UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

CIVIL SOCIETY AND LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF
NIGERIA AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC)

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DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

OCTOBER, 2013
DECLARATION

I, declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university.

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Signature                                          Date

Prince-Emmanuel Dogbé

R50/66763/2011

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the appointed university supervisor

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Signature                                          Date

DR. ANITA KIAMBA
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Nairobi October 2013
DEDICATION

To all my Lecturers in Togo, Benin Republic and Kenya with an immense respect
Because there is no rise without a guide
ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate a key role of the civil society for the emergence of quality leadership in Africa in general and in Nigeria and DRC in particular. A descriptive and explorative research design had been used to guide critical analysis of existing secondary documents and primary data and situate the role of the civil society in Africa’s desire for a quality leadership and governance era, with specific case studies covering Nigeria and DRC. The findings suggest that individuals and groups, as the backbone and actors in civil society, should design strategies that are inherently democratic and transparent as a prerequisite to effective action. A transparent and democratic civil society can play an important role as watchdogs to ensure governments are accountable and fulfill their commitments. By insisting on transparent development strategies, the civil society can actively engage in policy making and implementation. As advocates of policy change and analysis, they can play an even greater role in ensuring accountability and transparency, openness and responsiveness, while building social capital, enabling citizens to identify and effectively articulate their values, civic norms, and democratic practices. The civil society is an important agency in the mobilization of constituencies, such as the vulnerable and marginalized in the society, and encouraging them to fully participate in politics and public affairs. The study concludes that the civil society is an integral actor and partner in development. A strengthened and focused civil society can create an environment that nurtures quality leadership practices and upholds sound democratic principles. It is only then that leaders can steer Africa to social, economic, and political prosperity.
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<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPADM</td>
<td>United Nation Division for Public Administration and Development Management</td>
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<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Effective leadership is a prerequisite to sound governance and democratization. The civil society has continued to play a positive role in pressurizing governments to open more space for democratic governance. Civil society organizations are catalysts for change, healthy for enhancing good governance, and critical for developing effective leaders. Renewed interest in democracy has thrust the concept of civil society into prominence both in social science theory and development policy. In the midst, civil society actors have been at the forefront in advancing leadership and democratic values. Civil society critiques state domination, promotes a preference for reform over revolution, and fosters a strategy of political change based on negotiation and elections. Since the discourse has emerged in African countries, this study seeks to investigate whether the concept has played any role in leadership development, governance and democratization.

For the civil society to play its role in democratic transitions in Africa, it is imperative to primarily focus on organizations that evidently express the dynamics of social movement. Such organizations are conscious of the need to establish, practice, and preserve democratic values and institutions. Agents of democratization must have open and clearly defined agendas that push for political inclusiveness and create social space for the enhancement of political participation.\(^1\) This requirement aligns with Diamond’s definition of civil society as the “realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary,

\(^1\) Julius Nyang’oro, *Civil Society and Democratic Development in Africa*, Harare: Mwengo Press, 1999 p.5
and bound by legal order or set of shared values”. It must involve private citizens acting collectively and making demands to the state or expressing in the public sphere their interests, preferences and ideas or check the authority of the state to make it accountable. It is upon these intrinsic democratic values that the roles of civil society with regard to leadership and governance are founded. There is a general agreement among scholars on the centrality of civil society in enhancing and consolidating democracy. One of the biggest problems of Africa is poverty. According to Rutten, Leliveld and Foeken, “the proportion of global poverty attributable to Africa is rising, and there is a likelihood that this will continue unless there are radical changes to policies and performance.” Poverty in Africa is associated with the effectiveness of leadership, the quality of governance, and the extent to which governments interact with civil society organizations to accomplish national developmental goals. As a result, donors and multinational organizations continue to promote, through the civil society, the idea that democracy and market based economic systems reduce poverty levels. Facilitating a greater role by civil society organizations has also been touted as an enabler of good leadership and governance direction in Africa. There are only two major roles of civil society; (a) build democracy and (b) improve development. The former addresses the politics of poverty reduction, while the latter seeks to address poverty reduction directly. The civil society cannot achieve both roles in the absence of effective leadership.

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6 Ibid
With regard to governance, civil society organizations are gradually emerging as the most effective pressure group with the ability of serving the dual role of facilitating with and facilitating the government sector in the development management process, and yet constituting a watchdog for diligence and governance function. Specialized civil society organizations augment the government’s capacity to develop and implement people-tested policies, design and formulate realistic programmes and actions and implement development activities. However, despite these obvious benefits to democratic governance, some African leaders continue to view civil society’s role with suspicion, at times as political competitors and therefore impediments in their way.

Civil Society is a critical force in the movement for democratization and national reconciliation. During civil wars, civil society groups often collaborate on common issues such as disarmament and elections while threatening to withdraw their support and cooperation from factions that desire to capture power through the bullets rather than ballots. Even though there are cases where the civil society has been marginalized by warlords during the peace process, their ultimate endorsement of transitions from war to peace is often critical for peace building, democratization, and national reconciliation.

1.2 Research Problem

The leadership style characterized by greed, arrogance, and corruption is a killer of democracy which is a system of government that promotes economic and social

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8 Wangari Maathai, *The challenge for Africa*, Opcit
9 Augustine Toure, *The Role of Civil Society in National Reconciliation and Peacebuilding in Liberia*, Opcit
This is because democracy requires leaders committed to the ideals of a free society, including respect for human rights, rule of law, and the principles of justice. These virtues are in turn predicated on a character that is principled and selfless, one that defends the ideals of democratic movement. With regard to participatory governance, civil society organizations are gradually emerging as the most effective pressure group with the ability of serving the dual role of facilitating with and facilitating the government sector in the development management process, and yet constituting a watchdog for diligence and governance function. Specialized civil society organizations augment the government’s capacity to develop and implement people-tested policies, design and formulate realistic programmes and actions and implement development activities. However, despite these obvious benefits to democratic governance, some African leaders continue to view civil society’s role with suspicion, at times as political competitors and therefore impediments in their way.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

1. To determine the consequences of lack of effective and transformational leadership and governance in Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo.

2. To explore the evolution of civil society in Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo.

3. To examine the role of civil society in the development of visionary and transformational leadership in Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo.

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4. To establish the relationship between leadership, governance, and democratization in Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo.

1.4 Literature Review

This literature review presents a brief critical exposition of the concept of leadership, governance, and civil society. The general overview lays the framework through which leadership, governance, and civil society of individual countries: Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo will be discussed in later chapters.

1.4.1 The Concept of Leadership

As a concept of analysis, a precise definition of leadership is elusive. This is because the term can be analyzed at multiple levels. For instance, it can be formal or conceived in terms of actual participation in the running of a state. As ceremonial, there are situations where an organization or a state theoretically recognizes the status of a leader who is not practically and actively involved in the day to day running of the organization or the administration. In this case, the powers and functions of such a leader are delegated to junior officers. This is common in countries with monarchical and parliamentary constitutions.

Leadership can also be conceived in terms of actual participation in the day to day running of an organization or state. This is the case with countries operating under presidential constitutions. On the other hand, leadership can be analyzed at the macro (national) and micro (group, community, or associational) levels. At the national level, leadership refers to those at the helm of affairs, be they active or ceremonial. At the associational level, leadership refers to the day to day involvement in directing and
managing the affairs of the association.\textsuperscript{11} These multidimensional perspectives of leadership mean that the concept is fluid and nebulous. Nonetheless, for the purpose of this study, leadership is examined within the context of civil-society democratization debate. Leadership is taken to broadly refer to an individual or group of individuals who are directly involved in the administration, management, and organization of an association or country, who wield power in various domains of life, including academic, culture, political, and economic.\textsuperscript{12} This includes both active and ceremonial leaders and their support structures. The distinction between leadership at the national and associational levels is not critical because in Africa, leadership at the associational levels has often successfully worked itself to the national level. The study of leadership has barely been a central concern of political scientists, economists or development theorists.\textsuperscript{13} Nevertheless, there is a basic assumption that ‘leadership’ is best understood as a contextually contingent political process constituted by three elements:\textsuperscript{14} Leadership implies the organization or mobilization of people and resources in pursuit of particular ends and must always be understood contextually, occurring within a given indigenous configuration of power, authority and legitimacy, shaped by history, institutions, goals and political culture and regularly involves forging formal or informal coalitions, vertical or horizontal, of leaders and elites, in order to solve the pervasive collective action problems which largely define the challenges of growth and development. The developmental implications of this should be clear.

\textsuperscript{11} Abdalla Bujra and Sipho Buthelezi, \textit{Leadership, Civil Society and Democratization in Africa}, Addis Ababa: DPMF, 2002, p.15
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid
According to Bass leadership is a “universal phenomenon” and “an interaction between two or more members of a group that often involves a structuring or restructuring of the situation and the perception and expectations of the members. Leaders are agents of change – persons whose acts affect other people more than other people’s acts affect them. Leadership occurs when one group member modifies the motivation or competencies of others in the group...It should be clear that with this broad definition, any member of the group can exhibit some amount of leadership, and the members will vary in the extent to which they do so”.15 Leaders anchor their practices in ideas, values and commitments, exhibit distinctive qualities of style and substance, and can be trusted to be morally diligent in advancing the nations they lead and they display character which is the defining characteristic of authentic leadership16. Leadership and its importance for the political and development fortunes of African societies have a substantial legacy within the study of African politics.17 Early modernization theorists singled out leaders as centrally important in the political development of African countries.

Bass saw leadership as “successful persuasion without coercion”18 According to Neustadt presidential leadership stems from the power to persuade.19 Schenk stated that,

“leadership is the management of men by persuasion and inspiration rather than by the direct or implied threat of coercion” This definition is favored generally by

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students of politics and social movements “and by military and industrial theorists who were opposed to authoritarian concepts ...” 20

Most political theorists from Machiavelli to Marx viewed power as the basis of political leadership. Classical organizational theorists see leadership as an instrument of goal achievement and defined leadership in terms of achieving a group’s objectives.21 In this sense

“leadership transforms followers, creates visions of the goals that may be attained, and articulates for the followers the ways to attain those goals.”22

Peele states that leadership should be thought of in terms of six dimensions, which allow for a clear balance and cross-contextual applicability. These are: the character of the leader; the followers; the organizational/societal context; the problems which confront the leader; the techniques the leader uses to gain support for her agenda/position; and, the effects of leadership23. Political leadership is usually exercised on the basis of the holding of a legally attributed office, and the leaders’ position is usually durable.

Burns states that,

“leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage and satisfy the motives of followers.” 24

22 B. M. Bass, Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Op cit
It is exercised to realize the goals of both leaders and followers in the context of competition and conflict. As different leaders must be contending, it therefore involves engagement with followers’ motives as opposed to pure power, where no competition is involved and therefore there is no engagement.

Harvey Glickman\textsuperscript{25}, Okoth-Okombo and Barrack Muluka\textsuperscript{26} argue that leadership is important variable affecting various governance and developmental outcomes in Africa. Development failures have been directly linked to self-interested or misguided political leaders whose choices have consistently undermined the prosperity and stability of their respective countries.\textsuperscript{27} Chizoba points out that Africa has been plagued since independence in the 1960s by leadership and governance crises. He asserts that the successive political leaders have failed in their efforts to provide effective leadership and governance, which has resulted in instability and economic setbacks.\textsuperscript{28} He also indicates that the slow pace of economic, social, and political development in Africa can be attributed to the history of lack of effective governance characterized by corruption, social injustice, and political instability. African leaders are perceived as ruling failed states. According to Agulanna, “vicious, wicked and grossly incompetent African leaders have been responsible for the undervaluing of their national resources and the near collapse of the continent as a whole.” \textsuperscript{29} There is no doubt that the development of

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{glickman} Harvey Glickman, \textit{Political leaders of contemporary Africa south of the Sahara: a biographical dictionary}, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1992, pp4-16
\bibitem{okoth-okombo} Duncan Okoth-Okombo and Barrack Muluka, \textit{Challenging the Rulers: A Leadership Model for Good Governance}, Nairobi: EAEP 2011, pp 6-20
\bibitem{madueke} Chizoba Madueke, \textit{A State of Anarchy: Retrogressive Leadership and Governance}, Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation 2010, pp 2-4
\end{thebibliography}
effective leaders has risen to become a high priority tool for capacity building in Africa. Many scholars such as Chizoba, Salevao, and Berewa among others have confirmed the influence of leadership on governance and development. Following independence of many African states, leaders “were required to provide a new moral leadership, a shortcut to the political and economic development, and the drive and charisma to move the post-colonial state from its period of suspended animation into the 20th century”. The high level of optimism spread a firm belief in the ability of post-independence leaders to achieve the objectives of nation building.

Such optimism is dying in the wake of numerous disappointments and setbacks in the post-independence era. While good efficient institutions were expected to deliver the much needed changes, their effectiveness has always been bound to the “understanding, desire, willingness, and ability of African leaders” Owing to these perspectives of leadership the evolution of African states has intimately been tied to the ability of individual leaders. It is therefore not surprising that the current era is characterized by various agencies devoted to promoting leadership development in Africa. In 2007, both the United Nations and the World Bank highlighted the centrality of good leadership to the achievement of developmental goals. The World Bank has even launched a specific leadership development program to advance these ends. It is on the same basis that the Ibrahim Foundation gives annual prizes to recognize individuals who demonstrate

excellence in leadership. Munshi described good governance as the totality of the exercise of authority in the management of a country’s affairs, comprising the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and mediate their differences. It encompasses the political, economic, legal, judicial, social and administrative authority and therefore includes; government, the private sector and the civil society. It also includes both a broad strategy and a particular set of initiatives to strengthen the institutions of civil society with the objective of making government more accountable, more open and transparent and more democratic. In the words of Healey and Robinson, it implies “a high level of organizational effectiveness in relation to policy formulation and the policies actually pursued, especially in the conduct of economic policy and its contribution to growth, stability and public welfare. In addition to participation, accountability and transparency as enunciated by the UNDP report, good governance according to Healey and Robinson also include openness and the rule of rule.

The World Bank defined good governance in a more robust manner when it averred that, “it is the means of exercising power in the management of a nation’s economic and social resources for sustainable development”. Good governance is a “sound development management” that is the totality of public sector management; accountability; legal framework for development (reforms); information and technology; the acceptance of government by the people; the capacity of governments to initiate appropriate policies, make far-reaching decision; implement them effectively for service

33 Peter VonDoepp, *The Fate Of Africa's Democratic Experiments: Elites And Institutions Op cit*
delivery. Good governance can also be linked to the extent which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, Governance is the process of exercising political power to manage the affairs of a nation. He listed the main elements of governance as; rule of law, freedom of speech and association, free and fair election, accountability, probity and transparency and result oriented leadership.

1.4.2 The Concept of Governance

The concept of governance is broad and subject to various interpretations. There is no common definition of governance that is applied by all countries in Africa, but there is a similarity in the application of governance terminology in development plans of action, programmes, management systems, and mechanisms. A survey of research literature shows that there has been a proliferation of governance approaches reflected in various principles such as engaged, inclusive or shared governance that focuses on the participation principle and democratic governance focusing on legitimacy and voice, direction and leadership, accountability, human rights and fairness. Governance can be national, international, economic, and institutional. Owing to intensified debate on the challenges facing governance in Africa, various governance statements have been produced in conferences, international workshops, political events, and through institutional surveys. Currently, there is a growing convergence about the understanding of governance; however the term “good governance” still remains a highly controversial

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35 Susan Rose-Ackerman, Corruption and good governance, United Nations Development Programme, Issue 3 of Discussion paper
topic in African countries.\textsuperscript{37} Governance is understood as the fundamental rules that regulate the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. These fundamental rules are basically the constitutional rules, sometimes referred to as ground norms. This definition is what is commonly referred to as democratic governance. However, good governance and democratization are different concepts.

In this study, governance is understood as the “manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s social and economic resources for development”\textsuperscript{38}. Good governance is participatory, transparent, and accountable. It is also effective, equitable, and promotes the rule of law. It ensures that political, social, and economic priorities are based on broad consensus in society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable are heard in decision making over the allocation of the development resources.\textsuperscript{39} To understand good governance, we have to specify the principles and values and how they link to the visions of the African people. Based on these principles and values, one can judge whether good governance and sound leadership exists in Africa or not. These principles can be grouped into categories.

