without that, lofty plans are likely to remain just that; lofty plans, because their intended beneficiaries have not been empowered to play their part in the overall goal, and therefore in their implementation.

4.4.2.1. Distinguishing Highlights

One of the distinguishing highlights of the Vision 2030 is the fact that there was a large commitment and goodwill on the part of the government, starting from Mwai Kibaki, the then President. It is no wonder then that The Vision 2030 gave weight to implementation as manifested in the fact that it "had separate medium-term plans, the foremost of which entailed measures intended to study a planned mapping out of the distribution of the country's deprived people with a view to empowering them."[76] This made sense to the quest for human development as dependent on leadership and governance. Of even greater relevance to this study was the fact that as envisioned in this document, the "government set out to conduct a thorough investigation and analysis of deprivation targeted at recovering in terms of reducing deprivation as envisaged in The Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003-2007."[77] Noteworthily,

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[74] Presidential Taskforce on Building Bridges to a United Kenya. *From a Nation of Blood Ties to a Nation of Ideals.* (https://e4abc214-6079-4128-bc62-d6e0d196f772.filesusr.com/ugd/00daf8_bedbb584077f4a9586a25c60e4ebd68a.pdf), p. 24. Downloaded on October 23, 2020.

[75] United Nations Development Program. *Human Development Report 2010. 20th Anniversary Edition.* (http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/270/hdr_2010_en_complete_reprint.pdf), p. 28. Downloaded on October 23, 2020.

[76] Ibid.

[77] IN Kenya: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IMF Country Report No. 05/11). https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/CR/Issues/2016/12/31/Kenya-Poverty-Reduction-Strategy-Paper-17979. Downloaded on November 17, 2020.

poverty reduction is an important consequence of human development achievement. "The Vision 2030 regarded deprivation as threatening, the policy initiatives utilized notwithstanding."[78]

4.4.3 Kenya's Foreign Policy and the Government's Big Four Agenda

One other area that this chapter deemed necessary to address itself on is that of the current government's development priority, dubbed the Big Four Agenda. The Big Four Agenda identifies four key pillars of the government's development priority, which are affordable housing, manufacturing, universal healthcare and food security. The researcher regards these four areas as crucial in enhancing the achievement and acceleration of human development. Indeed, if we consider "human development's definition as being about expanded liberty to pursue long, healthily and creatively; to enable the achievement of valuable aspirations; and to participate in defining development equitably and sustainably,"[79] we can see that the Big Four Agenda can help a great deal in helping Kenya to achieve greater human development.

The question however is on whether the country's leadership has made the Big Four Agenda a people-driven process or not. On this count, this study contends that the government has not faired very well. To illustrate this point, the recent "forcible displacement of almost thirty thousand out of Kibera, Kenya's largest slum, at a season of extreme cold, has left questioning the seriousness of the current government"[80] about this agenda. This underscores the necessity laid upon

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[78] Republic of Kenya. *"Economic Survey."* (Nairobi: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2013).

[79] United Nations Development Program. *Human Development Report 2010. 20th Anniversary Edition.* (http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/270/hdr_2010_en_complete_reprint.pdf), p. 15. Downloaded on October 23, 2020.

[80] Rasna Warah. *Faulty Towers: Why Uhuru's Housing Plan is Dead on Arrival.* (https://www.theelephant.info/op-eds/2018/08/04/faulty-towers-why-uhurus-housing-plan-is-dead-on-arrival/?print=pdf), p. 1. Downloaded on October 23, 2020.

leadership and governance practitioners and office holders to make the empowerment of the people their priority if the country is to remain on the human development trajectory.

4.5. Conclusion

The foregoing has served to analyze the policy framework within which Kenya has pursued human development from a leadership and governance point of view. This has been done with a commitment to anchoring the study within the broader international and continental picture, considering that The Agenda 2063 has its "leading pillars arising from the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Golden Jubilee Solemn Declaration and other related instruments and policy organs' decisions, lessons learnt from the consultations with the African Citizenry and the review of national, regional and continental plans and frameworks."[81]

What comes to the fore however is the question of whether these policy efforts have been successful in terms of focused implementation, and (if that is the case) to what extent that success has been achieved. From the various policy plans and documents considered, it is significant that the administration has had a will to sustainably lower economic deprivation in spite of the extensive spread of poverty. Despite this, it remains a concern that these policy initiatives haven't succeeded significantly in terms of lowering poverty, and this is in part, largely because of lack of leadership focus on good governance for sustainable human development. Indeed, as at 2004, the following quote on Kenya's planning captures the need for a policy shift that cares about people participation:

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[81] The African Union. *Agenda 2063. The Africa We Want. A Shared Strategic Framework for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development: First Ten-Year Implementation Plan 2014 – 2023.* (September, 2015), p. 86.

During the course of the past 40 years, Kenya has undertaken policy interventions targeted at tackling the three enemies identified at independence. These efforts have however bore little success as Kenyans living below the poverty remain increasing. To illustrate the point, Kenyans living below the poverty line rose in number from above three million and seven hundred thousand in 1972/73 to eleven and a half million in 1994. The number also rose to 12.5 million by 1997 and to fourteen million at the close of 1988 (UNDP 1999). Current projections indicate over 50% of citizens live below the poverty line.[82]

Fast forward to 2020, and it is clear that governance must be given serious and sustained attention by Africa and Kenya's leadership. if Africa is going to take her rightful role in international discourse on human development. As one of the latest reports confirm it:

New data delivers a clear warning: governance progress in Africa has slowed since 2015, and declines for the first time in 2019. Deterioration in participation, rights, rule of law and security threaten improvements achieved in economic opportunities and human development. This is particularly concerning with the COVID-19 pandemic set to increase existing challenges and reduce hard-won gains.[83]

In conclusion, this study posits that Africa and Kenya can move on to greater human development if the leadership plans with mobilization of all in view. This is what good governance entails.