The first principle is related to legitimacy and voice of the nations. According to this principle, the State is only legitimate if the voice of every man and woman is involved in decision making. Good governance can only be found where freedom, peace, and security are ensured for all. For that to happen there must be stability of institutions, separation of powers, transfer and delegation of powers, people participation in decision

making, freedom of expression, association, and mass media, and respect for diversity.\(^{40}\)

The second principle is related to leadership and direction. Good governance ensures that there is a clear direction that is well grounded on the historical, political, and socio-economic contexts so that policies can lead to development. The principle requires that good governance only occurs where there is existence of a committed leadership, strategic vision, oversight and supervision.\(^{41}\) The third principle is related to performance and ethics. This principle of good services is concerned with the quality of services that are provided by civil servants. Service delivery can only be judged to be effective if the institutions charged with this responsibility deliver services that are responsive to people’s needs and is free from corruption. For there to be good governance, there must be responsiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and ethics in the delivery of public services.\(^{42}\) The fourth principle is related to accountability and auditing. Governance principles that draw on accountability and auditing places an obligation on leaders, managers and decision makers in the public, private, and civil society sector to be accountable to the public and institutional stakeholders. Good governance requires that there is a free flow of information through efficient information and communication technologies. As such, there should be systems for sound auditing, accountability, and transparency.\(^{43}\) The fifth principle is related to fairness and human rights. There can be no good governance in the absence of a sound judicial system where every individual is equally treated. Every man and woman deserves respect and dignity and should have

\(^{40}\) John Carver, Basic Principles of Policy Governance, Indiana: Indiana University Press, p24
\(^{41}\) Harry M. Kraemer, From Values to Action: The Four Principles of Values-Based Leadership, Manhattan: John Wiley & Sons, 2011, p. 20
\(^{43}\) Sam Agere, Promoting good governance: principles, practices and perspectives, London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2000, p4
equal access to opportunities to improve or maintain his/her well being. The presence of good governance means that there must be equity, rule of law, and respect for human rights. The sixth principle is related to knowledge and training. One of the most important elements of good governance is the sharing of skills and expertise. Leaders should promote the best and appropriate innovations including right transfer of technology. Leaders should strive to promote the acquisition of skills and knowledge suitable for development.\textsuperscript{44} In this regard, sound governance can only exist where there is knowledge creation, training and capacity building, creativity and innovation, and platforms for sharing information and exchange of experiences.

In the light of the foregoing principles, effective leadership and good governance seems to be inexistent across the continent. This inexistence leads to various consequences for the development of Africa and prosperity of the African people.

1.4.3 The concept of Civil Society

Since the early 1990s, especially with the advent of democracy, the concept of civil society has been tackled by several authors. However, defining civil society and identifying which organizations fall within the framework continues to be a major challenge.\textsuperscript{45} According to Suchit, the concept of civil society is rather ambiguous and

\textsuperscript{45}Thelma Ekiyor, The role of civil society in conflict prevention: West African experiences, Disarmament Forum, 4, 2008
means different things to different people. Nonetheless, the concept offers an opportunity to understand and influence the process of democratization.

Aristotle provided the earliest definition of civil society. According to the philosopher, it is “a public ethical community of free and equal citizens, under legally defined system of rule.” It is evident that Aristotle had problems with separating civil society from the state. According to him, they are intertwined. Later definitions sought to clearly separate the two. In an attempt to resolve this, it has also been defined as “a sphere of social interaction between the household and the state which is manifest in norms of community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication.”

According to Ikelegbe, civil society can be defined as

“an essentially participatory, broad-based and self-governing formation engaged in shaping public affairs, public policy and governance. It is a formation that is voluntarily constituted, non-state, fairly autonomous, largely self-sustaining, and is concerned with civil and public purposes. Its activities are largely articulative, mobilisational, and contestative, and its engagements usually have to do with struggles protests, and mass actions.”

Civil society is also defined as “the arena, outside the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests.” This definition has two important aspects. First, the definition avoids focusing on formal and institutionalized civil society organizations by leaving the door open for the inclusion of informal groups

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and coalitions. Secondly, while most scholars perceive civil society as an area of positive actions and values, this definition leaves the door open for assessments of negative manifestations as well.\(^{51}\) Thus, the Center for Civil Society at the London School of Economics states that “civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors, and institutional forms varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power.”\(^{52}\) Notwithstanding the contestations over the definition of civil society, in its current usage, it is generally understood to constitute the realm and range of voluntary and autonomous associations in the public sphere between the family and the state, which exist in relation to, but independent of the state. Usually, civil society organizations play a norm-setting role concerned with the nature and limits of state power and the rules governing its functioning. Since these organizations operate in the public realm, they can possess ethnic, religious, professional, gender, environmental, human rights, trade/labor unions, or prodemocracy attributes. They may also be student, youth, or media organizations. However, it is important to reiterate that political parties and the private sector are not regarded as civil society organizations.\(^{53}\) Many African civil society organizations continue to be afflicted by a number of structural weaknesses, especially the elite nature of formalized civil society, its relationship with the state, politicization of civil society organizations, and financial dependence on foreign donors.\(^{54}\) Ndegwa has questioned the common notion that civil society is uniformly progressive in opposing the excesses of the

\(^{51}\) Bruce R Sievers, *Civil Society, Philanthropy, and the Fate of the Commons*, Boston: Tufts University Press, 2010, p.8


\(^{53}\) Augustine Toure, The Role of Civil Society in National Reconciliation and Peace building in Liberia, *Op cit* p. 6

\(^{54}\) John Harbeson, *Civil Society and the State in Africa*, *Op cit* p 9
African state and in advancing the process of democratization.\textsuperscript{55} He has also challenged the widely held belief that the popular drive towards democratization in Africa is founded on inherently democratic values within civil society and genuine grassroots representation. He notes that the civil society is a reaction to external pressures and the prerequisite grassroots empowerment often lacks in the activities of the civil society, particularly in Kenya.

Nyango’oro echoes Ndegwa’s concerns that there are two faces of the civil society. For instance, while one face opposes the state and furthers the democratization movement, the other seeks accommodation with the repressive state. Therefore the civil society can be understood as a diverse space including the good, bad, and ugly. Thus, the struggle for democratic development not only involves a conflict between the civil society and the state but also within the civil society itself for its own democratization. This is because the civil society can only impact on the democratization process if it is itself democratized.\textsuperscript{56} Alison Brysk adds that to be democratic, the organization must be representative, accountable, pluralistic, and must respect human rights. No civil society organization can achieve its democratizing role if it fails to comply with and uphold democratic principles and norms.\textsuperscript{57} The 2000s have witnessed a significant upsurge of organized private, non-profit activity in Africa. Civil society, which has for decades been recognized as providers of relief and promoters of human rights, have risen to become critical contributors not only to economic growth but also the development of social

\textsuperscript{56} Julius E. Nyang’oro, Civil Society and Democratic Development in Africa, Harare: Mwengo Press, 1999, p. 6
\textsuperscript{57} Alison Brysk, Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America, Journal of Democracy, April 2000, pp. 145-147
infrastructure essential for a minimum quality of life for people. Nonetheless, despite their growing importance, it is arguably true that civil society organizations operating in the developing world are yet to be critically examined. They are not clearly understood and even basic information about their number, size, specialization, sources of revenue and underlying policy framework are yet to be provided in any systematic way. Jacob et al reiterate that even though civil society had been celebrated by scholars and policymakers of different ideological persuasions, and that they have recently elicited much scrutiny and questioning, knowledge on civil society in many countries is still limited. The dearth of knowledge has been linked to the basic heterogeneity of civil society and the dynamics of actors occupying its terrain. Civil society organizations principally exist outside the domains of the market and state. It occupies a conceptually complex social terrain whose influence is difficult to define since scholarly social and political discourse has for centuries only acknowledged to dominant sectors: the public (state) and private (market) actors. It is a rarity to find civil society; ‘a third sector’, in official economic statistics because of the nature of current statistical conventions. One factor that can be blamed on this invisibility is that the civil society embraces entities that are diverse as grass roots development organizations, village associations, religious institutions, agricultural extension services, business and professional organizations, human rights organizations, self-help cooperatives, schools and even hospitals. The sector touches on every sphere of human influence making it difficult for scholars to

58 John Harbeson, Civil Society and the State in Africa, Op cit p 15
59 Lester M. Salamon, Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector, Connecticut, Kumarian Press, 2004 p.54
61 Ibid
62 Rupert Taylor, Op cit , p.15
develop a comprehensive and representative understanding of the overall role and significance of the civil society.

On the other hand, several authors such as Brady and Spence have criticized the first generation of African leaders.63 There is consensus that they failed, to a very large extent, to effectively and positively put Africa on the path of prosperity.64 With the rise of a new generation of leaders with the vision and the commitment to pursue democratic ideals, it is instrumental that the role of civil society in the development of visionary and transformational leadership be critically explored.

There are various dimensions of civil society. These can be examined along four major dimensions. The first dimension is the structure of civil society. This is determined by the number of members, the extent of volunteering, the organization structure, human resources, and financial resources. The second dimension is the external environment in which civil society exists and functions. This dimension encompasses the legislative, political, cultural and economic context, as well as the relationship between civil society and the state.65 The third dimension is the values that civil society practices. This includes all values and norms promoted within the civil society arena and may comprise of democracy, environmental protection, and tolerance, among others. Finally, the impacts of the activities carried out by the civil society constitute the fourth dimension. These may be public policy, people empowerment, and meeting societal needs among others.

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1.5 Justification of the Study

Leadership is one of the most discussed and debated concepts in social sciences and has elicited a proliferation of literature and for some time now there has been a recognition that leadership matters for growth and development. However, despite the almost unanimous agreement on the importance of leadership for the success of states, private sector organizations and institutions, and the numerous works on the concept, “the field of leadership studies has not succeeded in articulating a coherent, paradigm-shifting model or approach that both scholars and practitioners can accept and work with”66. In addition, apart from the many recent claims about the importance of leadership for growth and development, there has been little serious analysis of what this means in practice (and how it can be enhanced or supported) in the very often unstable, hybrid and evolving institutional contexts which characterize the condition of many developing countries.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The study is based on post modern theory which grew out of French structuralism. Its prominent proponents are Jean-François Lyotard, Michel Foucault, Barthes and Baudrillard.

The post modern theory posits that the renewal of interest in democracy has thrust the concept of civil society into a prominent position in both social postmodern theory and development policy. It also posits that pressures for political reform have emanated from two quarters. In the international arena, demands for political change should

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emanate from within domestic societies as citizens have to mobilize to rid themselves of the military and one-party structures that have buttressed illegitimate power. To the extent that popular forces have captured the political initiative from state elites, the theory acknowledge the importance of civil society. The theory argues that the most important values for the construction of civil society are trust, reciprocity, tolerance, and inclusion. These values are promoted by citizens who actively seek to participate in public affairs. The presence of civic norms can be measured by sample surveys and public opinion polls and observed in voting, "joining," and varieties of collective behavior. These norms of civic community are taught not only in the family but also by civic organizations such as schools, churches, and community groups. In order for civic life to become institutionalized, it must be expressed in organizational form.

The most common organizational structure in civil society is the voluntary association, a grouping of citizens who come together by reason of identity or interest to pursue a common objective. There are various types of voluntary associations ranging from the localized, informal, and apolitical on the one hand to national, legally-registered, policy advocacy organizations on the other. While policy advocacy groups may have the largest and most direct impact on national political life, they do not exhaust the relevant organizations in civil society. Whether or not they are explicitly oriented to civic or political functions, all types of voluntary association help to populate and pluralize civil society. In order to be politically active, citizens require means to communicate with one another and to debate the type of government they desire for themselves. Civic discourse can take place in various fora, the most important of which are the public communications media, both print and electronic. State or private monopolies of media

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67 Tony Blair, Palgrave Macmillan Journals, 1993
ownership and public opinion are not conducive to civil society; civil society is always stronger where there is a diversity of media outlets and political views. New technologies of personal communication—including cellular telephones and fax and photocopying machines—can strengthen civil society by empowering citizens to communicate independently of state supervision. A healthy civil society is a multi-stranded web of crosscutting channels of communication.

Postmodern theory is applicable and helpful in this study because a cultural framework and a quantitative method in studies of leadership are used. Postmodernism’s commitment to interpretation and a constructionist framework is in keeping with the study of leadership from a cultural perspective. Postmodern theory rethinks the prevailing definition of what counts as leadership; it would enlarge that definition considerably and it stands to gain an enriched perspective on the literary and substantive practices of leadership. The postmodern theory is a viable tool for understanding leadership and civil society strategies that are aimed at building community capacity through collaboration and partnerships.

1.7. Hypotheses

1. Leaders play an important role in governance and are key to economic development, peace and stability and are instrumental in ensuring that local issues remain a key feature of governance.

2. Strong leadership contributes to effective governance by ensuring that the needs of the local population remain at the forefront of the agenda and by encouraging and promoting interagency collaboration, shared understanding, clear roles,
responsibilities and accountability to help leaders make informed and transparent decisions.

3. Governance supports and provides direction and strategy for leadership and important boundaries for leaders and a framework of accountability that leaders operate within – for themselves, and to hold states or individuals to account.

4. Governance constitutes the structures that are put in place that allow leadership to flourish and provides leaders with strategic direction within which to operate.

5. The essential link between leadership, civil society and state is established through the process of governance, giving a shape to the way decisions are made for serving public interest.

1.8 Methodology of the Research

The proposed research will be a content analysis design. Content analysis is the systematic categorization of the symbolic meaning of messages in order to make inferences about phenomena of interest that are not directly observed.\(^\text{68}\) In particular, the goal of this method in this study will be to identify the role of civil society in countering political and tribal conflicts in Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo in thematic categories as reflected in a particular discourse. Consequently, one of the defining characteristics of content analysis in this research will be that the thematic or coding categories to be considered are operationalized prior to the actual evaluation using the accepted standards of objectivity associated with scientific inquiry.

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1.8.1 Sampling procedure for content Analysis

Random selection, which is a precise scientific procedure with nothing haphazard about it, will be the key to the sampling process. Given the “scientific goal of generalization”, and the inherent variability of units of analysis”, it is unavoidable in this research to use this sampling theory which is a foundation of everyday practices. This Random selection process eliminates the bias in selecting cases in a study research and permits the application of mathematical probability for estimating sample accuracy, thus providing a basis for a representative sample.

A sample from an infinite population is random. It consists of independent random variables having the same distribution. In random selection, each element has an equal chance of selection independent of any other event in the selection process. Probability sampling enhances the likelihood of accomplishing this selection process and also provides methods for estimating degree of probable success. Ultimately, the purpose of sampling will be to select a set of elements from a “population” in such a way that “the description of those elements” (statistics) accurately portray the “parameters” of the total population from which the elements will be selected. Prior to sampling one must select the limits of analysis.

Sampling then begins with the description of the target population – “the collection of units about which one wishes to generalize”. This ensures a complete and correct sampling frame. Regardless of the direction it takes, the statement of a problem boils down to deciding what relationships exists among what variables. For sampling to be feasible, the target population will be defined by objective criteria that clearly indicated its limits of inclusion.
1.8.2 Data collection

Singleton, Straits and Straits compared coding categories to the closed-ended questions in survey research. “Instead of giving the questions to respondents who provide answers,” they elucidate, “the content analyst applies them to a document and codes the appropriate category.

In this research, a coding sheet will be used as a tool to collect data. Coding in this manner will accommodate the assignation of mutually exclusive categories that, in turn, will allow for quantification and statistical analysis. Assuming that appropriate sampling procedures have been followed, statistical analysis will contribute to generalizability.

The researcher will collect both qualitative and quantitative data using a coding sheet that will depict the thematic subjects which formed the main research variables. The qualitative data will be collected from the High Commission of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in Kenya with concurrent accreditation to the Republic of Seychelles, and Permanent Representative to UNEP & UN-HABITAT and the Embassy of DR Congo in Kenya especially from the First and Second Counselors and Secretaries and Senior Counselors in charge of Multilateral, Economic, Political and Information Affairs.

Other source of secondary data will include documents and archival materials such as articles, journals, publications, periodicals and books among others that contain relevant information on leadership and civil society.
1.8.3 Data analysis

Given the nature of the method, content analyses tend to be more descriptive, summarizing apparent facts, rather than explanatory (attempting to clarify a given interpretation). Moreover, content analysts tend to look at the manifest or surface content of texts because these elements are less subject to interpretive variation that might undermine reliability and generalizability. Thus, this research method is appropriate for assessing the information value of awareness on civil society and leadership.