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[82] Achola P.P.W, Shiundu, J.C, Mondoh H.O, and Ng'ong'ah, B.G. Eds. Governance, Society and Development in Kenya. (Moi University Press, 2004), p. 32.

[83] Ibrahim Index of African Governance. https://mo.ibrahim.foundation/sites/default/files/2020-11/2020-iiag-press-release-en.pdf. Downloaded on November 17, 2020.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

The data collected from the target audience is presented and analyzed here. The data was obtained by means of questionnaires which were self-administered. The interpretation of the data was done based on the research questions and objectives. The data collected provided information that formed the basis for discussions and the interpretation of the results as presented in this chapter.

5.2. Response Rate

The data was collected by administering questionnaires to scholars and practitioners of leadership and governance, as well as students in international studies. The researcher set a target of a minimum of 60 completed questionnaires but only 55 out of those were completed and returned by the respondents, translating to not less than 91% response rate, enough to provide reliable data to enable the realization of the objectives. The response rate results are as indicated in table 1 below.

Table 1: Response Rate

Number of instruments shared	Number of instruments returned	Response Rate in %
60	55	91.6

Source: Author (2020)

5.3. Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The study established that of the respondents who returned the questionnaires, 32 were male while 23 were female, representing 58.2% and 41.8% distribution respectively. The significance of this is that this study was enriched by both male and female respondents in the obtaining of its data. The researcher also sought to know the opinion of a reasonably wide range of ages, with the

youngest among its target respondents being 21 years old while the oldest were above 61 years in age. In more specific terms, the distribution was such that those between 21 and 30n years comprised of 5.5%, those between 31 and 40 years at 20%, while those between 41-50 accounted for 43.6% of the respondents. The last two categories were at 21.8% and 9.1% for those between 51 and 60 and those aged 61 and above respectively. This distribution was important to the objectives of this study because it enabled a diversity of opinion among the respondents as informed by different dynamics.

This study also, recognizing the important role played by education, sought to know the education level of each respondent. Accordingly, the study established that of the 55 respondents, 1.8%, 12.2%, 16.4%, 54.5%, and 14.5% had college certificate, Diploma, Undergraduate degree, Master's degree or a doctorate level as their highest educational level. This helped to enrich the data in terms of feedback that was consistent with the objectives of the study, especially considering that most of those interviewed had a Master's degree as their highest level of educational achievement. The results on Gender, Age and Highest Education Level achieved were captured and presented in figure 1, figure 2 and figure 3.

Figure 1: Gender Distribution of Respondents
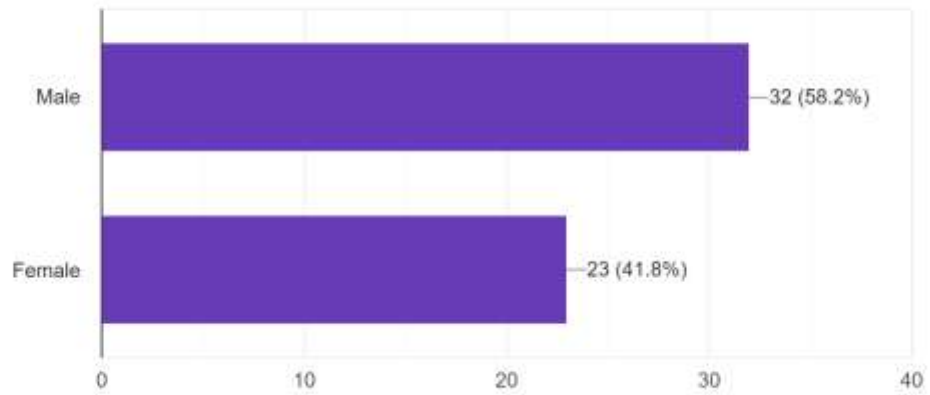
1. Your Gender
55 responses

Figure 2: Age Distribution of Respondents
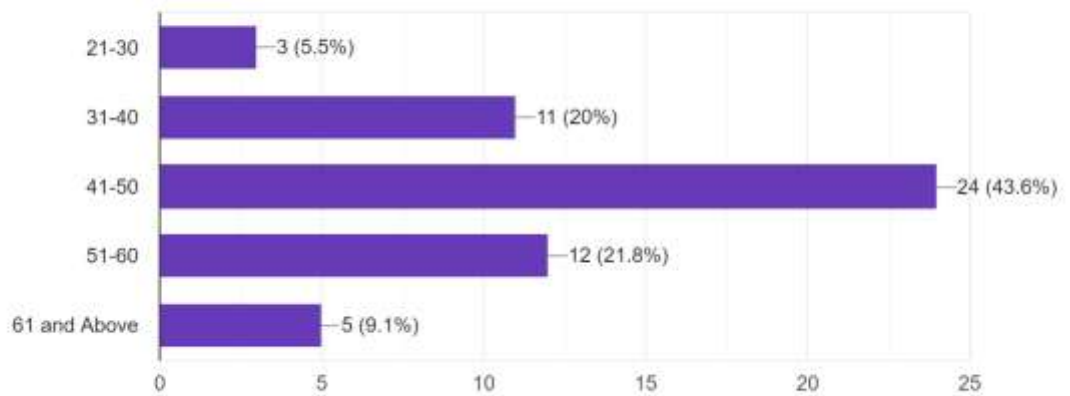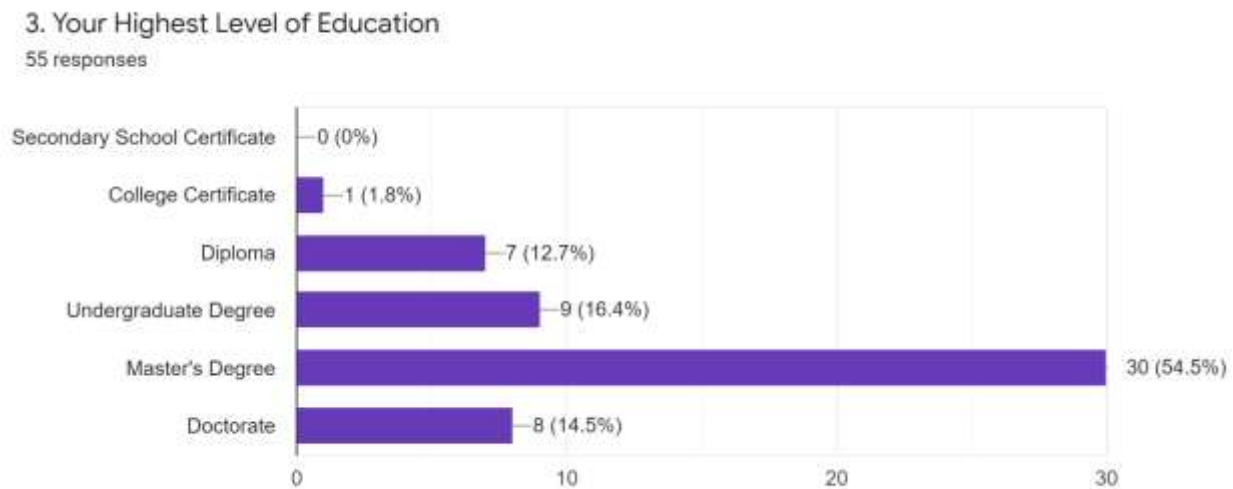
2. Your Age in Years?
55 responses

Figure 3: Respondents' Level of Education

3. Your Highest Level of Education

55 responses

Level	Responses
Secondary School Certificate	0 (0%)
College Certificate	1 (1.8%)
Diploma	7 (12.7%)
Undergraduate Degree	9 (16.4%)
Master's Degree	30 (54.5%)
Doctorate	8 (14.5%)

5.4. Analyze Leadership and Governance Issues regarding how they have Impacted Africa's Human Development

5.4.1. Relationship between Governance and Development

With regard to this objective, the study asked four questions to its respondents, which are addressed here. In the first of the four questions under this objective, the researcher sought to find out the respondents' understanding of the relationship between leadership and governance; and human development. From the responses to question number 4, it was clear that the respondents appreciated the important role played by leadership and governance on human development. Accordingly, 85.5% responded that they strongly believed that leadership and governance play a great role in human development. A further 10.9% agreed that leadership and governance play a major role on human development. A large percentage the interviewees were therefore of the view that leadership and governance largely impact upon human development, as presented in figure 4.

Figure 4: Leadership and Governance Determine Human Development

4. I think that leadership and governance play an important role in human development.
55 responses
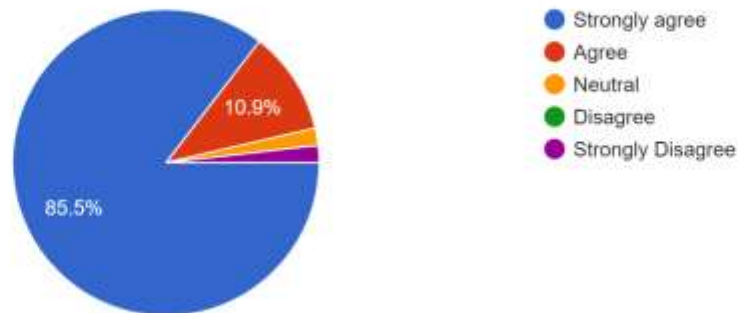
5.4.2. On Governance Ranking

The next question that this study asked in line with objective one was on whether leadership and governance should rank highly on Africa's development agenda. 87.3% of the respondents strongly agreed that indeed, leadership and governance should rank highly on Africa's development agenda, while 12.7% agreed that is should. There were no responses on the "neutral," "disagree" or "strongly disagree" categories. The study therefore established that the respondents were overwhelmingly in agreement that Africa should keep leadership and governance on top of its priorities in development agenda. Accordingly, the results emphasize that good governance is an uncontested variable for Africa's human development, and its political leadership ought to treat it as such be treated as such. The results are presented in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Leadership and Governance Priority in Human Development

5. Leadership and governance should rank highly on Africa's priorities in her development agenda.
55 responses

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

87.3%
12.7%
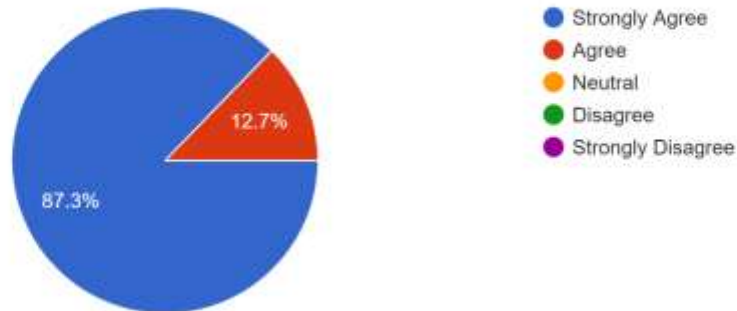
5.4.3. Role of Leaders

This study also sought to know what respondents thought about the role that leaders should play in good governance for human development, again in line with objective one. On this, the respondents were distributed as 81.8% and 18.2% for those who strongly agreed and those who agreed respectively. This response established that the respondents are a pivotal part in enabling good governance in the continent, for its human development. The results were captured in figure 6.