1.9. Scope and Limitations of the Research

The study covers civil society in two countries: Nigeria and the DRC. The choice of these 2 countries is motivated by the fact that they have experienced challenges in leadership and governance over a long time. According to United Nations Development Programme report there is no country in Africa that has experienced the level of leadership and governance challenges compared to Nigeria and DRC. One major limitation is the research design. Usually, case studies describe what happened when, to whom, and what the consequences were. The choice of a case study design is justified by the fact that they provide detailed information than what is available through other methods such as surveys. Case studies give us the ability to utilize document reviews and observation to enrich our knowledge of the subject under study.

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1.10 Organization of the Study

The project is divided into five chapters. Chapter one identifies the research problem, introduces the study, presents the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives, justification, literature review, theoretical framework, hypothesis, methodology, and scope and limitations of the study. The chapter concludes with the organization of the study. Chapter two discusses leadership and governance in Africa and the models of leadership applied specifically to Africa. Chapter three will examine the evolution of civil society and the framework of leadership development. Chapter four deals with data analysis and presentation of results and finally, chapter five summarizes the research findings, conclusions, recommendations and policy recommendations for further study.
CHAPTER TWO
LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

2.1. Introduction

A call for a focus on leadership and governance is timely, important and no doubt topical, reflecting the worldwide thrust toward political and economic liberalization. Throughout the whole world, there has been an urgent desire among various people and governments for unity, justice, peace and stability. The resurgence of this desire is not only explicable through their political policies alone; but also it is reflected in the social and economic policies.\footnote{70} The aims of this chapter are to stress the importance of leadership and governance in Africa, to conceptually analyze leadership and governance in Africa, the models of leadership and governance in use in Africa, and leadership and governance transition in Africa.

2.2. Concept of leadership and governance in Africa

It is really very difficult to attempt a definition of leadership, or to define what makes certain persons to be “leader”. There are many conceptions of leadership that have been classified into four primary definitional themes.\footnote{71} The first definitional theme focuses on leader traits and attributes and is one of the oldest ways of conceptualizing leadership. The second theme is about the exercise of influence or power or any attempt to influence the behavior of another individual or group.\footnote{72} The third definitional thread

\footnote{72} P. Hersey, \textit{The Situational Leader}, Escondibo, CA: Center for Leadership Studies, 1984, p 14
focuses on the role that leaders play and the fourth theme emphasizes collaboration in the sense that Leaders and followers (constituencies) establish mutual purposes and work together as partners to reach their goals. Graig defines leadership as a social influence process in which the leader seeks the voluntary participation of subordinates in an effort to reach organizational goals and Robert affirms that leadership involves a complex interaction among the leader, the followers (constituencies), and the situation.

Aguda points out that a person may attain the position of leadership in one of several ways. The first method is self imposition, which is totally devoid of constitutionality. Secondly, a group of persons may forcefully impose a leader on the generality of people. That was the case of Nigeria in 1966. A person may come to the position of leadership through a demonstration of leadership qualities over a long period of time. Examples of such are Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Kwame Nkurumah of Ghana, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Sertse Khama of Botswana, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Effective political leadership is clearly essential to good governance which is not a new concept in both political and academic discourse. Succinctly, governance refers to the task of running a government or any other appropriate entity, for example a nation. Governance has recently gained momentum in the literature on Africa development when the World Bank identified the crisis on the continent as one of governance. According to the World Bank, Africa situation in terms of governance is characterized by extensive personalization of power, the denial of fundamental human rights, widespread of corruption, and the

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prevalence of unelected and unaccountable government.\textsuperscript{76} Governance is a set of values, policies and institutions through which the society manages economic, political as well as social processes at different levels, on the basis of interaction among the government, civil society and private sector. It encompasses the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented and it relates to the quality of relationship between the government and citizens whom it serves and protects.

In Governance, the concerned authority if any, exercises power, exerts influence and manages the country’s social as well as economic resources leading to better development or is the way those with power, use the power. Consequently it has social, political, and economic dimensions.\textsuperscript{77} In relation to leadership governance is the capacity to establish and sustain workable relations between individual actors in order to promote collective goals and describes a process of organizing and managing legitimate power structures, entrusted by the people, to provide law and order, protect fundamental human rights, ensure rule of law and due process of law, provide for the basic needs and welfare of the people and the pursuit of their happiness.\textsuperscript{78} Governance encompasses the conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of public realm and is concerned with the uncovering viable regime forms as well as degree of stateness – the capacity to entrench the authority of the central state and to regularize its relations

\textsuperscript{76} Roman Kampen, \textit{The World Bank’s (Good) Governance Approach in Sub-Saharan Africa, Munich: Grin Verlag Publishers}, 2010. Pp 3-6
with society. Through the process of governance, the essential link between the leadership, civil society and state is established, giving a shape to the way decisions are made for serving public interest. The institutions embodying the governance process include the executive, legislature, judiciary, army, bureaucracy, political parties and interest groups. It is the moral principles and rules of conduct, having a bearing on both the legal framework and the institutions, which basically determine the government and the governed. Governance is legitimate in a positive sense when the government is installed by the people through institution arrangements that are put in place by the people. Although governance is practiced by political elites, it is manifest in the condition of citizenry. This implies that a strong state is unlikely to emerge in the absence of a vibrant civil society. It concerns the institutionalization of the normative values that can motivate and provide cohesion to the members of the society at large. Political leadership and the desire to produce men and women who command national legitimacy has been tough in all polities—and this dilemma is probably more critical in the developing nations. Political leadership involves the exercise of political power or authority and the essential quality of leaders is that they are convinced that something must be done and they persuade others to help them to get it done. The single defining quality of leaders is their ability to create and realize a vision.

Ossrea, Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa, addis Ababa: African Books Collective, 2008 p 95


Leaders play an important role in governance. Democratic governance is generally considered key to economic development, peace and stability. However, the building of democratic societies depends on the existence of leadership that understands and embraces democratic ideals; leadership that is strong enough to lead nations through democratic transitions; which is committed, selfless, accountable, and knowledgeable; and influential across the public, private and civil sectors of society. Most people are not well informed on leadership qualities. Leaders provide direction for governance through fostering a shared understanding, clarity around roles between local and national actors promoting collaboration and joined-up working, and encouraging commitment at all levels.

Leadership contributes to governance by encouraging interagency cooperation. Leaders are instrumental in ensuring that local issues remain a key feature of governance. Leadership improves the way the governance works within organizations and states and governance plays an important role in providing strategic direction for leaders and helping them to foster commitment, shared aims and accountability. Governance supports leadership through arrangements and frameworks. These include partnership agreements, ‘outcome-based’ accountability frameworks. Such frameworks support effective leadership by providing strategic direction for leaders. Governance frameworks also help leaders to establish accountability. Accountability is central to the purpose and function of governance and important for effective leadership. Effective leaders think creatively about governance arrangements so that there is shared participation, shared responsibility and accountability, and so that partnerships are sustainable. Accountability ensures that decision-making is transparent across the collaborating agencies and it is important in

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83 Alma Harris, *Distributed Leadership: Different Perspectives*, London: Springer, 2008, pp11-15
monitoring performance in change management. Governance constitutes the structures that are put in place that allow leadership to flourish and provides leaders with strategic direction within which to operate. Governance structures strengthen the leadership focus on improving outcomes. Governance provides direction and strategy for leadership and provides important boundaries for leaders. Governance provides a framework of accountability that leaders operate within – for themselves, and to hold organizations or individuals to account. Governance is the framework for accountability, scrutiny and management of leaders within that framework. Accountability arrangements are part of leadership and governance, when things are taken to scrutiny this is partly leadership and partly governance – the process is governance, the way it is pitched is leadership. Leadership sets the direction and makes sure that it happens and governance is the accountability for that.

In sum, there is a link between leadership and governance. Particular overlapping features of both governance and leadership are important. Strong leadership contributes to effective governance by promoting interagency collaboration, shared understanding and clear roles and responsibilities. Strong leadership also contributes to effective governance by ensuring that the needs of the local population remain at the forefront of the agenda. In turn, governance frameworks provide strategic direction for leaders, help them to foster commitment, shared aims and to hold people to account.

2.3. Leadership and Governance situation in Africa

Social scientists dealing with Africa’s development have for a long time concentrated on economic issues, overlooking the highly important political dimension of

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84 Alma Harris, *Distributed Leadership: Different Perspectives*, Opcit
the process.\textsuperscript{85} The use by African state elites of arbitrary and repressive measures and their inability to apply governmental regulations throughout the national territory is a sign of state weakness or “softness”. Strangely enough, the independent African states consolidate power at the political center and extract considerable economic resources from society; yet they lack the capacity to spur the continent’s development as a whole.

It is instructive to note that no nation has achieved meaningful development socially, politically or economically without the input of effective leadership.\textsuperscript{86} Thus, in contemporary discourse, the concept of leadership and governance has attracted a wider spread interest as they serves as the pivot on which social, political and economic structures rest. The numerous problems which have been bedeviling African states vis-à-vis ethnic and communal clashes, increasing crime wave, drug trafficking, advanced fee fraud etc have been blamed on ineffective leadership. While it is true that there have been apparent leadership and governance crises in Africa, the last two decades has witnessed struggle to engender effective leadership and governance in Africa.

The leadership question has become a recurring issue in the discourse on Africa.\textsuperscript{87} Safty pointed out that the governing class has been target of pillory, vilification, condemnation and disdain in view of the pervasive and persistent socio-economic and political crisis. He stated further that the economic domain has been characterized by huge external debt overhang, net capital flight, disinvestments, collapse of social infrastructure, food crisis and insecurity, over-devalued national currency, pervasive

\textsuperscript{86} Rita Kelly, \textit{Power, Leadership, and Governance}, Michigan, Opicit
\textsuperscript{87} Duncan Okoth-Okombo, \textit{Challenging the Rulers: A Leadership Model for Good Governance}, Nairobi: East Africa Educational publishers, 2011, p53
poverty, unpopular, repressive and alienating economic policies. It was recognized that Africa’s failures have come about largely as a result of among other things; progressive distancing of African from the masses of the people; inadequate preparation of the leadership that assumed the responsibility to govern their countries.

African leaders have frequently come to their position with limited experience. Though most of them have battled on, confronting their awesome problems of development and nation-building essentially not only unprepared but unaided, their efforts have been at best only a qualified success. There are no institutions in Africa devoted to preparing potential leaders with a global outlook, leaders who will be able to cooperate within and across national, regional and institutional boundaries. Furthermore, it is difficult if not impossible, in many African countries to gain access to relevant and timely information on most national, regional and global issues. Liebenow notes that, it needs to be realized that the morass of governance in Africa emerged primarily as a result of lack of checks and balances in Africa’s system of governance. In effect, for some African leaders, their nation ended up being treated as their individual personal property. In other cases, a decline in moral and discipline caused or combined with bad policies, eroded professional standards and ethics and weakened the system of governance. Poor governance becomes the major challenge and source of Africa’s predicament and socio-economic crises. Only a few African leaders left office when their terms came to an end; most others were assassinated or were disposed by military coups. In the past, many African leaders would align or threaten to align with the “communist” bloc or “capitalist”

88 Adel Safty, *Leadership and Global Governance: The International Leadership*, Opcit
bloc in exchange for the support that allowed them to stay in power. It is against these backdrops, the critical appraisals of the African crises often identify the leadership and governance as the major variables to correctly historicize the nature, character and dimensions of the African problem.

2.4. Models of Leadership and Governance in Africa

There are mainly two models that guide the study of governance in the world in general and in Africa in particular. These are monocratic and polycentric governance models\(^91\). The monocratic governance model hails from Hobbes theory of the state, which holds that supreme authority to govern rests in the Leviathan. In other words, monocratic governance implies a political system that is highly centralized in terms of centralization of powers at the center. In that type of political system, the principle of moonlighting takes preeminence as sub-units within the system only serve as administrative coordinate that function primarily to strengthen the center.\(^92\) The main characteristics of the monocratic model according to them include the adoption of a one-party state or where one party is the dominant party signifies a monocratic order. The extent of a military regime is another indication of the existence of a monocratic political order. Excessive centralization is nevertheless the main index of monocentricism. Under this model, political centralization is one of the salient parameters to measure centralization. Political centralization is a situation where there is absence of competitive political parties. Only


\(^{92}\) Ian Shapiro, *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State*, New York: NYU Press, 2006 pp 189-190
one political party dominates the political scene. The civic capacity to react against policy
decisions or influence are greatly minimized or outrightly absent. In political sense,
centralization manifest in military regimes with their policies of unity of command and
unity of control\textsuperscript{93}. Independent Africa has experienced the phenomena of one-party
states and rule characterized by the emergence of "strong men", most of whom where
heroes of the anti-colonial struggles for Independence. Some countries had de jure single-
party systems in which opposition parties were banned by law, while other nations had de
facto one-party arrangements in which one party dominated and the opposition could not
gain power due to those circumstances and associated practices.\textsuperscript{94} Most countries in sub-
Saharan Africa were one-party states after Independence.

The one-party systems were prevalent in countries such as Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Ivory Coast, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia and the DRC (when it was still Zaire).\textsuperscript{95} However, things have changed with most African countries, perhaps with the notable exception of Eritrea, have become multiparty systems. Before all the changes currently taking shape, dictators - including military strongmen - had emerged across the continent. These-post Independent regimes created a culture of monolithic, monopolistic and dictatorial political systems built around powerful political parties and usually enigmatic despots.\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{93} Ernst Haas, Beyond the Nation-state: Functionalism and International Organization, California: Stanford University Press, 1964, pp 99-103
\textsuperscript{94} Gwendolen Carter, African one-party states, New York: Cornell university Press, 1962, pp 3-7
\textsuperscript{95} Wadada Nabudere, Democracy and the one-party-state in Africa, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1989, pp 6-10
\textsuperscript{96} Martha Halsey, From Dictatorship to Democracy, Ottawa: Dovehouse Ed, 1994, p15
Political diversity and plurality were at best frowned upon and at worst ruthlessly crushed.

The growth of opposition parties and civil society was thus stunted in most parts of Independent Africa. This was exacerbated by the perpetuation of the colonial legacy of repressive frameworks and legislation which criminalized civil and political liberties, including freedoms of expression, association and assembly. Opponents of dictators were ruthlessly crushed, while the democratic and public space for debate and dissent were severely restricted. It is in this historical context that opposition political parties and civil society organizations emerged and evolved in post-Independent Africa. The monocratic models help some African political leaders in Angola, Ivory Coast, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ghana, and Mozambique pull a wide array of resources together to generate a handsome quantum of national wealth for welfare programs. In a monocratic order, popular participation is at the lowest ebb; might is right and the popular theories of human right, public morality and legitimacy can be best described as luxuries. Since the system does not favor popular participation, it is thus characterized by high-handedness, occasional unrest, lack of press freedom, shrink space for civil society operations and contested political legitimacy.

On the other hand, the Polycentric model recognizes that within a metropolitan area, there exist a multiplicity of jurisdictions and arenas, which can be appropriately conceived and described as a polycentric political system. This model comprises diverse independent units that are formally autonomous of each other and operate in a manner

that recognizes the jurisdiction and functions of other centres.\textsuperscript{99} The polycentric model is democratic and favors popular participation. It is permissive of a multiplicity of decisions and authority centers.

It actually promotes a situation that is congenial for peace, cooperation and institutional integration. Under this model government ceases to be the main actor in governance. Instead, the shift is unto the people. The government only exists and functioning as an umpire.\textsuperscript{100} It is important to state that the features of monocratic order still pervades the political system in Africa, albeit the practice of democratic governance.\textsuperscript{101} Therefore, for effective leadership and governance in Africa, polycentric model should be applied to Africa’s political system.

2.5. The Importance of Leadership and Governance in Africa

The problem which troubles Africans most is the failure of political leadership. There are of course failures in other domains, but these are traceable in the consciousness to political leadership deficiencies.\textsuperscript{102} The de-ideologisation of African politics means that aspirant political leaders do not see a pressing need to state their macro-vision for the continent. Political ideologies were shaped during the process of modernization, materialization and rationalization of human life. By the mid 1990s the concept of de-ideologisation or estrangement from politics came full circle. If in the confrontational discourse of 1970s and 1980s de-ideologisation meant estrangement or even liberation

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\textsuperscript{101} Anderson Seligman, Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Michigan: University of Michigan, 2009, p 7

\textsuperscript{102} Chizoba Madueke, A State of Anarchy: Retrogressive Leadership and Governance, Op cit
\end{footnotesize}
from the Soviet state ideology, in the current era it came to signify liberation from the
critical democratic discourse of the 1980s and early 1990s.\textsuperscript{103} The absolutism in so many
African countries means not only that public policy making lacks the logic and empirical
content that typically characterizes such an activity in other contexts but also that
governance structures are largely informal and subject to arbitrary change.\textsuperscript{104} However,
some Africans namely Kenya, South Africa, Ghana among others, gradually began to
recognize the significance of civil and political rights.

One of the most important messages coming out in literatures is that African
government can no longer at will, by invoking the demand for national unity; violate civil
and political rights of their citizens. The political will which is the compelling force for
sound leadership quality, the ability to do what is right, what is relevant and what is
attainable within the context of patriotic nationalism seems to be lacking in Africa.
Political will very often means personal or group sacrifices. It implies the ability to
implement policies that have a nationalistic importance and relevance without allowing
pockets of interest to detract from what should naturally be of national benefit. In
contemporary Africa, Nelson Mandela represents that model of leadership by personal
sacrifice to redeem his people from servitude.\textsuperscript{105} In light of the above, Nkwocha has this
to say about leadership in Nigeria:

The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. The
Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or the inability of its leaders to rise to the
responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmarks of true
leadership. Just like Nigeria a microcosm of Africa, African leaders have failed to

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\textsuperscript{103} Alastair Renfrew, \textit{Critical Theory in Russia and the West}, New York: Routledge 2010, p117
\textsuperscript{104} G. Hyden and M. Bratton, \textit{Governance and Politics in Africa}, Opcit
\textsuperscript{105} Nosakhare Isekhure, \textit{Democracy in Crisis}, Virginia: University of Virginia,1992, pp 141-142
\end{flushleft}
develop institutions that would translate independence into popular democracy and liberty, and failed too, to accommodate dissent and tap the energies of the people for economic and social development.  

Most African leaders assumed their role with limited experience and training in the art and science of directing and effectively managing the affairs of a modern state. The challenge to African leaders is thus to develop the capacity that would enable us to strike a balance between the values of African societies and the governance that our nations must follow. However, the concern must be to blend the two rather than to treat them as if they were mutually exclusive. The political power in Africa became concentrated in one political party and finally in hand of one leader. Making the rise of the supremacy of the office of the President over all organs of government, most African Presidents enjoyed re-election in perpetuity without any competition.

Gerrie Swart observes further that consequent resistant to the concentration of power to the hands of one man – the President, was brutally suppressed with greater violations of human rights, resulting in massacres and millions of Africans becoming refugees or becoming displaced persons and many qualified African’s seeking employment opportunities in foreign countries in search of personal security. Africa’s continuing crisis presents a tremendous challenge to the continent and its leadership. It is most unfortunate that political leadership aspirants in Africa do not see a pressing need to state their macro vision for the continent. There is no explicit formulation of any

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107 Robert I. Rotberg *Strengthening African Leadership There Is Another Way*, *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 83, Number 4, July/August 2004,
systematic values. Political leadership in Africa is parochial rather than national; it corruptly converts national resources into its project of primitive accumulation. Agbaje and Roberts pointed out that:

post independence leaders in Africa not only personalized power but also privatized the state for the purpose of primitive accumulation, clientelism, repression and all forms of opposition. Instead of using the state for initiating development, African leaders utilized it as a vehicle for terrorizing the citizenry, thereby leading to the disengagement of the populace from the public realm.¹⁰⁹

The above statement shows that leadership and their cohorts in Africa have simply privatized the state for their selfish interest. Leadership in Africa is characterized by primordial parochial, personalized and selfish tendencies, political brigandage, ethnic rivalry and cleavages, clientelism and privatized state apparatuses.

In sum, respected, visionary leaders that are of proven integrity are needed to captain the ship of the nations of Africa; such a leader of the people must have vision and mission. He should incarnate all ideals, for which his party stands and be able to actualize the promises of the party to the electorate. Leadership or lack of it has been said to be a major bane of Africa. Africans have all agree that the fundamental problem militating development in Africa is the poverty of leadership making it the key issue even in the process of democratization.

Thus, Adeola argues further that;

The history of great nation has been linked to visionary and purposeful leadership, be it in the advanced industrialized countries or developing nations. Such leaders have played significant roles in the socio-economic development and political

¹⁰⁹ D. Agbaje and Y. Roberts, Meeting the Challenge of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria, Ibadan: NISER, 2000, p 154
emancipation of their countries. Closely linked to leadership is ideology. In the absence of visionary leadership to give a clear-cut ideology, a nation continues to lack orientation and commitment. Consequently, leadership has failed to harness the resources and the ingenuity of the people for national development.\textsuperscript{110}

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

\textbf{2.6. Political Leadership Evolution in Africa}

Beginning from the 1980s, there has been a gradual, but concerted attempt to reverse the trend of political despair and disillusionment, which hitherto characterized political life in Africa. This attempt manifests in the demand for political pluralism and democratization. The long years of political misrule and of course bad governance exemplified by personalized political regimes and ruthless dictatorships left most African States politically demobilized and economically decapacitated with an immiserised population ravaged by poverty, illiteracy and disease. Regrettably, Africa harbours the highest stock of the world's poorest people.\textsuperscript{111} The debilitating poverty of the people accentuated by the economic crisis seems to have provided a basis and indeed, a common


platform in the demand for democratic change by the people. 112 Thus, the struggle for democratization in Africa has relevance not only in liberalizing the political arena and achieving civil and political liberties, but also to ensure better living standards and social welfare for the African people.

However, the extent to which the current democratic project with its frailties, uncertainties and sometimes reversals, could usher in a viable democracy and ensure good governance particularly in the 21st century remains an issue of conjecture. The demand for political participation and the involvement of the people in the choice of their leaders and decision-making which constitutes the critical hub of political democracy is not a new phenomenon in Africa. The anti-colonial project was constructed and legitimized on this basis. As such, the current democratic effervescence in Africa could be regarded not as a process of “democratic birth”, is a process of “democratic renewal”. Although the urge for good governance is implicit in this process of democratic renewal as we earlier noted, however, the conception and usage of the term “good governance” in recent times came from the World Bank. Given the virulent political resistance which greeted the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in Africa and the growing concern with their apparent failure by the World Bank, there was a slight shift in strategy by the Bank towards domesticating the policy and finding an appropriate institutional and political framework within which to situate it in the domestic economies of African countries. The emphasis therefore shifted to “good governance”.

In the view of the World Bank, the market economic reform policies it recommends rarely work and have achieved very little because these policies fall on institutionally barren grounds and are stalled by internal bottlenecks and political ineptitude in terms of governance. In other words, the poor performance of SAPs is caused by lack of good governance. To quote the Bank: Underlying the litany of Africa’s development problems is a crisis of good governance. By governance is meant the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs. Because countervailing power has been lacking, state officials in many countries have served their own interest without fear of being called to account. In self-defence, individuals have built up personal networks of influence rather than hold the all-powerful state accountable for its systemic failure.

In this way, politics becomes personalised and patronage becomes essential to maintain power. The leadership assumes broad discretionary authority and loses its legitimacy, information is controlled, and voluntary associations are co-opted or disbanded. The environment cannot readily support a dynamic economy. The World Bank therefore argues that adjustment alone cannot put Africa on a sustained poverty-reducing path, such must be complemented with institution building and good governance. Germane to the conception of good governance by the World Bank are the issues of public accountability of government officials, transparency in government procedures, rule of law and public sector management. The process of evolving good

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governance in Africa according to the Bank requires the shrinking of the state and engendering support for non-state actors (Civil Society).

Following the footpaths of the World Bank, the donor agencies, multilateral and bilateral have incorporated the demand for good governance in their aid policies and development cooperation agenda in Africa. These include the O.E.C.D. (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and private agencies like the Ford Foundation and the Carter Center in the United States, with the emphasis of the latter two, on supporting civil associations and non-state actors in Africa.

On a broader platform, organizations like the Commonwealth and the United Nations and some of its agencies, have begun to emphasize and promote the issues of democracy, human rights and good governance in their activities. For example, the Commonwealth in charting a new course for itself resolved at its Harare Summit in 1991 to promote the principles of democracy, respect for human rights and good governance\textsuperscript{116}. A resolution was passed to this effect, by which member-states were to be bound, by these principles. In 1996, at the meeting of the Heads of State and Governments of the organization in Auckland, New Zealand, this resolution had to be revisited, with sanctions imposed on member-state (Nigeria), for the callous and extra-judicial killing of a human rights activist - Ken Saro Wiwa, and the Ogoni eight by the Abacha military junta in Nigeria. Nigeria was thus suspended from the Commonwealth. In 1997, Sierra Leone was also suspended from the Commonwealth due to the illegal seizure of power by the military junta led by Colonel Koromah.

\textsuperscript{116} Adebayo Olukoshi, \textit{The Politics of opposition in Contemporary Africa}, Opcit
In sum the depressing picture of leadership and governance in Africa is brought into even sharper relief by the few but remarkable examples of effective African leadership in recent decades. These leaders stand out because of their strength of character, their adherence to the principles of participatory democracy, and their ability to overcome deep-rooted challenges.

The government of Mozambique, for example, brought about economic growth rates of more than ten percent between 1996 and 2003, following the economic catastrophe wrought by that country’s civil war (which ended in 1992). And in Kenya, President Mwai Kibaki has strengthened civil society, invested in education, and removed barriers to economic entrepreneurship instated during the repressive rule of Daniel arap Moi. The best example of good leadership in Africa is Botswana. Long before diamonds were discovered there, this former desert protectorate, which was neglected by the British under colonialism, demonstrated a knack for participatory democracy, integrity, tolerance, entrepreneurship, and the rule of law. The country has remained democratic in spirit as well as form continuously since its independence in 1966—an unmatched record in Africa. It has also defended human rights, encouraged civil liberties, and actively promoted its citizens’ social and economic development.

118 Robert I. Rotberg *Strengthening African Leadership There Is Another Way*, *Foreign Affairs*, Op cit
In short, though there are some challenges in leadership and governance in Africa in the sense that post independence leaders in Africa not only personalized power but also privatized the state for the purpose of clientelism, it is important to note that there are many success stories Africa can be proud of such as South Africa, Botswana and Namibia.
CHAPTER THREE
CIVIL SOCIETY AND LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the evolution of civil society and leadership in Africa in general and Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo in particular. The chapter draws from various aspects of the theoretical understanding of leadership at the individual, organization and society level and lays the foundation for an examination of the role of the civil society in bringing about leaders.

3.2. Evolution of Civil Society

Civil society has grown to become an international concept. The origin of civil society can be traced to ancient Greek civilization. Aristotle is credited with the first usage of the term ‘civil society’ although the meaning was markedly distorted when translating Greek to Latin then to English. According to Aristotle, civil society was an association of members who had common ends and that civil society was inherently political.\(^{119}\) The idea of civil society is therefore deeply rooted in the tradition of political thought. In Western thought it can be traced to both the liberal and Marxist traditions of European political thought. Tocqueville emphasized on the importance of voluntary associations in promoting democratic citizenship. Here it refers to a public space between

household and the state, aside from the market, in which citizens may associate for the prosecution of private interests within a framework of law guaranteed by the state. This sociological variant of civil society affirms the self-organization of society rejects the state-dependency of citizens and treats civil society as an activity in its own right which is not reducible to the economic structure.\textsuperscript{120} The emergence of a democratic opposition to authoritarian socialist party-states in Central and Eastern Europe provided the impetus to the contemporary revival of civil society.

By way of setting up a range of parallel social structures independent of official authorities, societies regained their strength and asserted themselves against the destructive and manipulative influence of the regime and, in the long run, re-negotiated state-society relationships. This strategy soon became the general understanding of civil society.\textsuperscript{121} This is what made its way back to Western social science, where it was very well received due to the openness of Western democracies, of which the emergence of new social movements was but the most prominent. In the face of these changes, social theorists viewed civil society as a powerful tool for both, empirical analysis and normative postulates in the context of established democracies.

The rapid rise of the civil society can also be attributed to the ‘third wave’ democratizations. This led to the breakdown of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Regime change to democracy involved placing increasing emphasis on the role of independent social and political actors in the process of democratization. African countries that had hitherto been primarily military and one-party dictatorships and

\textsuperscript{120} Nandini Sen, \textit{Civil Society and Development: Evolution, Influences and Practice}, Op cit
personal rulers were being forced to abandon their old ways and embrace liberal democracy. In fact, the West actively imposed the need for democracy on these weak African states as a precondition for aid and continued productive cooperation. This foreign pressure coincided with, or in most cases reinforced domestic clamours to push authoritarian regimes to concede to democratic reforms. Thus, in the 1980s the civil society gained a specific meaning, referring to the existence of self-organized groups or institutions capable of preserving an autonomous public sphere, which could guarantee individual liberty and check abuses of the state. While there is growing agreement about the importance of civil society; there is also growing disagreement about its exact meaning. In the contemporary revival of the idea of civil society, the concept has come to mean different things for different people causing a great number of ambiguities and confusions.

While definitional issues continue to exist in studying the concept of civil society, there is agreement that it influences the process of democratization. Nonetheless, there is an understanding that civil society is a sphere of social interaction between the household and the state which is manifest in norms of community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication. It is important to reiterate that the civil society, just like the state and political society, is a theoretical concept and not an empirical one. It is a synthetic conceptual construct that is not embodied in a single, identifiable structure. This means that the processes it plays in enabling democratization must be identified. One of the key processes is leadership

Civil society and actors are important agents of development alongside the state and private sector. To support a country-led process of development, it is important to identify the roles of all the development agents in their particular context and support those most strategically placed to further the development agenda.\textsuperscript{123} In essence, civil society is often understood as the social space where citizens organize themselves to promote shared objectives and values that are essential to the proper functioning of a democratic society and the enrichment of a country’s institutional foundations. These organizations deliver direct development and humanitarian benefits, promote peace and build security, pursue democratic governance and accountability, forge networks and linkages, advance development practice, develop capacity and empower the poor.\textsuperscript{124}

As a diverse and ever-wider ecosystem of individuals, communities and organizations, civil society has opened up spaces of power, influence and association to new configurations of actors, leading to a significant growth of online civil society activity, and enabling networks to be built across geographical, social and physical divides. These networks allow greater numbers of people to aggregate and collectively address societal challenges. The civil society is therefore a genuine constituency that has generally been accepted as an influential player in leadership and governance processes.

Civil society also contributes to the development of leaders in the society. For instance, coaching and mentoring are two personal development methods that nurture a person’s own abilities in order to improve behaviour and performance. The processes of coaching and mentoring are similar in so far as they are both a series of conversations

\textsuperscript{124} Ibid
(spoken or written) between two individuals. However, there are subtle but significant differences in aim, emphasis and style. Coaching tends to be viewed as more task-oriented, skills-focused, directed and time-bound, whereas mentoring is more focused on open-ended personal development. These are examples of how civil society contributes to bring about leaders.

3.3. Features of leadership

Leadership is multidisciplinary and embodies theoretical concepts. It can be tested experimentally. There have been questions whether leaders are born or made. However, the theoretical framework of this study aligns with the understanding that leadership is made or can be developed through the active contribution and participation of civil society as a fairly new force on the global landscape and an agent of change in the political arena.

There are two important themes that every definition of leadership appreciates: first, that leadership influences the behavior of others and second, that the influence is intentional and directed towards some desired objective. From the two themes, it can be said that leaders have a significant role in creating the state of mind that is society. They can serve as symbols of the moral unity of the society. They can express the values that hold the society together. Most important, they can conceive and articulate goals that lift people out of their petty preoccupations; carry them above the conflicts that tear a

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society apart, and unite them in the pursuit of objectives worthy of their best efforts.\textsuperscript{127} Strong institutions contribute to democratic governance in the sense that Institutions ensure that there are free and fair elections which play a great role in developing an elective and effective parliament, an independent judiciary, a free press, and a vibrant civil society. These ingredients are the cornerstones of democratic governance.\textsuperscript{128} On the other hand, successful democratic governance also requires leadership. Credible trustworthy leadership complements the institutional framework of democratic governance to provide the necessary stability and a climate for sustainable development, peace and prosperity.

There are numerous qualities that are associated with leadership. These qualities are mainly drawn from organizational leadership contexts but they can be applied across all levels. They are vision, trust, empowerment, values and principles. Values are a critical element of successful leadership as they provide the sense of direction and make leaders to focus on attention on the organization, institution, or country they are leading. A shared vision is a necessity for all successful organizations. The vision articulates a view of a realistic, credible, attractive future for the organization, a condition that is better in some important ways than what now exists. Visionary leaders provide an important bridge from the present to the future of the organization or country they are leading.