Figure 6: Leaders Leading Role in Human Development

6. Our leaders should play a leading role in good governance for Africa's human development.
55 responses

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

81.8%
18.2%
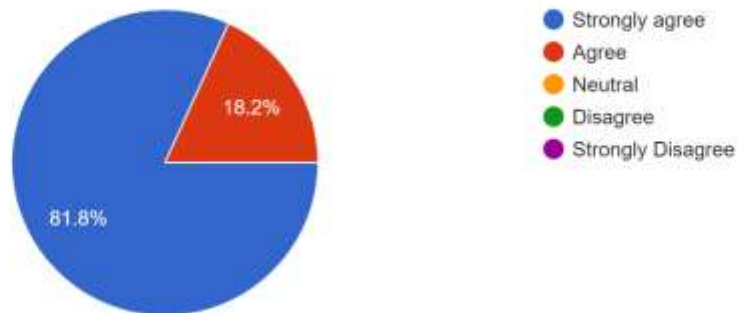
5.5. Evaluate Africa and Kenya Leadership and Governance Interventions in View if their Role on Human Development

5.5.1. Good Governance and Human Development

The first question under this objective was on establishing whether Africa has continued to improve on governance with corresponding improvement in human development. To this question, 36.4% of the respondents said they agreed with the statement. This could have been partly because the respondents really did not see a lot of improvement on good governance, as might be seen in the fact that 38.2% of the respondents returned a "neutral" response. This means that the question attracted a cumulative response of 74.6% among those who either agreed or were neutral in their responses. It is also curious that 21.8% disagreed with that assertion, leaving out 3.6% in the category of those who posted a "strongly disagree" response. The import of this is that more needs to be done to empower citizens to see the significance of the relationship between improvement in governance and a corresponding improvement in human development (figure 7)

Figure 7: Improved Governance Leads to Improved Human Development

8. Africa has continued to improve on governance, which has continued to improve on human development in the continent.

55 responses
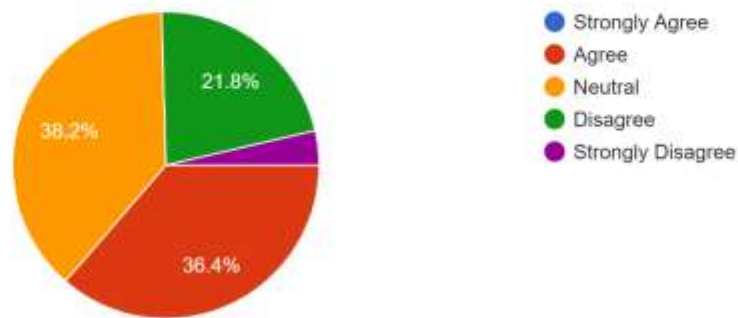
The question of the APRM and its role on human development, was also an area of interest for this study. The responses thereof were distributed among those who "agreed" at 34.5%, and those that posted a "neutral" response at 38.2%. This distribution could be related to many of the respondents very likely not being conversant with the APRM, hence an area that Africans need to familiarize with, in view of the promise the researcher considers it to hold in enabling good governance and human development in Africa. The results of the other two categories under this question were captured as presented in fig 8.

Figure 8: Compliance with APRM

9. Compliance with the African Peer Review Mechanism by Africa's political leadership is one way to enable good governance for human development.
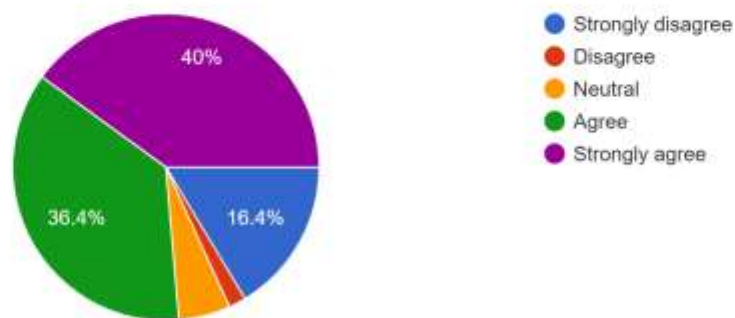
55 responses
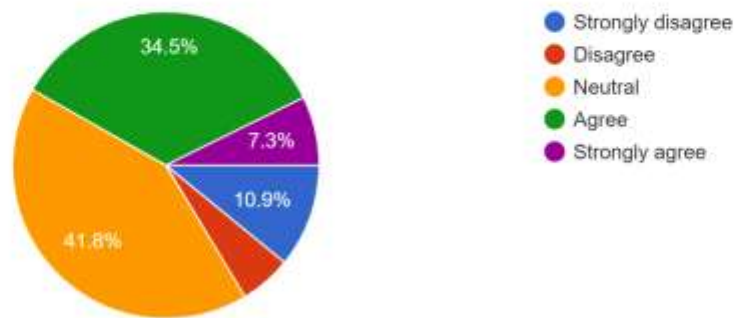
The other question for which this study sought feedback was on whether those African countries that have embraced good governance have experienced greater development as a result. 40% and 36.4% of the respondents indicated that they strongly believed and believed that to be the case respectively. 16.4% strongly disagreed with the statement while the remaining 10% were shared between those who were neutral and those who disagreed. The findings in respect of this question are as presented in fig 9.