Trustworthiness is a vital characteristic of successful leadership, and the capacity to generate and sustain it is imperative. It is hard to gain and easy to lose. Trust implies

\textsuperscript{127} Peter G. Northouse, \textit{Leadership: Theory and Practice}, Opcit
\textsuperscript{128} James M. Kouzes, \textit{The Leadership Challenge}, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2010, p 29
accountability, predictability and reliability. Leaders who are predictable and make their positions known are trusted. It is trust that keeps an organization together and binds followers and leaders. The accumulation of trust is a measure of the legitimacy of leadership. It cannot be mandated or purchased, it must be earned.

The third feature of leadership is empowerment. Studies have demonstrated that effective leaders do not seek power for themselves but use positions of leadership to empower others to translate intentions into reality and sustain it. Many theorists, including Machiavelli and Marx, regarded power as the basis for political leadership. The exercise of power can be understood from a number of points of view: taking it from someone else and using it to dominate and prevent someone from gaining it, finding common ground among different interests and building collective strength, and a person’s sense of self-worth and self-knowledge as unique potential to shape his or her life and world. Finally, effective leaders must have values and principles.129 A set of guiding principles and values shape the organizational culture. At societal and community levels, core values may include gender equity, democracy, community participation, collaboration, social responsibility and concern for the environment.

Ethical leadership is also associated with having moral capital. In this case, there are also four features of leadership. They include excellence of character, virtues appropriate for a human being within a particular socio-cultural context, integrity and what makes a person good as a human being. These are the moral capital of leaders and define their trust and integrity. Good and effective leaders are honest, caring and

principled individuals who make fair, rational and balanced decisions; speak to their followers about ethical standards and practice what they preach.\textsuperscript{130} There is a lack of empirical research on the effectiveness of different approaches to leadership. There are questions as to what would be the appropriate group for leadership. However, there is always a strong emphasis on the importance of reaching children at school, through formal education in citizenship skills, which would provide tangible experiences in leadership and community involvement at an early stage. This could be complemented by informal education, offered by bodies such as the worldwide Scout and Girl Guide movements and, later, through encouraging young people to volunteer their services overseas.

Most leadership programs provide one or another form of leadership training to this age group, in the belief that this group will then be best placed to assume leadership positions at an early stage. At the top tier of the pyramid are leaders who have successfully proven themselves with good results in terms of development. They are comparatively fewer in number, but of great importance because they are the chief executives, the presidents, ministers and world leaders. Some would argue that it is somewhat late to influence or improve this group, because of their entrenched positions and attitudes. However, it should not be regarded as a monolithic group, in that some of the more humble and modest may be willing to learn and change.\textsuperscript{131} While there are training programs that focus on leadership development, the rapidly changing nature of modern knowledge in a digital based society means that there is no single event or short

training programs that no matter how intensive can be adequate in sustaining the qualities needed for long-term leadership development. There is a need to enable, energize and empower persons interested in leadership on a continuing basis.

This is important because leadership development is a continuous systematic process. In structured leadership development programs, the topics covered often include self-reflection and personal awareness, knowledge of political systems, confidence-building, skills in facilitation and communication, team-building, conflict resolution, planning and analysis. In contrast to individual leadership, which is seen as heroic, transformational or charismatic, there can also be shared, distributed, dispersed or co-leadership. Such leadership results in team-building, collective action, delegation and the sharing of responsibilities. Effective leaders are facilitators and do not regard fellow team members as subordinates but as colleagues and fellow crusaders. Their primary role is to unleash the potential of others to inspire collective action.\textsuperscript{132} New approaches and modalities for leadership growth across all segments of society is necessary, in order to lay the foundations for leaders that are equipped for meeting the challenges facing the continent. Implementing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) will require, amongst others, leaders equipped with creative and innovative skills as well as commitment and dedication to Africa’s future sustainable growth and development. In the absence of leadership in all spectrums of society, it is difficult to realize the relevant goals, among them the MDGs.\textsuperscript{133} In this case, leadership development should be viewed

as a capacity development strategy that aims at promoting the capacity of a human collectivity to drive the decisions, actions and changes necessary to further the pursuit of human development goals. The ultimate objectives of leadership development include inclusive participatory governance. This vision of leadership focuses attention on the relationship of individuals to the group, emphasizing the development of the collectivity. In this context, leadership’s relationship to capacity development is examined on three different levels: individual, organizational and societal. The societal level offers the most potential for widespread sustainable change, but it is the most difficult to reach, monitor and evaluate.\textsuperscript{134} Most initiatives of leadership development focus on individual and organizational levels because the results are easier to reach, monitor, and evaluate in this context. Lessons from programming experience show the importance of defining clear target populations and utilizing appropriate educational designs in the training of leaders. Leaders can be developed to build capacities of their own constituencies or head institutional reform and transparency initiatives. Even though there are few studies that have actually measured the long term impacts of leadership development programs implemented by various organizations in the civil society, there are strong signals that leadership development is a powerful vehicle for developing capacity at all levels of the developmental process.

Available evidence generated by UNDP which is responsible for fostering democratic development by investing in leadership capacity development, focusing on specific areas can yield immediate potential. These areas include local elected officials capabilities in the areas of enforcing transparency, managing institutional reform and

facilitating a more inclusive decision making process in local governance; civil society organizations leaders’ ability to manage development projects and administration, to expand and diversify networks, to guide and effect change both within organizations and in their environments; and emerging groups with a view to strengthening community leaders’ capacity for representing their particular groups’ interests in the local and national development dialogue.\textsuperscript{135} There are various elements that contribute to civil society’s increasing relevance in the leadership debate and research. In terms of moral and ethical status, civil society is anchored in the paradigm in favour of justice and equality, proclaiming inclusion and denouncing poverty and inequality, particularly for excluded populations (women, rural peasants, indigenous and HIV-affected populations, among others). It focuses on the lacks and needs of emerging and marginal populations, making it the ideal development actor for promoting capacity development. Civil society is also characterized as the “civil organization” closest to the people, able to concentrate on implementation and balancing the “what” and the “how” of development. And civil society has benefited greatly from technology, which has facilitated the establishment of local, regional and national networks and platforms for political action and advocacy.\textsuperscript{136}

The next chapter details the specific roles played by the civil society in leadership development in Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

\textsuperscript{135} Ludger Helms, \textit{Comparative Political Leadership}, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, Opcit

\textsuperscript{136} Omer Caha, The Inevitable Coexistence of Civil Society and Liberalism: The Case of Turkey, \textit{Journal of Economic and Social Research} Vol 3, Issue 2, 2001, pp. 35-50
CHAPTER FOUR
CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY AND LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA AND DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of civil society in the emergence of quality leadership in Africa in general and in Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo in particular. The researcher sought to establish whether Africa’s apparently endemic problems can be linked to corrupt leaders who do not bring about positive change in the behavior of their people and whether the solution to Africa’s problems can only be solved by leaders, who are knowledgeable about the ever-changing world, are competent, and able to lead with integrity, vision, and commitment. The researcher also wanted to establish a relationship between leadership, governance, democratization and civil society in Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo and examine what the civil society has done so far in contributing to quality leadership in Africa in general and in Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo in particular.

4.2. Civil Society and Leadership in Nigeria and DRC

There is some evidence of a leadership renaissance in Africa since countries such as Ghana, Kenya, Zambia, and Mozambique are developing their democratic and constitutional dispensations. However, others African countries namely Nigeria and DRC continue to operate in environments with various constraints and in these countries,

there are very few civil society organizations that can be said to be effective since they are caught between supporting political elites and informal political actors such as warlords.

4.3. Role of Civil Society in Leadership in Nigeria

Growing global support for civil societies in budget work is currently based on the belief that people have a right to influence public choices that shape their lives; and since budgets remain the chief instrument by which governments make choices that affect the people, independent budget work by civil societies should be promoted by every legitimate means. Recognizing the importance of budgets to the lives of the poor and how civil society can promote the development of open and participatory societies, donor agencies often encourage civil society to engage in applied budget activities like shadow budgeting, public expenditure tracking and project monitoring.\(^{138}\) The ultimate intention, of course, is to advance pro-poor policy goals such as poverty reduction, employment generation, and participation in governance.

Partnership between government and civil society groups in the budget process offers hope for a citizenry that has become so cynical and disillusioned by decades of failed development policies and unsuccessful pro-poor programmes. It also offers an opportunity to re-examine many concerns that may have been taken for granted. One of such concerns is the post military-rule thinking, particularly in government circles, that development and implementation of public policies is the business of government

\(^{138}\) Mr. K. Musa, Senior Counselor (Multilateral and Economic), Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, 22 July 2013, at 10am.
alone. The experience of civil society groups the world over has shown that while government must be held responsible for translating the will of the citizens into public policy, they are neither the most effective vehicles nor the sole vehicles for the delivery of development. Indeed in many cases, government may be less innovative in the social sector than active citizens-based organizations.

In Nigeria, active participation of citizens-based groups in budget work and monitoring of public finances is, at present, among the major challenges of NEEDS (National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy), SEEDS (State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy), and LEEDS (Local Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy). These groups should ensure that government budgets reflect the views of the populace, and that line ministries, institutions, departments and government corporations set attainable budget goals and take appropriate actions towards their timely attainment. The capacity of civil society to participate effectively and efficiently in the different stages of the budget process (that is, formulation, implementation, monitoring, appraisal, and review) however depends on a number of factors, such as: The overall focus of civil society and interest of their promoters: it matters what a civil society puts its attention on.

The official focus may be dramatized and orchestrated to reflect populist concerns, while the ultimate goal is to achieve the personal, financial and socio-political interests of its founders/sponsors. Sometimes the subjective goals which dictate actual

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140 Mr. K. Musa, Senior Counselor (Multilateral and Economic), Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, 22 July 2013, at 10am.
conduct and activities of a civil society may differ diametrically from the objective and official goals of the organization.\textsuperscript{141} Like in many other organizations, the goals a civil society pursues in real terms depend on the interest of its promoter(s). Intellectual capacity and interaction within civil society: the analytical depth and core competence of civil society members on government finances and development matters can affect how they are able to contribute to budget work. Often members of a group or organization have varying intellectual depth. It is not necessary that all members have the same level of knowledge on budget matters. But where a few individuals with the necessary competences exist, gainful in-group interaction can cause members to share mental models in ways that transform civil society into active ‘communities of practice’, where members creatively learn from each other through interactive re-socialization. A broad budget framework with incentives for active participation of all stakeholders: when the budget process gives incentives for participation, civil society and other citizen based organizations would want to compete to seek and obtain relevance.

Such competitive stimulus can promote independent budget work in the community of civil society organizations. Incentives range from awards and recognition.\textsuperscript{142} But lessons from experiences from Nigeria have shown that civil societies do better when governments acknowledge, utilize and incorporate their recommendations into budgets and public policies. Indeed interest in budget work is sustained as civil society continues to believe that their independent budget activities and contributions are

\textsuperscript{141} Mr. K. Musa, Senior Counselor (Multilateral and Economic), Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, 22 July 2013, at 10am.
\textsuperscript{142} Mr. F. E. Azuike, Counselor (Political and Information), Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, 22 July 2013, at 3pm.
reflected in budgets and other policy instruments of government.\textsuperscript{143} The level of trust between civil society and government: mutual trust promotes the interaction. People generally take each other more seriously in an atmosphere of mutual trust. Trust breeds truth telling, fairness and reciprocity. When governments and civil society trust each other, the level of support and cooperation between them increases; one can readily give and receive from the other.\textsuperscript{144} One major source of civil society-government mistrust is the consciousness of corruption: often civil society believes that government is corrupt and governments to see civil society as rent seekers, making cooperation between the two difficult to achieve. A framework for broad participation that allows the civil society community and government agencies to serve as watchdogs for each other can break the cycle of mistrust.

The above and other related problems make civil society-government partnership in budget work difficult. Activities of civil society in budget work have remained generally low and less productive. This is why it is necessary to strengthen the capacity of civil society to productively engage in budget work. It is important to note however that applied budget work, the kind that civil society should engage in, is not just quality analysis; it is more importantly analysis with findings that maximize the social content of policy debate. In particular, civil society should have the capacity to examine how budgets capture social and economic policy priorities. More than any other document, government budgets translate policies, political commitments and goals into decisions on

\textsuperscript{144} Mr. R. Sulaiman, Second Secretary, (Political and Information), Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, on 23 July 2013 at 9a.m
where funds should be spent and how funds should be collected. A well-functioning budget system is vital to the formulation of sustainable fiscal policy and facilitates economic growth. But in many developing countries, like Nigeria, economic problems are exacerbated by weak budget systems and faulty budget choices.

Government budget directly or indirectly affects the life of all its citizens. But the social content of budgets influences the poor and vulnerable groups most. Pursuit of macroeconomic goals, such as stabilizing prices to check the rate of inflation can cause government to cut its expenditure on social and pro-poor programmes. Credible civil society can stand in the gap between the government and the poor. In Nigeria however, the general absence of information on budget issues (particularly in accessible, non-technical forms), non-recognition of the critical role of civil society in budget work plus their weak capacity for budget work seriously confines budgeting to the boardrooms of government planning and budget agencies. In addition, the ability of civil society to participate in budget discussion can be thwarted by legal, institutional, and political barriers. The fast expanding role civil society have assumed in modern development has become so important that no government desirous of exploiting and harnessing the potentials of its citizens for national development can afford to ignore. Since the demise of the former Soviet Union and the retreat of socialism in Eastern Europe in the middle and late eighties, the civil society sector or what social entrepreneurial literature now call ‘citizens sector’ has grown in lips and bounds the world over.

146 Mr. A.O. Bakare , Finance Attaché, Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, on 23 July 2013 at 11a.m
In Nigeria, quantitative data on practically everything is difficult to come by, but there are indications that the civil society sector is among the fastest growing sectors in the country. However growth and evolution of civil society are more dependent on the flow of foreign aid than on interests in specific areas of national development. Civil society movement has a recent history in Nigeria. In 1987, there was only one institutional human rights organization in Nigeria called Civil Liberties Organization, which was founded by Olisa Agbakoba and Clement Nwa nkwo\textsuperscript{147}. But today one can count over a thousand of such groups organized at national, state and local government levels. Like in other developing countries, the rise of vocal civil society movement in the governance sector has elicited varied responses from governments.

Since 1999 however, government (at all levels) has cultivated partnership with civil society in the implementation of their development programmes. This has deepened the democratization processes and reduced public resentments. Earlier governments tended to treat civil society as enemies and so could readily clamp down on them through various emasculating regulatory frameworks and registration processes that are designed to discourage rather than encourage their establishments. The present government in Nigeria desires to be counted among countries that are cultivating collaborative relationships with their citizens sectors. Civil society movement in Nigeria was motivated by human rights abuses and perceived economic mismanagement of successive military governments, particularly since 1986 when the then President Babangida implemented

\textsuperscript{147} Idumange John (2012), The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Promoting Good Governance, \textit{The Nigerian Voice}, 3 August 2012
the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The movement aimed principally at redressing various human rights abuses.

At the initial stage the focus of most of the civil society groups was on traditional human rights concerns such as police abuse, prison condition, campaign against torture, long detention without trial, extra judicial killings and general litigation on specific cases of human rights violation. However, as the military government of General Babangida became more vicious in response to exposures of its atrocities and growing public disenchantment with the inability of the government to adhere to its transition timetable for a hand-over to an elected civilian government, human right groups began to make forays into agitation for an end to military rule in Nigeria.

The above considerations formed the background for civil society response to the transition program of the succeeding government of General Abdulsalami Abubakar in 1998. A civilian regime took over on May 29, 1999. Needless to say, human rights groups were skeptical about the sincerity and ability of the military to midwife democracy in Nigeria. Now, the focus of civil society is shifting gradually from politic and defences against repression to economic management and the need for transparency and accountability in the use of public funds.

The problems that have hindered effective partnership (for national development between government and civil society groups in Nigeria can be examined at three broad

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149 Mr. R. Sulaiman , Second Secretary (Political and Information) Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, on 23 July 2013 at 9a.m
levels, namely: structural, institutional and social. These are examined successively as follows:

4.3.1. Structural factors

Clear lines of relationship between civil society and the state is yet to be established in many developing countries; the pattern of relationship is constantly in a flux (cooperative, conflictual, integrative or even nonexistent), depending on the context and issues involved. Many governments in the developing world are yet to come to terms with the role civil society should play. Equally, civil society still need to learn how well to apply themselves to government issues. Both sides need more education on the art and practice of participatory governance. Ultimately though, the structure of government-civil society relations in Nigeria will continue to depend on the extent of division, inequality and conflicts between the rulers and the rest of the society as well as the extent to which every member of the society have a sense of belonging.