Figure 9: Good Governance in Africa Accounts for Human Development

10. African countries that have embraced good governance have also experienced greater development.
55 responses

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree

40%

36.4%   16.4%

Another area in which this study sought feedback was on the matter of whether Africa generally suffered major setbacks in human development at the era of SAPs. The responses were distributed as follows: 61.8% of the responses were shared between 23.6% of the respondents who strongly agreed and 38.2% who agreed that to be the case. On the other categories, it is noteworthy that of those that were neutral accounted for 34.5%, with those who disagreed and strongly disagreed accounting for a cumulative 3.7%. This could well be an indication a significant percentage of the respondents were not familiar with the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs). The data from this question is as presented in figure 10.

Figure 10: SAPs and Human Development

11. Africa generally suffered major setbacks in human development during the era of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs).

55 responses

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

34.5%
38.2%
23.6%
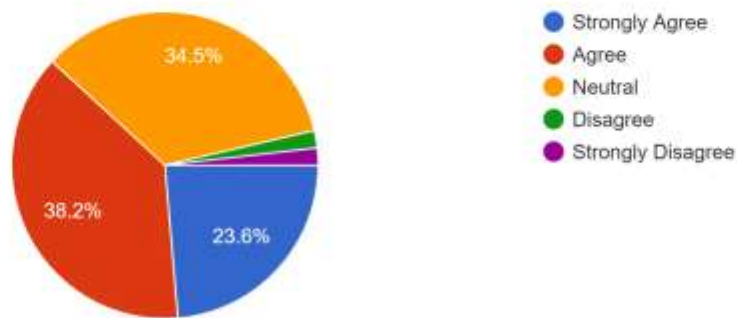
The area of public-private partnerships was also deemed as significant to the objectives of this study. Along this line, the study sought the opinion of the respondents on whether African countries need to entrench public-private partnership approach to governance and human development. The feedback showed that 25.5% of the respondents agreed that public-private partnerships were critical in governance and human development, while 60% indicated that they agreed. 10.9% agreed, with the remaining categories of those who were neutral and those who strongly disagreed sharing a partly 3.6% in total. Accordingly, the study established that public-private partnerships are a critical driver of human development. Figure 11 shows the data in respect to this particular question.

Figure 11: Public Private Partnerships for Human Development

12. African countries need to continue to entrench a public-private partnership governance approach to human development of the continent.
55 responses

- 🔵 Strongly disagree
- 🔴 Disagree
- 🟠 Neutral
- 🟢 Agree
- 🟣 Strongly agree

25.5%
60%
10.9%
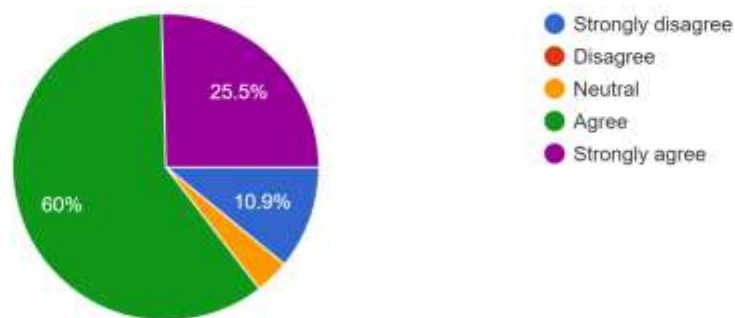
5.6. Evaluate The Successes That Kenya Has Achieved In Terms Of Human Development Arising From Good Governance.

5.6.1. Kenya's Performance in Governance and Human Development

The next three questions were designed in alignment with objective number three, on evaluating the successes that Kenya has achieved in terms of human development arising from good governance. Under this category, the first question was on whether Kenya has performed well compared to its neighbours in terms of human development as a result of pursuing good governance in its planning history. The researcher established that 47.3% of the respondents agreed, while 9.1% strongly agreed. 16.4% disagreed while 23.6% of the respondents indicated a neutral response, which could mean that this category either were not sure or were not interested in the issue, or thought of it as a non-issue. The results in respect to this question were captured and presented in figure 12.

Figure 12: Kenya's Performance in Comparison to her Neighbours.

14. Kenya has performed well compared to its neighbours in terms of human development as a result of pursuing good governance in its planning history.
55 responses
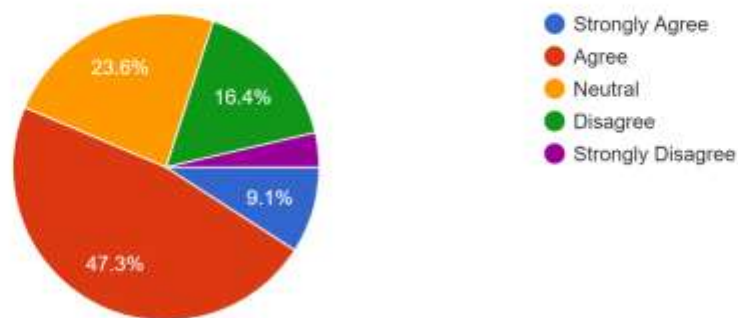
Structural Adjustment Policies and Development

The second question that the study asked in relation to objective three was on whether Kenya did poorly in terms of development during the era of Structural Adjustment Policies. This question was also designed with the objective of evaluating perceptions on interventions from outside Africa as opposed to those from within the continent. On this question, 36.4% agreed while 10.9% of the respondents strongly agreed. A cumulative percentage of 10.1% was shared between those who disagreed and those who strongly disagreed. Of particular interest however was the fact that 41.8% of the respondents, a significant number indeed accounted for the neutral category. This category could well be accounted for by different factors, one of which could be that the respondents were not knowledgeable on the SAPs. The results were as captured in figure 13.

Figure 13: SAPs and Kenya's Human Development.

15. Kenya did poorly in terms of development during the era of Structural Adjustment Policies.
55 responses

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly agree
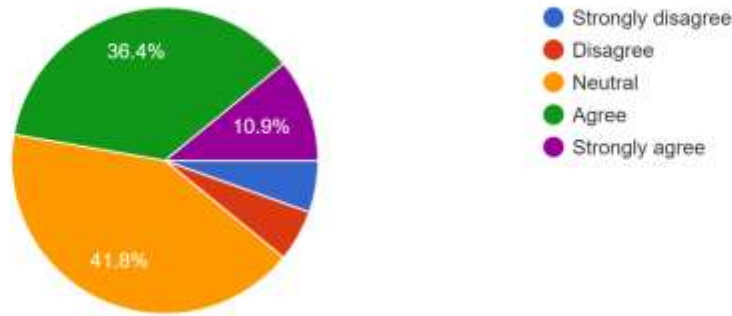
5.6.2. On Democracy and Human Development

The issue of democracy as it relates to good governance, the researcher wanted to know the respondents' views on whether shrinking of democratic space has in the past tended to deny citizens agency, thereby impeding Kenya's human development. On this question, 61.8% and 23.6% of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed respectively. This accounted for an accumulative of 85.4% of the respondents, leaving 14.6% shared among those who were either neutral, disagreed or strongly disagreed. From this response, the study established that an overwhelming majority of the respondents were supportive of increased democratic space as necessary for enabling citizen agency in human development. The results were as presented in figure 14.

Figure 14: Democratic Space and Human Development.

16. Shrinking of the democratic space has in the past tended to deny citizens agency, thereby impeding Kenya's human development.

55 responses

- ● Strongly Disagree
- ● Disagree
- ● Neutral
- ● Agree
- ● Strongly Agree

23.6%

61.8%

12.7%
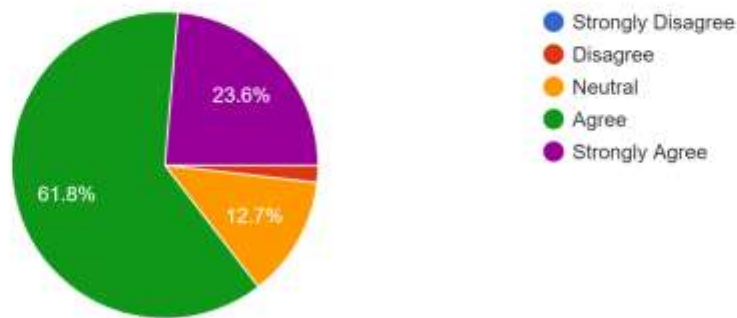
5.6.3. On Devolution, Corruption and Human Development

Considering that Kenya has had devolution since 2013 after it was introduced through the passing of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 (COK 2010), the study sought feedback on this area. The question was on whether devolution holds promise of good governance's role on human development, and whether leaders must uphold integrity and ethical values for that promise to be achieved. 60% and 21.8% responded with "strongly agreed" or "agreed" respectively, while 3.7% accounted for three categories of responses, namely those who were neutral or disagreed respectively. It was however interesting to note that 14.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed. The results were captured and presented in figure 15.

Figure 15: Devolved Governance and Human Development

17. Devolution holds a huge promise of good governance's role on human development, but leaders must uphold integrity and ethical values for that promise to be achieved.

55 responses

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Agree
- Strongly Agree

60%

14.5%

21.8%
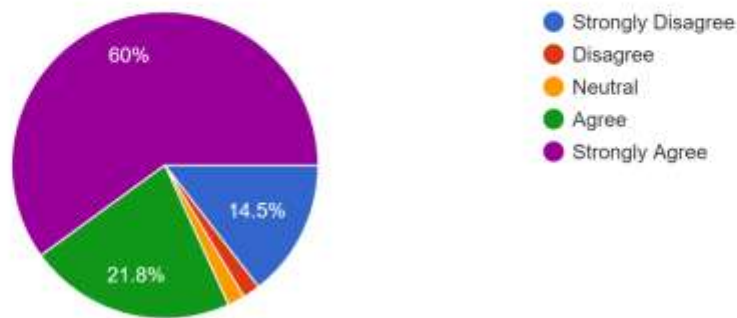
5.7. Evaluate the Extent to Which Africa's Leadership and Governance Interventions Have Been Effective in Enabling Africa's Human Development.

5.7.1 Good Governance and Development

Question 18 was significant to this study, especially having been designed to obtain qualitative data. The question requested respondents to briefly share their thoughts on the relationship between good governance and human development. A random sampling of 10 of the 55 (Table 2) responses serves to underscore the study's findings that there is a direct relationship between good governance and human development.