More cooperation and complementary relationships would develop between government and civil society when government: runs a democratic system of governance, maintains an economic system that is pro-growth, with equity and welfare of all the citizens, observe the rule of law and separation of powers between the legislature, judiciary and executive arms, and preserve the fundamental rights of ordinary citizens.150 A totalitarian or repressive regime will certainly increase hostility and unhealthy conflicts between government and civil society. For good governance to prevail, the fundamental structural problems affecting effective partnership between the two parties need to be re-

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examined and necessary reforms implemented. Situations where civil society groups are repressed for challenging the status quo ought to be avoided.

4.3.2. Institutional factors

Flowing from the structural problems, there are serious institutional challenges to partnership between government and civil society in Nigeria. The first major challenge is how to deal with administrative practices and laws that enthrone secrecy and adhocism in the affairs of government. If citizens are to play a role in governance, institutional arrangements for information on who does what and how in government and society must be in place. Mechanisms for disclosure of information that do not constitute any known security and trade risk are required for democratization of governance. The second institutional problem is the limited space available for civil society participation in the formulation of policies that affect the livelihood of citizens by agencies of government.

Mainstreaming of civil society and other citizens’ based groups in budget work and formulation of public policies is a major institutional challenge in developing countries like Nigeria. Efforts at incorporating views of civil society groups are largely in response to pressures from donors, the World Bank and IMF. Clear roles and terms of engagements need to be defined for government/civil society partnership. The basic problem with depending on external forces to create space for government-civil society interaction is that such spaces are narrow, project-based and ad hoc. The spaces often serve the specific needs of each donor and hardly extend to other aspects of government business. The third challenge is that of raising the intellectual and organizational

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151 R. Hoeven, and F. Kraij, *Structural adjustment and beyond in Sub-Saharan Africa* Op cit
capacities of citizens based group for constructive engagements with government departments and agencies. Government would be more willing to partner with civil society that has capacity for budget work and policy analyses, and the linkages and outlets for disseminating their finding.

Civil societies that are unable to fund its basic operations are generally unable to function well. It is one thing for civil society to make issues out of government perceived failure and quite another to analyze prevailing conditions and come out with useful recommendations for adjustment in public policy. Institutional arrangements for training and funding of civil society are urgently needed.

4.3.3. Social factors

At the social level, the major challenge is that of replacing the mentality of adhocism and trial-and-error with respect for planning and organization. More people need to learn how to respect institutions and abide by their guidance. Government officials need to internalize that civil society have an undeniable role to play in modern democracy, and civil society should accept that partnership and not confrontation, is more useful in their dealings with government. Indeed unlearning absolutism and militarism and learning cooperation and consultation are the major challenges in this regard. At the level of society, there is need to promote communication between citizens based groups and community members.

The level and periodicity of communication between civil society and communities need to be strengthened. It may be necessary to include communication with individuals and communities as a measure of civil society performance; otherwise many civil societies would be alienated from the communities they ought to be representing.\textsuperscript{154} Civil society needs also to build capacity for monitoring how local operators of donor programmes utilize donor fund. Wanting to know how local operators of donor projects and foundations spend their funds and how well the projects are run is both reasonable and necessary, because local operators of donor projects may divert from the original goals of the donor.

In sum, civil societies are essential for good governance and the productive management of public funds. The effectiveness of civil society in this regard depends on their capacity for budget work, and the institutional mechanisms that exist for their active participation in governance. The performance of civil society in independent budget work depends, on the one hand on the technical capacity of civil society and level of coordination among civil society that specialize in budget work, and on the other hand on the readiness of government and budget related institutions to accept civil society as stakeholders in the budget process. At present, civil societies that specialize in budget work are few. More support is required for interested civil society to learn budget work and for network budget monitoring groups to evolve. Legislations are equally required to mainstream civil society into the affairs of government.

\textsuperscript{154} Mr. R. Sulaiman, Second Secretary (Political and Information) Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, on 23 July 2013 at 9a.m
4.4. Role of Civil Society in Leadership in Democratic Republic of Congo

By its nature, civil society can contribute to building and consolidating democracy by fostering political pluralism, engendering democratic values, and enhancing political participation. The democracy discourse on the continent has also been marked by a critical probe into the state and role of civil society organizations in the governance process. A question posed in societies in transition is whether pro-democracy NGOs influence the process and the design of transitional policies and laws?¹⁵⁵

There is a vibrant civil society in DRC. The DRC has a multitude of civil society from human rights groups, women’s groups and youth groups. One of the greatest achievements of the negotiations in the DRC is to have included civil society groups. In fact, civil society has been involved in the struggle for democracy ever since the Mobutu regime.¹⁵⁶ What the transition has done, however has been to politicize civil society by including its influential members into government institutions, Parliament and the Senate. This has further crippled state-society relationship.

Civil society is accused of being politicized and divided along ethnic lines. The divisions were more apparent during the inter-Congolese dialogue. It is first important to state that the most active civil society in the country has always been in Kinshasa. The war in the east of the country has caused this part of the country to develop strong and vibrant groups of civil society.¹⁵⁷ During the negotiations, it was the Kinshasa civil society that was expected to influence the process. Since the process at Sun City was

¹⁵⁶ Mr. Katabana Musafiri First Counsellor, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19th June 2013, at 4 pm
¹⁵⁷ Claude Kabemba (2004). Perspectives on the Role of Key Stakeholders in the DRC’s Political Transition. *EISA Occassional Paper No. 26*
supposed to be inclusive by ensuring regional and political tendencies, the Kinshasa civil society representatives were reduced (manipulated) in favor of the groups from the east.

4.4.1. Multiplicity, Autonomy and Organizational Diversity

The contribution of civil society to pluralism can be assessed on the basis of three criteria: Multiplicity: The multiplicity of a well organized civil society exercises a balancing role by providing a bulwark against despotic tendencies in political life and a defense against oppression. Autonomy: A high degree of autonomy is required for civil society organizations to be effective in influencing the behavior and action of the state actors. Organizational diversity: This allows a wide range of groups and interests to form networks and associations. The capacity of civil society to foster political participation is reflected by its internal structures, in terms of its ability to influence state decision-making and behavior and establish productive relationship with other organizations.

In Congo, civil society has the first characteristic but lack the other two. Although the negotiations gave a significant place to civil society, it did not organize or structure its participation to the extent that civil society reconstituted itself into political parties which entered into alliance with political groups to forge a common position on the outcome of the negotiations. This, there is no doubt defeated the whole purpose of including civil society. The Pretoria Agreement further weakened civil society by allowing it to take part in the institutions of transition such as the government, Parliament and the Senate.

158 Mr. Yoga Komagazani, Second Counsellor, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19th June 2013, at 2 pm
society which was already politicized and sidelined under Mobutu and Laurent Kabila has emerged not as watchdog but as a strong contender for political power.\textsuperscript{159} During and in the post Inter-Congolese Dialogue, civil society leaders have positioned themselves in such a way that they cannot simply be ignored as serious contenders for political power. The importance and strength of civil society does not simply come from the text of the Accords, which allow it to be part of the transitional institutions, it also comes from its provincial and ethnic positioning.

Civil society’s ethnic and political character is stronger than its watchdog mission and political leaders have come to realize that ignoring its presence is perilous. In fact in Congo civil society is treated as a political actor. Civil society, as seen in other countries on the continent, is expected in this kind of transition to propose more creative policy options. Civil society is very reactive, militant, and invests very little in knowledge creation. There is no debate to accompany the transition. It seems politicians have been given \textit{carte blanche} to implement a transition molded to their own liking. In other countries on the continent the independence, the strength, pluralism of civil society and its ability to unite in a broad front, has been the critical factor that has shaped democratic change.\textsuperscript{160} In the DRC, civil society groups, by partaking in the distribution of political power, have lost their legitimacy in the process. There are still however, groups outside Parliament that have remained vigilant in monitoring the work of the transitional institutions. For example, La Ligue des Electeurs (LE) and Women as Partners for Peace (WOPPA) fiercely opposed Parliament during the adoption of the IEC and the Truth and

\textsuperscript{159} Mr. Tshinkobo Mulamba, First Secretary, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19\textsuperscript{th} June 2013, at 11 pm
Reconciliation Committee’s organic laws. Both la Ligue des Electeurs and WOPPA succeeded in influencing Parliament to consider their views in its deliberations.

4.4.2. Civil Society in Transition Process

In DRC, the civil society has played an important role in the transition process. It was the civil society which demanded and obtained the organization of the National Sovereign Conference. After the signature of the Lusaka agreement, they took action once again to ensure that the Inter-Congolese Dialogue of Sun City in South Africa went ahead, which in turn gave rise to the global inclusive agreement, which was the reference framework within which the transition process took place.\(^{161}\) Alongside the transition process, civil society also played a key role in the drafting of the PRGSP, which became the main reference framework for all the reform policies in DRC. In a country in which the means of communication are almost non-existent or totally dilapidated, it is the civil society in DRC which carried out consultations with around 35,000 people throughout the country, to determine how poverty is perceived by the population. The DRC does not have well organized membership organizations because of the politics of repression towards civil organizations during Mobutu’s rule. Labor movements, professional associations and student movements play a key role in the promotion of democracy. It must be recognized that the political culture permeating the political parties is also rampant in the NGO world. Many Congolese NGOs are replicas of the former MPR—Mobutu’s party.\(^{162}\) They all have Presidents who set the rules and replacement procedures. If they are accountable at all, it is to the donors. Even here, fake receipts of

\(^{161}\) Mr. Tshinkobo Mulamba, First Secretary, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19\(^{th}\) June 2013, at 11 pm

work done are usually submitted. Some NGOs, as are many political parties, are simply briefcase institutions. It is incumbent upon civil society especially the so called NGOs, to take a critical look at itself and put its house in order if its criticism of others is to acquire moral force and credibility. Self-regulation is also the best way of keeping the government interference at bay. In spite of their limited resources, the contributions by the civil society organizations towards the holding of the elections, as well as at institutional, socioeconomic and political lobbying levels, both during and after the Transition, were certainly of an essential nature. Some civil societies with the greatest humanitarian and institutional capacities played their role of opposition with determination. This was especially the case with the CNONG, which has coordinated the operations of the NGOs in DRC since 1990. However, amid this profusion of organizations, many have had to face up to acute problems which reduce their potential for action.

Among these problems, the following should be mentioned: At the level of internal governance, there are limited democratic practices, especially in terms of decision-making and the nomination of office holders. In addition, shortcomings in the mobilization and management of human, material and financial resources are prevalent. There is also strong reliance on outside assistance. At the level of influence, there is lack of a joint consultation framework with their bi- and multilateral partners on the one hand and the national and provincial governments on the other. Inability to take into account

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163 Mr. Tshinkobo Mulamba, First Secretary, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19th June 2013, at 11 pm
the gender dimension in the operation of their organizational structures is another problem.\textsuperscript{164}

In terms of impact, most of their activities are still of a formal, unreliable nature, which prevents them from putting their full weight behind the fight against the spread of poverty and the decision-making process at public level.

4.5. Civil Society, Democratic Consolidation and Constitutional Reforms in Nigeria and DRC

Nigeria and DRC are emerging democracies, but they are still weak, vulnerable, and inefficient. This means that they need to be strengthened and consolidated. How can the civil society contribute to democratic consolidation in Nigeria and DRC? It is important that the definition of ‘democratic consolidation’ be given. Democracy can only be said to be consolidated when the prospect of reversing to authoritarianism is impossible. That can only be achieved if the democracy is made stable, vibrant, efficient, and accountable. The process of democratic consolidation is inherently complex. However, the first condition is that all stakeholders must commit to democracy. It is essential that political elites commit to democracy by having faith in democratic principles. The elites include politicians, top decision makers, top government officials, organizational leaders, private sector leaders, and influential opinion shapers.\textsuperscript{165} If these individuals are committed to democracy, a reversal to authoritarianism will be very difficult. Commitment to democracy means that these individuals must act in accordance


\textsuperscript{165} Larry Diamond, Development Democracy: Toward Consolidation, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999, p. 218-230
to democratic norms. For instance, they should not support policies that restrict political participation, stifle or violate human rights and freedoms, to maintain political supremacy.

Secondly, democracy can only be said to be consolidated when a majority of a country’s citizenry believe that democracy, as a form of governance, is suitable for them at that particular time. In emerging democracies like African countries, this belief is not firmly entrenched in the public mind. This means that groups can be manipulated or encouraged to engage in violence or adopt various non-democratic methods to fight for their cause.

Finally, to achieve democratic consolidation, organizations and groups such as political parties, civil society organizations, interest groups, and social movements must commit to democracy by playing a role in checking, monitoring, and restraining excessive use of state power. These organizations must hold the state accountable. This can reduce political corruption, and nurture accountable, transparent, and responsive governance.

In Nigeria and DRC, the civil society has played a vital role in making the elites and mass public to be more commitment to democracy by consistently disseminating democratic principles and ideas. Again, in emerging democracies, voluntary political participation is always rare due to political indifference and apathy. The civil society stimulated political participation by encouraging people to get involved in politics, particularly as voters in elections. The civil society has to be more active in stimulating political awareness of the mass public. It has been convincing the general population that political participation gives them the ability to protect their own interests. High rates of
political participation strengthen the legitimacy and institutionalization of democratic governance.

The civil societies in Nigeria and DRC represent the interests and assert the rights and power of the people. The fact that many interest groups are loosely organized makes them unable to articulate their interests effectively. For this reason, the civil society can assist these interest groups by empowering them to fight more effectively for their interests. However, for the civil society to succeed in consolidating democracy, it must be independent, autonomous, and able to resist manipulation by business and state interests. Only a strong and reliable civil society has the capacity to represent the interests of the people and hold the state accountable for excessive use of power. The civil society must be strong and assertive. In the same vein, governments and businesses, while offering financial support to the civil society, should not try to co-opt them and restrict their autonomy. In fact, the autonomy of the civil society should not be violated. African governments should understand that the role of the civil society is to encourage the development of governance that is legitimate, honest, transparent, accountable, and responsive to public demands.

On the other hand, while the role of the civil society is recognized and it is generally agreed that they play an important role in the development of any state; the reality is that civil society organizations do not operate in a vacuum. CSOs need to interact with the state and the business community if they are to achieve the objectives of improving leadership and governance in Africa. In doing this, there is need for the civil

167 Larry Diamond, Development Democracy: Toward Consolidation, Op cit
society to understand that they cannot be an alternative to the government. While it is recommended that they should be independent and autonomous, these attributes should not be used as an excuse not to engage with the government. Independence and autonomy cannot be used as an excuse where there are poor relations between the government and the civil society. In fact, cooperation between the government and civil society should be encouraged. In light of this, the civil society should strive to institutionalize their relations with the state through legislations.

The civil society cannot achieve much if they continue to operate via the stand-alone approach when dealing with the government. Civil society organizations should find each other and organize in order to create a formidable force. By coming together, they strengthen ties and when they group regional and national entities, they can create representative bodies that are more efficient in pushing the overall civil society agenda. The call for good relations is important because clearly, many civil society groups and their goals are greatly disliked and misunderstood by governments. Through cooperation and dialogue, it is possible that strategies, policies, and rules of engagement can be developed to further enhance the call for good leadership and governance.

Regarding the constitutional reforms, the constitution lies at the centre of leadership and governance reform. Perhaps it’s the issue of how constitutional reform may be approached and managed which throws into the question of how the state can work with the civil society to ensure the success of such a process\textsuperscript{168}. In Nigeria and DRC, the civil society has played an instrumental role in pressuring the government to

institute constitutional reforms. There have been cases where disagreements between the state and the civil society have resulted in acrimony and polarization during the process of constitution-making. The overall outcome of such processes is always the rejection of the government-sponsored draft constitution for various reasons, including its content\textsuperscript{169}.

Where such consensus and ownership are lacking, the legitimacy of the reform process is thrown into doubt. Currently, the leadership in the state and civil society does not appear self confident and far-sighted enough to engage in such dialogue, which could result in building bridges between themselves.

Again, the need for democratic mechanisms and structures, whether in the state or the civil society, demands a sound constitutional arrangement. For structural arrangements to work in a democratic manner there is need for a good constitution that clearly spells out checks and balances. The need for civil society to be governed by constitutions is important for the creation of appropriate leadership arrangements and relevant environment. A constitution spells out visions, ways as well as the relevant checks and balances in a democratic manner.\textsuperscript{170} It implies that without a sound constitutional framework, the civil society cannot achieve the desire to create an environment that nurtures leadership and fosters good governance.