Table 2: Respondents Perception on the Governance Development Nexus

1	They are like Siamese twins; none can grow or succeed without the other
2	Good governance facilities growth of economy hence improvement in education quality, medical etc.
3	Human development depends on the environment that good governance creates. Growth in good governance proportionately enhances growth in human development.
4	Good governance is critical for all-inclusive human development.
5	Good governance inspires utmost output! When governance structures and processes are put in place, an individual will perform to his or her maximum knowing too well that his contributions count.
6	Human development is not possible without good governance, Africa doesn't lack resources, what Africa lacks is good governance.
7	Good Governance get the systems and structures to work thereby enabling human development.
8	Good governance is critical for development as it cultivates transparency, integrity and accountability. This implies that members of the society are involved in decision making. In return their capacity is developed. A bottom up strategy in decision making ensures trickle effect is realized.
9	Good governance frees resources to be used for human development. Lack of good governance is a recipe for corruption that can bleed the country dry
10	Political leadership is the master science that hinders or allows human development. Good governance means prudence use of resources as well as development of policies that give the citizenry opportunities to create wealth and grow assets.
11	Good governance helps in preventing plundering of resources and directing the same to meaningful investment. This creates a good environment of development of human beings

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Summary of Findings

This chapter addresses the overall conclusions of the study. It puts together and consolidates data findings and analysis, and uses the interpretations arising thereof to make specific recommendations on good governance and human development that could be of relevance to policy actors.

In this chapter consolidation is made of findings of preceding chapters and conclusions drawn based on the research problems that the study dealt with. The researcher sought to investigate the significance of leadership and governance on human development. To facilitate that investigation this chapter sought to interpret the findings from the collected data in the light of the study's one main and three specific objectives. The study established that leadership and good governance are instrumental for human development to take place. The study also established that good governance does indeed hold a great promise for Africa's and Kenya's human development. This was because an overwhelming majority of the respondents were either strongly agreed or agreed on associating good governance with human development. The import of this is that most respondents regarded leadership as significantly related to Africa's and Kenya's human development.

Objective One: Analyze and evaluate the importance of good governance on Africa's human development.

It was clear from the respondents that Africa and Kenya leaders should recognize, and accordingly give priority to good governance owing to its importance in human development. As presented in figure, 96.4% of the respondents were in the categories of those who strongly agreed and those who agreed. Accordingly, most of the interviewees thought that leadership and governance are essential for human development. It was also clear, as presented in figure 5, that Leadership and governance should rank highly on Africa's priorities in her development agenda. In this regard, 100% of the respondents were in the categories of those who strongly agreed at 87.3% and those who agreed, at 12.7%. While appreciating that good governance is important, the study also appreciated that leaders play a crucial role on whether their contexts will be ones of good or bad governance. To that end, the study established that leaders do indeed play an intervening variable role in an interaction of the independent and dependent variables of good governance human development respectively.

Objective Two: Investigate African and Kenyan leadership and governance interventions in view of their role on human development

In line with this objective, one of the questions posed was on whether Africa has continued to improve on governance, and if that has had a positive impact on human development in the continent. As presented in figure, with 38.2% indicating a neutral response and 21.8% in agreement, it was clear that Africa and Kenya's leadership have their work clearly cut out for them. Citizens will also need to be educated on this area, if peradventure the significant percentage of those who were neutral in their response could have done so on account of not having been well versed on the subject. Indeed, the same goes for the questions related to the role of the APRM and

66

the SAPs. Data collected (Fig 5.8) showed that a cumulative 41.8% of the respondents were in the category of those who posted a "neutral" answer, with an equivalent percentage in the percentiles of those who strongly agreed and those who agreed. The researcher views this as an indication that all citizens should be sensitized on the usefulness of instruments like APRM. Accordingly, on this objective, the findings helped to show that the respondents represent a citizenry that should be empowered through exposure to any important information on the area of good governance and human development. The findings revealed that, from the respondents' perspective, good governance plays an essential fuction in human development. In response to the question on whether African countries that have embraced good governance have also experienced greater development, a total of 40% strongly agreed while a further 36.4% agreed that this indeed was the case (figure 5). The pattern was further collaborated by the respondents' belief that African countries need to continue to entrench a public-private partnership governance approach to human development of the continent, with a cumulative total of 85.5% who either strongly agreed (25.5%) or agreed (60%), as captured in figure 5. This clearly establishes a basis for serious attention to be directed towards these areas by all stakeholders, including scholars on the subject as well as policy makers.

Objective Three: Evaluate the successes that Kenya has achieved in terms of human development arising from good governance.

The question of whether Kenya has performed well compared to its neighbours in terms of human development as a result of pursuing good governance in its planning history was one among others under this specific objective. A total of 47.3% (Fig 5.12) of the respondents said they strongly agreed, while 9.1% said they agreed. With 23.6% having said they were neutral in their answer and 16.4% of them disagreeing, the question of the respondents' lack of knowledge in the area

cannot be overruled. Accordingly, there is reason for Africa and Kenya's leadership to grasp the importance of deliberate efforts at sensitizing and involving citizens in information sharing, so that they can be positive change participants in governance. On this consideration, the researcher argues that lack of knowledge on SAPs could well have contributed to the distribution of responses to the question of whether Kenya has performed well compared to its neighbours in terms of human development as a result of pursuing good governance in its planning history (figure 5). This could account for why a whole 41.8% of the respondents answered neutral to this question, while 47.3% accounted for those who strongly agreed (10.9%) and those who agreed (36.4%).

Democracy almost seemed to be akin to good governance in the respondents' perspective, going by the question of whether shrinking of the democratic space has in the past tended to deny citizens agency, thereby impeding Kenya's human development. With a 95.4% of the total respondents sharing between those who said they strongly agreed (23.6%) or agreed (61.8%), this argument seems quite plausible. A similar pattern was seen in responses to the question on whether devolution holds a huge promise of good governance's role on human development, but leaders must uphold integrity and ethical values for that promise to be achieved. 81.9% of the respondents to this question answered either that they strongly agreed (60%) or agreed 21.8%). It was particularly interesting to note that the strongly agree answer was strong on the response to the above question, further underscoring the respondents' faith in devolution as advanced and implemented by ethical leadership.