4.6. Criticism of Leadership and Governance in Nigeria and DRC

The theoretical framework of this study which is postmodernism affirms the diversity of human society, and is characterized by a perspective that is essentially critical

\textsuperscript{169} Mr. R. Sulaiman, Second Secretary (Political and Information) Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, on 23 July 2013 at 9a.m

of excessive concentration of power, tight governance and narrow-scoped decision-making approaches and embraces principles such as consultation and shared leadership, inclusion and participation, respect for others, diversity, tolerance of/ patience with ambiguity, shared decision-making and affirmation of diverse giftedness.\textsuperscript{171} However Nigeria and DRC have against this background experienced authoritarian rule in the last three decades and their leaders use power as an end in itself, rather than for the public good; they are uninterested to the progress of their citizens although concerned to receive their reverence; they are untouched by reason and employ ill-intentioned social or tribal ideologies; and they always shifting blame for their countries’ distress.\textsuperscript{172}

Postmodernism is also responsible for the new emphasis on collaboration and a customized approaches to state running and service delivery by virtue of its critique of totalitarism, unaccountability, political clientelism and the attempts to define experience through the narrow prism of those in dominant positions and emphasizes the ‘allowability’ of free play and autonomy within the context of discourse towards finding solutions for the improvement of human society.\textsuperscript{173} However Leaders in Nigeria and DRC not only personalized power but also privatized the state for the purpose of personal wealth accumulation, clientelism, repression and all forms of opposition. Instead of using the state for initiating development, they utilized it as a vehicle for terrorizing the citizenry, thereby leading to the disengagement of the populace from the public realm.\textsuperscript{174}

The main problem in Nigeria and DRC is the unwillingness or the inability of the

\textsuperscript{172} David Adejuwon, Department Of Political Sciences, Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos State, Nigeria
\textsuperscript{174} D. Agbaje and Y. Roberts, \textit{Meeting the Challenge of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria}, Ibadan: NISER, 2000, p 154
leadership to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmark of true leadership. What is lacking there is effective leadership with political will and selfless dedication to galvanize their entire nations. The two countries are handicapped by their pervasive tendency—even preference not to combine their potential strengths and physical resources with effective leadership for the uplifting of their nations. Too often every effort is tainted by ethnic, tribal, and even religious considerations. The leadership in Nigeria and DRC has elected a divergent course of history; to bequeath their posterity a legacy in which it will be left to them to dig the foundation of true nations, rather than being able to build on the foundation which they ought rightly to have inherited from their leadership.

The leadership has failed to develop institutions that would translate independence into popular democracy and liberty, and to accommodate dissent and tap the energies of the people for economic and social development. Under the stewardship of these leaders, infrastructure in those two countries has fallen into poor condition, currencies have depreciated, and real prices have inflated dramatically, while job availability, health care, education standards, and life expectancy have declined. Ordinary life has become stressed: general security has deteriorated, crime and corruption have increased, and much-needed public funds have flowed into hidden bank accounts, and officially sanctioned ethnic discrimination—sometimes resulting in civil war—has become prevalent.

While in a postmodern era, a larger number of people are expected to participate in leadership, not just those who hold power in order to create a culture in which there are

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175 Joseph Garba Fractured History: Elite Shifts and Policy Changes in Nigeria, in Foreign Affairs, March/April 1996 Issue
176 Afegbua Aboubacar, Political Adviser to the Governor, Lagos State House
different approaches to the practice of governance, new styles of leadership and diverse approaches in the exercise of power, in Nigeria and DRC, people’s voices are not heard by policy makers and groups have been marginalized and they do not participate in the process of leadership.\footnote{Onyema Nkwocha, \textit{Effective Leadership in Nigeria: Practical Ways to Building an Effective, Inspiring, Transformational and Visionary Leadership and Governance in Nigeria}, Bloomington: AuthorHouse Publishing, 2012, pp 103-104} The average people in these two countries look upon their countries as the theatre and the entire population representing and manifesting the full spectrum of acts and actors. Life is the theatre; the nation is the stage upon which the leadership performs. The politicians and very often the military are the actors very often mediocre from time to time and the people become the audience since politics for them remains a spectator-sport. It is not for them to participate; theirs is to applaud; what is inconceivable in a postmodern era\footnote{Ibid} The nature of the leadership style operational in Nigeria and DRC today since the military rules is in contradiction with postmodern perspective. The root causes of the current leadership malaise in those two countries as Garba rightly puts it, emanate from the seminal absence of intellectual rigor in the political thought of the founding fathers and the absence of objectivity at the critical moment of the nations’ formation.\footnote{Joseph Garba Fractured History: Elite Shifts and Policy Changes in Nigeria, in \textit{Foreign Affairs}, Opcit}

In sum, it has been established that despite their abundant natural resources, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo have been run into the ground due to lack of cooperation and collaboration between the leadership and the people.

Ultimately, this situation raises questions about the practice of governance, leadership, power and the arrangements pertaining to the structure of organizations and societies. It is against a background such as this that this study seeks to make a
contribution to the question of how to organize institutions and in particular, states in order that the higher order priorities of development may be achieved. These higher order priorities include the preparation of leaders for constructive engagement, as shapers and influencers of the world in which they live.

4.7. Criticism of Civil Society Functions in DRC and Nigeria

The theoretical framework of this study acknowledges the importance of civil society to democracy and policy development and aligns with the understanding that pressures for political reform and change should emanate from within domestic societies as citizens have to mobilize to rid themselves of the military and one-party structures that have buttressed illegitimate power. The theoretical framework recognizes that the context, in which leaders operate today, is fluid and the cultural ethos is constantly changing. Therefore the popular forces have to capture the political initiative from state elites: thus the importance of the civil society. Consequently, the most important values for the construction of civil society are trust, reciprocity, tolerance, and inclusion. These values are promoted by citizens who actively seek to participate in public affairs.

Although civil society functions in Nigeria and DRC are positive and constructive, clearly many civil society actors might not fulfill one or more of these functions but develop uncivil behaviors, preach hatred against others, act violently and destroy life or property. Associations and organizations cannot only be destructive in their behavior but can also have both integrative and disintegrative potentials. On the ground knowledge and sound analysis is required to determine the nature of actors and

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the functions they perform. Belloni provides a range of examples from where civil society actors focused only on strengthening their bonding ties, based on a sense of belonging and kinship that were later channeled destructively. He presumes that the less bridging ties are built the more likely is influence to be detrimental. Although additional research is needed on the conditions under which civil society organizations act positively or negatively, it is important to keep in mind the potential for detrimental effects by civil society actors. It was also evident that constructive civil society functions are not exclusively provided by civil society actors in DRC and Nigeria. They can and are also provided by others. Protection for example should be mainly provided by the state, the judiciary and law enforcement authorities. Equally, democratic attitudes are not only learned in voluntary associations, but also in the classroom, family or community.

The study also established that the constructive civil society functions do not describe the enabling environment in which they operate. As noted before, civil society should not replace the state but rather improve the interplay of citizens with the state. Thus, it needs to be kept in mind, that especially where the state is fragile or authoritarian, external support may need to focus, at least initially, on improving the enabling environment for civil society. This might encompass capacity building for state structures or enforcement of the rule of law.

Service delivery functions by civil societies in DRC aim to improve the political interplay between the political and economic systems, and the people, thus ensuring

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democratic, participatory decision-making in society. Although organizations executing civil society functions generally also provide services to their members or to clients, the model used centers on the political functions or objectives. Thus, service delivery as a function is questioned and mainly considered as an entry point for political civil society functions, but the latter should be based on a careful assessment of whether the specific service is indeed a good entry point for the wider functions and objectives of civil society.

Civil society organizations play a norm-setting role concerned with the nature and limits of state power and the rules governing its functioning. Since these organizations operate in the public realm, they can possess ethnic, religious, professional, gender, environmental, human rights, trade/labor unions, or prodemocracy attributes. They may also be students, youth, or media organizations. However, it is important to reiterate that political parties and the private sector are not regarded as civil society organizations. It was discovered that the civil society organizations in Nigeria and DRC continue to be afflicted by a number of structural weaknesses, especially the elite nature of formalized civil society, its relationship with the state, politicization of civil society organizations, and financial dependence on foreign donors. Civil society is a reaction to external pressures and the prerequisite grassroots empowerment often lacks in the activities of the civil society.

There are concerns that there are two faces of the civil society. For instance, while one face opposes the state and furthers the democratization movement, the other seeks accommodation with the repressive state. Therefore the civil society can be understood as

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a diverse space including the good, bad, and ugly. Thus, the struggle for democratic development not only involves a conflict between the civil society and the state but also within the civil society itself for its own democratization.\textsuperscript{183} This is because the civil society can only impact on the democratization process if it is itself democratized.

To be democratic, the organization must be representative, accountable, pluralistic, and must respect human rights. No civil society organization can achieve its democratizing role if it fails to comply with and uphold democratic principles and norms. It was discovered that a civil society that is not democratized cannot inspire change. It therefore comes as no surprise that the civil society in Nigeria and DRC has failed to create an environment that nurtures the development of leaders that value transparency and accountability and are guided by sound governance principles.

Only effective civil society organizations can act as catalysts for change. It is no doubt that there are countless civil society organizations that strive to enhance good governance in African countries. They perform various functions in education, health, politics, and a plethora of governance issues and play a significant role in social stability and development. However, the civil society is confronted with serious challenges that impede their effectiveness and keep them rooted in mundane activities that often lead to their demise.

The failures of the civil society in Nigeria and DRC are intimately linked to the challenges facing their existence and operations. The challenges may vary from one country to the other due to differences in political and economic contexts, institutional

\textsuperscript{183} P. van Tongeren et al, \textit{People Building Peace II, Successful Stories of Civil Society}, Opcit
history, international contacts, and their values and visions that attract and inspire popular support. Challenges may be internal or external. With respect to internal challenges, the main factors that have been responsible for the failure of the civil society in Nigeria and DRC are narrow focus, amateurism, resource scarcities, fragmentation, and parochialism. These factors make it difficult for the civil society to achieve its role.\textsuperscript{184} With regard to the restricted focus, the civil society sector is composed of very many diverse groups that articulate different values and serve different constituencies. While the capacity to respond to diverse interests is one of the biggest strengths of the civil society movement, it makes individual civil society organizations to be unresponsive to interests that are outside their particular interests.

This means that even though the number of these organizations may run in their millions, they cannot serve wider groups because of particularism. For instance, a civil society organization that focuses on alleviating poverty through novel agricultural activities in the village may not actively participate in the promotion of leadership and governance change being spearheaded by a civil society organization that mainly focuses on advocacy for political change.\textsuperscript{185}

Again amateurism is one of the challenges that negatively affect the performance of the civil society. Many civil society organizations rely on volunteers who may not have the technical competence to fully understand or steer programs. Even if the volunteers are professionals, they may not fully commit to the cause. On the other hand,

\textsuperscript{184} Mr. Tshinkobo Mulamba, First Secretary, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19\textsuperscript{th} June 2013, at 11 pm
\textsuperscript{185} Mr. K. Musa, Senior Counselor (Multilateral and Economic), Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, 22 July 2013, at 10am.
amateurism also negatively affects the quality of leadership. While some founders of successful civil society initiatives have the ability to mobilize support, many are amateurs when it comes to organizing and managing these organizations.

In most cases, the human resource needs of the civil society are often underestimated. This underestimation has resource implications. Usually, the number of people with the capacity, critical perspective and inclination to be activists and administrators of civil society organizations are always in short supply. To become an effective activist one has to be driven by compassion and conviction rather than wealth. One has to have a deep understanding and concern about injustices and dedication to pursuing reforms. In many African countries in general, and in Nigeria and DRC in particular, to be an activist and to maintain advocacy work, one must have guts and activism usually entails personal costs. On the other hand, civil organization work is currently more policy driven. This means that the civil society must tap individuals who have knowledge in key issues affecting leadership and governance. Professionalism is needed to achieve CSO work. However, these same individuals are being targeted by the government and other business institutions. In a situation where the civil society suffers from financial resource constraints, it means that it is becoming more and more difficult to tackle human resource challenges.\(^{186}\)

Another reason for failures in the civil society in Nigeria and DRC is the scarcity of material resources. Those who contribute to the activities of the civil society do so simply because they support the values and visions of these organizations. However, civil

\(^{186}\) Mr. Tshinkobo Mulamba, First Secretary, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19th June 2013, at 11 pm
society organizations do not have the ability to command material commitments that can support large scale and long term initiatives. In the same vein, these organizations cannot expand and continue providing services such as public education and awareness campaigns if they don’t receive funding support from the state, development NGOs, or international donors. In the absence of these funds, the civil society cannot sustain efforts to nurture and develop leadership and governance structures to guide emerging leaders.

This lack of resources often forces civil society organizations to limit the scope of their activities or accept string-attached resources. For example, if a civil society organization accepts funds from the government, then they will be forced to play according to the rules set by the government. Support from international donors is often accompanied with strict procedures and standards as well as burdensome accounting requirements. Heavy reliance on international donors also means that the civil society is forced to desist from heavy criticisms of donor policies. The tension between the ability of the civil society to obtain resources and its ability to operate independently remains a huge dilemma.  

The way that the civil society organizations are tied to the donors poses a threat to the sustainability and has a direct impact on the nature of leadership as the collective action or inter-relationships between its leaders. Funding has become extremely politicized and in some cases inhibits the evolution and sustainability of democratic internal structures.

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187 Mr. Tshinkobo Mulamba, First Secretary, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19th June 2013, at 11 pm
Another issue is that there are hundreds of thousands of civil society actors. Different actors are organized around different values and visions. While the diversity is laudable, there have been complaints that there’s duplication of efforts and lack of coordination and synergy. Because these organizations literally fight over scarce resources, they remain fragmented and often lose of opportunities for sharing and learning from each other. Fragmentation also means that they cannot coordinate programs together or join forces to influence actors such as the government. Finally, fragmentation also makes individual civil society actors to be very vulnerable to manipulation by various resource providers who may have different agendas for the civil society sector.

Narrow-mindedness, has also led to the failure of the civil society. Since every actor has its own visions and missions and engages in resource mobilization to ensure a better delivery; the commitment to these values sometimes makes it impossible for these organizations to engage with others with different perspectives. Ideological parochialism creates attitudes that make it difficult or impossible for one actor to recognize or act on common interests even in scenarios where mutual gains exist. This means that despite their number, civil society organizations have failed to create a platform that can inspire the development of a new generation of leaders.

The external challenges are public legitimacy and accountability, government regulations, political space, and business relations. This list is not exhaustive, but it helps in illustrating potential problems. With regard to public legitimacy and accountability, it is known that the civil society is accepted in many countries. However, there is very little
public understanding or recognition of the legitimacy of these organizations. Because of this, they are vulnerable to attacks – sometimes from within the civil society itself. There are legal systems that legitimize the existence of the civil society, their regulation, and obligations. In many African countries, there is no clear, coherent, and supportive regulations that support the activities of the sector hence they are defenseless against arbitrary intrusions and rulings by state actors. They can be deregistered if they threaten the interests of the state. In other countries, they are used by the state as implementers of state programs rather than participants in dialogue between the citizens and the state.

The NGO sector as a whole has shifted away from its initial focus on promoting political mobilization and accountable government, to the apolitical delivery of basic services. In essence, even though various studies have established that poverty, economic mismanagement, human rights violations, gender and environmental issues, are directly caused by poor leadership and governance; the civil society had opted to help the victims through service delivery rather than mobilizing them to actively participate in the political process and fight for their rights and freedoms. This needs-based model has been criticized because it negatively affects the capacity of poor people to organize themselves. For instance, various scholars have observed that while poverty reduction programs are meant to give poor people economic empowerment, it is the NGO

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188 Mr. Tshinkobo Mulamba, First Secretary, Embassy of DRC in Kenya, on 19th June 2013, at 11 pm
189 Mr. R. Sulaiman, Second Secretary (Political and Information) Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, on 23 July 2013 at 9 a.m
personnel and local leaders that get empowered while the poor remain disempowered and marginalized. 190

With regard to the political space, the relation between the government and the civil society is complex and is often a source of conflicts. In Africa, many governments are suspicious of the activities of the civil society and view them as competitors in the delivery of services to the citizenry. Since they receive funding from international donors, they are perceived as watchdogs and challenges of state policies and actions. In dictatorial regimes, the civil society is viewed as potential threat to state power. If they heavily criticize the government, they may become targets of government wrath. 191

Owing to these factors, the civil society is forced to develop strategies for dealing with the government and engaging in the political space. As a result, it is not surprising to find civil society organizations engaging in low profile work that draws little attention, or cooperatively working with and implementing government programs. 192 In a nutshell, the nature of these relations imply that the civil society cannot effectively participate in the development of an environment that nurtures the emergence of a new generation of leaders committed to good leadership and sound governance principles.

However, this does not mean that the state-civil society relations have been constant. An examination of the civil society in Nigeria and DRC shows that the relations have been fluid and have been constantly changing historically. There have been times when there has been cooperation, other times it has been adversity. For example, during

190 Mr. F. E. Azuike, Counselor (Political and Information), Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, 22 July 2013, at 3pm.
191 Ibid
192 Ibid
the independence liberation struggles there was cooperation between civil society and the state, however with the coming to force of one-party states, the relationship became one of suspicion. Currently, some states are establishing legislations that make it easy to control the activities of civil society, while in other cases laws are being crafted to create a strong regulatory environment. These laws are a reflection of the political context of every country and in some cases, the legislations repress the activities of the civil society hence undermining the agitation for good leadership and sound governance development.

The last external challenge is the nature of civil society cooperation with the business community. The private sector is a major provider of resources to the civil society. However, by working too closely with businesses, they risk being co-opted to market interests. While businesses may not work to influence civil society organizations, they always attack organizations that directly threaten their interests. For example, consumer advocacy groups may be persuaded, bribed, intimidated, or coerced to abandon their agitation.\textsuperscript{193}

These challenges are daunting. It means that the civil society can only remain important actors as long as they continue to act on the margins of social development. As soon as they begin to become central players for social, political, and economic transformation, the obstacles increase. In essence, they are unable to maximally engage in leadership and governance development initiatives.

\textsuperscript{193} Mr. R. Sulaiman, Second Secretary, (Political and Information), Nigeria High Commission in Kenya, on 23 July 2013 at 9a.m.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

We live in a world of continuous changes. Changes create fears and insecurity as well as challenges and possibilities. What continues to differentiate successful countries from others is that in the latter, their leaders failed to anticipate changes and respond to them effectively. There is no doubt that the problems that currently confront Africa are complex and deep-rooted in Africa’s history. However, it can be stated that Africa is poor, underdeveloped, and home to many problems because leaders have failed to respond to changes and challenges and exploit opportunities effectively. Africa in general and Nigeria and DRC in particular continue to suffer from inappropriate policies, bad governance, and corrupt leaders.

5.1. The importance of Civil Society to Leadership in Africa

The study indicated that over the years, the civil society has become associated with advocacy for change because they play an important role in influencing policy. The process of democratization is based on the premise that when people’s voices are heard by policy makers or when groups that have been marginalized begin to participate in the process of leadership development and advocating for sounds governance. The civil society has become a significant player in advocating policy changes and voicing the need for governance and greater transparency. To gain greater levels of political accountability, the civil society promotes regular and open sanctioning or rewarding those who hold public office. The system of balances must target the executive,
legislative, as well as the judicial branches in government. Citizens’ voice in the society and participation in politics makes it possible for the people to connect with leaders who represent them. Politicians are only accountable if they are willing to justify their actions and accept electoral, legal, and administrative penalties if they are unable to justify their actions.

In essence, accountability must have “the quality of answerability”; that is, the citizens right to receive relevant information and explanation regarding the actions of their leaders. Accountability must also have “the quality of enforceability”; that is, the right to impose sanctions if it is deemed appropriate. Through elections, citizens get the right to question a candidate’s record and enforce their decision by either voting them in or out. 194

The civil society empowers citizens to influence policymaking by aligning their interests and calling for political accountability. The civil society amplifies citizen voices and coordinates coalitions so as to overcome problems associated with collective actions. The civil society can also mediate on behalf of the citizenry to redress leadership problems and demand greater transparency and accountability.

However, it is also important to understand that it is very difficult to attain participatory, transparent, and accountable governance structures. This is because there is lack of strong leadership institutions in Africa and very few leaders are willing to open up the political space or relinquish power easily. Therefore, the civil society is one of the social forces created to compel the political leaders. Social mobilization can only be achieved through the establishment, organization, strengthening, and empowerment of

194 Ossrea, Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa, Op cit
the civil society. A strong civil society has a stronger bargaining power.\textsuperscript{195} There are various strategies that are employed by the civil society. These include education, persuasion, collaboration, litigation, and confrontation. Through education, the civil society has been responsible for the development of various information sources, analysis, and policy alternatives. Education is carried out mainly through workshops, conferences, and initiation of various projects that focus on leadership and governance in the local communities.\textsuperscript{196} With regard to persuasion, the civil society continually acts as a pressure group that presses for policy changes and showing public support. Most of these pressure groups attempt to convince the government and leaders on the need for enacting legislations that promote quality leadership and sound governance while tackling the negative effects of poor leadership and governance. Again, persuasion occurs in meetings, workshops, and conferences. The pressure groups can also use lobbying, demonstrations, and even strikes to try to effect desired changes.\textsuperscript{197}

The civil society can also collaborate with the government and existing institutional mechanisms. They develop good and amicable relationships with different stakeholders. Through such collaborations, they can call for transparency. Because such relationships are based on mutual trust, the civil society can then discuss with leaders in order to share intentions, interests, needs, goals and agendas. By building trust and relationships, collaboration has the ability to inspire quality leadership and sound governance. Litigation is another strategy that is often used by the civil society to advocate for change. When a civil society organization feels like the leaders have broken

\textsuperscript{195} J. Burnell and P. Civil Society in Democratization, London; Frank Cass, 2004, p. 32
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid
\textsuperscript{197} Ibid
or misapplied any laws of the land, they can open litigation in a court of law to try to legally solve the case. Finally, confrontation can also be used as a strategy to advocate for change. Confrontation involves protests which maybe tactically radical such as violent demonstrations, destroying property, and many others. In most cases, confrontations lead to a sour relationship between the civil society and the government or leaders who are opposed to the changes that the civil society is advocating for.  

The study has demonstrated that only effective civil society organizations can act as catalysts for change. It is no doubt that there are countless civil society organizations that strive to enhance good governance in African countries. They perform various functions in education, health, politics, and a plethora of governance issues and play a significant role in social stability and development. However, the civil society is confronted with serious challenges that impede their effectiveness and keep them rooted in mundane activities that often lead to their demise.

The failures of the civil society are intimately linked to the challenges facing their existence and operations. The challenges may vary from one country to the other due to differences in political and economic contexts, institutional history, international contacts, and their values and visions that attract and inspire popular support. Challenges may be internal or external. With respect to internal, the main factors that have been responsible for the failure of the civil society are narrow focus, amateurism, resource scarcities, fragmentation, and parochialism. These factors make it difficult for the civil society to achieve its role.

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199 Ibid
With regard to the restricted focus, the civil society sector is composed of very many diverse groups that articulate different values and serve different constituencies. While the capacity to respond to diverse interests is one of the biggest strengths of the civil society movement, it makes individual civil society organizations to be unresponsive to interests that are outside their particular interests. This means that even though the number of these organizations may run in their millions, they cannot serve wider groups because of particularism. For instance, a civil society organization that focuses on alleviating poverty through novel agricultural activities in the village may not actively participate in the promotion of leadership and governance change being spearheaded by a civil society organization that mainly focuses on advocacy for political change.  

The civil society must develop sustainable strategies for dealing with human resource constraints. The civil society must deal with leadership issues, recruit and retail talent, and manage and develop people to meet the changing demands of the policy environment. They should develop strategies to tackle short term funding which causes vulnerability and curb brain drain and strain.

The persistent negative images of Africa, as a continent in deep trouble, and Africans as people who are unable to solve their own problems is unhealthy and potentially damaging. If Africa cannot challenge these images, then these images will continue to mislead the world and cause many Young Africans to continue doubting their own capabilities and self esteem, and thus undermine their role as levers for change and agents that can provide a better alternative future for Africa. The net result is that Africa must

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build its requisite capabilities now and respond to its marginalization from world activities. Africa must accelerate its participation in trade and politics, science and technology.

While the civil society has existed in Africa for decades now, and even though their efforts, are laudable, they have been unable to inspire leadership and governance change in Africa. Conflicts over resources and post election violence continue to affect many African countries. The net result is that even though the civil society has the potential to inspire the emergence of a new generation of leaders, there is need for a new approach; a new way of doing things.

There is a general agreement that the civil society is responsible for profound social change, and can play an instrumental role in leadership and governance development. Accordingly, civil society needs to push for economic reforms, call for accountability and transparency, promote human rights protection, deliver services, combat social exclusion and inequalities, and above all it is responsible for building constituencies for poverty-reduction, sustainable development and international cooperation. It is this form of participation in fostering progress and development, and more precisely in promoting good leadership and sound governance that has been the focus of this study. The emphasis is mainly on civil society as “a universal expression of collective life of individuals”\textsuperscript{201}. Civil society is viewed simply as a means of achieving the ‘Good Society’.

The civil society plays a role in democratization. Because civil society manufactures political consent, it is the source of the legitimation of state power. The right of any elite to exercise state power is ultimately dependent upon popular acceptance. This consensus; the key political resource for those who wish to rule, is manufactured by the institutions of civil society. In this way, civil society serves the "hegemonic" function of justifying state domination. For as long as civic actors grant consent, civil society exists in a complementary relationship to the state.

Over time, however, citizens may come to perceive that ruling elites are abusing the power granted them. A few brave individuals may launch an oppositional critique which, when circumstances permit, is taken up and popularized in informal social movements and perhaps eventually by leaders of established institutions. This discourse can vary in depth of opposition; it may criticize the foibles of particular incumbents, implicate the regime of governance that such leaders represent, or even question the structure of state power. But, in all cases, the functions of domination and hegemony become separated and counter-posed.

For the leadership to have an impact on the democratization process, it is essential that civil society organizations have adequate human and financial resources. While we appreciate the fact that significant funding will be required for coordination, participatory research analysis, and advocacy activities for grassroots organizations, it is also important that donors who provide support to CSOs prioritize on funding existing leadership structures rather than building expansive bureaucratic structures. There should be active efforts to move from voluntary leadership strategy to professional leadership. This is
because advocacy for change, especially in governance requires individuals with a wealth of knowledge to confront emerging challenges.

Therefore, through leadership training, the leaders of civil society organizations will ensure that both the coordination and the pace of these organizations’ development are not imposed by external factors. In fact, the organizations’ leadership should be effective with its relations with donors and other external influences by promoting consensus building built on trust. Again, to have access to best practices in leadership, the civil society should establish leadership networks.

For civil society organizations to play their role in an efficient manner, they must themselves be democratic and motivated by broader social concern. Civil society in the DRC must consider instituting non-statutory self-regulatory mechanisms to engender a spirit of trust from government. A Code of Conduct would ensure that civil society is wary of indulging in party politics. Such a code must be constituted by civil society itself and should ideally not carry the force of law to avoid abuse by governments. Institutionalized standards, clear-cut lines of authority and responsibility need to be established to avoid unnecessary competition and rivalry between coalitions and organizations.

Finally, independence of DRC and Nigeria may not guarantee durable leadership; the government of the DRC should realize that it has enormous responsibility of revamping a war torn DRC and should practically demonstrate the capacity to run all inclusive government that can transform the people; formulate and implement policies trajectory to sustainable growth. It is the researcher’s opinion that achieving these tasks is largely dependent on successful peace building. This is because neither a legitimate state
nor efforts for stable peace can be founded on a political settlement or government that leaves a population at risk of asymmetric or extreme violence.

5.2 Conclusion

Africa has an unpleasant post-colonial history. The first generation of leaders, though deservedly kept the new African states from fragmenting, many post-independence leaders did not practice what they preached against the colonialists towards their own peoples. Many became dictators and presided over institutional corruption that ran for decades and denied African nations the capital engine for growth and development. To contain dissent and maintain their stranglehold on political power, many engaged in flawed elections and used their power to build vast networks of political patronage. Evidence of outrageous human rights violations abound; from political repression, restrictions of freedom of association, and denial of political choice. Autocratic regimes from Nigeria to DRC have over the decades imprisoned, banished, or physically eliminated opponents. Military regimes have ruled in those countries examined in the case studies presented.

The civil society as avenues can be exploited to inspire quality leadership and sound governance in Africa in general and in Nigeria and DRC in particular. The study agrees that as “the arena, outside the family, the state and the market where people associate to advance common interests”;²⁰² the civil society has to play a role in nurturing the training of quality leadership, enhancing sound governance through encouraging political participation, demanding transparency and political accountability, promoting equity, and empowering and enabling the citizenry to pursue democratic ideals. It is only

²⁰² CIVICUS Civil Society Index, p. 5
through these mechanisms that the civil society will ultimately cement democratic consolidation, and stimulate the emergence of a new generation of leaders who not only embody good governance as a cardinal value in every sphere of the society but also demand a style of leadership that is competent, honest, visionary, and committed to the dream of a free, democratic, and prosperous Africa. The study indicated that civil societies was of high relevance during armed conflict and war, and decreased in importance after large-scale violence had ended. A case like DRC demonstrates that it is the level of violence that determines the importance of civil societies and leadership, rather than the existence of a peace agreement When combined with monitoring and advocacy campaigns-some of which were picked up by the media and international networks – civil societies was effective not only in saving lives, but also contributed to accelerating peace agreements.

The analysis shows major impediments that could hinder civil society engagement in transformational leadership in DRC and Nigeria. Issues of border demarcation, leadership and most importantly rehabilitating the ex-combatant are central to building durable Leadership in DRC. The inability of DRC government to address these fundamental problems could probably deteriorate security conditions if not entirely scuttle the ephemeral peace. In view of this, there is need for peaceful reconciliation of both nations to ease tensions along border lines and therefore the civil society should play its rightful role in leadership. Strengthening the fabric of civil society is a prerequisite for democratization and good governance. It is a long-term and complex process which requires that democratic practices become incorporated in all levels of the society, from the family to the economic structures and State. In order to make this role of civil society
in advocating for democratic governance operational, the study distinguished three dimensions in the process: First, the institutions and procedures related to the political system which organizes elections, the government system and legal system. Here, the objectives include the establishment of free, regular and fair elections; the existence of a government which is open, accessible and responsible as well as the independence of the legal system. Second, a societal democracy is essential. This dimension includes the organization of participative decision-making processes on all of the levels of society; respecting the difference between the public and private spheres, but also freedom of speech, including the existence of a critical media landscape. Finally, there is the dimension of human rights, including the establishment of monitoring and application systems of human rights on a national level, the creation of a culture of respect of human rights on all levels of society.  

5.3 Recommendations

Civil society can monitor human rights violations, advocate and facilitate a dialogue for the protection of civilians, and ultimately protect people from suffering due to the war. As such, the functions of leadership, governance and democracy and facilitation are of particular relevance in the context of civil societies and leadership in Nigeria and DRC.

Civil society must develop sustainable strategies for dealing with human resource constraints. The civil society must deal with leadership issues, recruit and retail talent, and manage and develop people to meet the changing demands of the policy

environment. They should develop strategies to tackle short term funding which causes vulnerability and curb brain drain and strain.

Civil society organizations should strengthen and operationalise mechanisms for self-funding as a way of ensuring that their internal linkages with donors do not undermine their internal democracy. In fact, through fruitful partnerships, the state should provide financial support to the civil society.

Democracy can also be of high relevance, when used as an entry point for the functions mentioned above. Thus, it is recommended that aid projects use their presence in DRC and Nigeria to protect people by performing monitoring functions and informing other organizations about the situation, or else by engaging in direct protection measures. It is also recommended that during a window of opportunity for leadership, civil society should take up very important-and in some instances-crucial roles in facilitating the onset of negotiations, or in advocating for the inclusion of pertinent issues into leadership.

The study also recommends that the civil society should strengthen its advocacy role. Two types of advocacy become especially relevant within this context i.e. mass mobilization in support for the leadership or for system change, often in the form of large-scale street agitations and secondly agenda setting through targeted advocacy campaigns for the inclusion of relevant issues into the peace agreement. The high relevance of advocacy often corresponds with the actual activity level within this function. Sometimes, however, this was not the case.
5.4 Recommendations for further research:

i. A study should be undertaken to determine when and under what conditions should civil society take up leadership functions and when the state structure should be strengthened instead.

ii. A similar study should be undertaken to investigate the challenges faced by civil society groups in leadership roles in both countries i.e. Nigeria and DRC.

iii. The study should also focus on how leadership is influenced by democracy,
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