6.2. Conclusion

Good governance has come to be associated with human development in international relations circles, although it has not always been upheld as a core issue of practice by Africa's political leaders. However, with the rise of the AU and the governance instruments that have been set up

under its aegis, African countries seem to currently be placing serious value on good governance for enabling human development as evidenced Mauritius, Botswana, Ghana and Kenya, From the Agenda 2063, to the APRM, to the AYC, to the AfCFTA, to the Devolution system of governance in Kenya, it is clear that Africa cannot afford to push good governance to the periphery, and that homegrown solutions to the ills that plague Africa can help to unlock the potential of this continent and enhance its international relations agency.

Thanks to this, the rest of the world is taking Africa seriously, if the EU-Africa forum, the Forum of Africa China Cooperation (FOCAC), and others where Africa has increasingly engaged the developed countries as a united front is anything to go by. The new emphasis on democracy as a component of good governance in Kenya, Mauritius and Botswana for instance has brought about a renewed sense of hope as these and other countries continue to register not just growth in Gross Domestic Product but also in improvement in global ranking on the Human Development Index. This has brought about corresponding gains in the exercise of agency by African states.

6.3. Recommendations

The Government of Kenya should continue to enable citizen agency by empowering all stakeholders in governance and development through access to relevant information. Further, the government needs to embrace a strong commitment to good governance, and match that with advocacy for the country as a serious upholder of good governance in the pursuit of human development. Kenya should continue to bear true allegiance to the values of pan Africanism as envisioned in the AU Charter and remain committed to faithful implementation of the governance instruments to which it is a state party, such as the APRM, Agenda 2063, the AfCFTA, among others. Whereas these continental level compliances are important instruments of good governance that will enable human development, the government must also lead from the front at the national

level, complying with the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the Vision 2030, the Foreign Policy document, the rule of law and public-private sector partnership, among others. This study sought to evaluate the role of leadership and governance in Africa's human development, with a specific focus on Kenya as its case study. Of significance to that undertaking, this study established that there is no doubt as to the existence of a direct relationship between leadership and governance; and human development on Africa's and Kenya's human development on the other. However, the study also established that so much more needs to be done in terms of good governance if its full value on human development is to be realized.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN

AFRICA: THE CASE OF KENYA

Dear Participant,

My name is Davidson Mwangi. Pursuing an MA in International Studies degree at the University of Nairobi. I am currently carrying out a study on the area of leadership and governance as they relate to the human development of Africa. It is my hope that the findings of this study will help Kenya to become more accurate in its leadership and governance instruments interventions in order to facilitate human development, thereby enhancing its international relations efficacy and stature. Your identity will remain anonymous and your responses will only be used for the purposes of this study. Thank you for your honest feedback.

PART 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

Please TICK (√) where APPROPRIATE

1. Please Indicate your Gender

   Male [   ]   Female [   ]

2. Your Age in Years

18-24		26-30		31-40		41-50		51-60		61 and above	

3. Your Highest Level of Education

Secondary School Certificate	
College Certificate	
Diploma	
Undergraduate Degree	
Master's Degree	
Doctorate	

Questions derived from Objective 1

4. I think that leadership and governance play an important role in human development.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

5. Leadership and governance should rank highly on Africa's priorities in her development

    agenda.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

6. Our leaders should play a leading role in good governance for Africa's human

    development.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

7. Please state the reason for your answer to question 6

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………………

Questions Derived from Objective 2

8. Africa has continued to improve on governance, which has continued to improve on human development in the continent.

   Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

9. Africa's political leaders need to strictly adhere to the African Peer Review Mechanism in order to enable good governance and improve on human development.

   Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

10. African countries that have embraced good governance have also experienced greater development.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

11. Africa generally suffered major setbacks in human development during the era of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs).

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

    African countries need to continue to entrench a public-private partnership governance approach to human development of the continent.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

12. Please expound briefly on your answer to question 12

    …………………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………………………

Questions derived from objective 3

13. Kenya has performed well compared to its neighbours in terms of human development as
    a result of pursuing good governance in its planning history.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

14. Kenya did poorly in terms of development during the era of Structural Adjustment
    Policies.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

15. Restricted democratic space has in the past tended to deny citizens agency, thereby
    impending Kenya's human development.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

16. Devolution is a form of good governance with a positive role on human development, but
    leaders must uphold integrity and ethical values for that promise to be achieved.

    Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] Not sure [ ] Disagree [ ] Strongly disagree [ ]

17. Please briefly share here your thoughts on the relationship between good governance and
    human development

    …………………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………………………

APPENDIX II: LETTER FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

College of Humanities and Social Sciences

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

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Telex   : 22095 Varsity Ke Nairobi, Kenya
E-mail   : director-idis@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197
Nairobi
Kenya

October 21, 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: DAVIDSON MWANGI RUGI – R50/12259/2018

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts Degree in International Studies**. He is working on a research project titled, **"THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF KENYA"**.

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to him to facilitate data collection for his research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Professor Maria Nzomo,
Director, IDIS
&
Professor of International Relations and Governance

APPENDIX III: RESEARCH LICENSE

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **726021**

Date of Issue: **24/November/2020**

RESEARCH LICENSE

This is to Certify that Mr.. Davidson Mwangi Rugi of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: **THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA** for the period ending : **24/November/2021.**

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APPENDIX IV: PLAGIARISM REPORT

The role of leadership and governance on human development in Africa