A framework for leadership development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

M M Tshiyoyo
School of Public Management and Administration
University of Pretoria, South Africa

ABSTRACT

Governance is concerned with the institutional capacity of public organisations to provide the public and other goods demanded by a country's citizens or their representatives in an effective, transparent, impartial, and accountable manner, subject to resource constraints. It is claimed that, when the historical background of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is considered, governance should be concerned with the government's efforts to strengthen the organs of the state in order to tackle the socio-economic crisis that has paralysed most of public institutions and then impeding the proper functioning of the state's apparatus. Given the state's failure in the DRC, creating a strong nation should be a priority. This will require a leadership style which is transformational in nature and leaders who will provide stewardship needed to pave a way for the country to be placed on the track of development.

This article intends to propose a framework that can be used in regard to leadership development in the DRC. In so doing, the article firstly examines leadership and governance issues in Africa. It secondly analyses the after effect of colonisation on the continent. It thirdly demonstrates the necessity for an effective leadership in DRC before it proposes a framework for leadership development in the country. The proposed framework is tri-dimensional and it is founded on three main aspects, namely spirituality, emotional intelligence and morality. It is believed that a perspective on leadership development based on the above dimensions can assist in producing leaders the DRC needs to meet the imperatives of governance and public administration. Currently the DRC requires leaders who can unleash the potential available in the country and maximise the country's strategic position and role in continental geopolitical affairs. Nevertheless, it is argued that the success of the model that is proposed in this article will mainly depend on the kind of social order that prevails in the country and on the type of the political arrangements that are secured by the country's leaders.

INTRODUCTION

African public administration confronted severe odds during the post-independence period. Embodied within its structures are systemic anomalies derived from the inherited colonial administrative apparatus that inhibit the growth of the system into a development-oriented apparatus. At the same time, the post-independence ecology deprived the system of the necessary dynamism for effective performance. African public administration is now in a dual crisis: a crisis of performance and sustenance (Mutahaba *et al.* 1993:7, 17). Many have lamented the absence of political and leadership skills that have plagued the African nations that became independent after World War II. One result has been that African public bureaucracies, although constrained by policy decisions made by political leaders, have played a central role in the performance of leadership functions in development (Vengroff *et al.* 1991). In his comparison of African nations, Ferrel Heady (2001) notes the absence of strong political leadership in these countries has resulted in political regimes that can be characterised by: widely shared developmental ideologies as the source of basic political goals; high reliance on the political sector for achieving results in society; widespread incipient or actual political stability; modernising elitist leadership accompanied by a wide 'political gap' between the rulers and the ruled; and imbalances in political institutions, with the public bureaucracy often playing a more dominant role than other institutions.

Looking at the African continent, Brautignan (1996:89) notes that one basic problem is an institutional constraint: the nature of African political regimes. Leaders and followers are both ensnared by the politics of patronage, and society currently offers few countervailing forces. For instance, Wohlgemuth *et al.* (1998:21) argue that qualities of leadership have had difficulties in developing under the circumstance provided by the post-colonial public administration systems. The public service has its roots in the administration systems that were introduced by the colonial powers. The administrative system's historical legacy is still strong, and has perhaps deepened through the development experience of most African societies after independence. Characteristic for these organisations is that they never (or are) compatible with surrounding social and cultural environment. The most important consequence of this historical legacy is that the conditions for an effective leadership are difficult to realise within the existing organisational and institutional traditions. It is in this context that Rotberg (2004:17) stresses that Africa needs leaders. For him, strong leaders committed to change are one of the key drivers to progress. Developing the capabilities of leaders at all levels and in all spheres: political, the public sector, business and civil society is critical to African led sustainable development. This implies that good leaders deliver security of the state and of the person, the rule of law, good education and health services, and a framework conducive to economic growth.

In this article, a qualitative approach is followed as the author uses descriptive and prescriptive methods of research. Descriptive and prescriptive theories are by no means incompatible. In examining the nature of public administration as a socio-political phenomenon, one can be concerned exclusively with describing what actually transpires within administrative agencies and postulate possible causes for such behaviour. In most cases, the descriptive and the prescriptive dimensions of theory work hand-in-hand. For example, if one undertakes to describe the causes for administrative behaviour, the discoveries can be utilised by scholars and practitioners seeking policy or management

reform (Morrow 1975:49-50). Various sources relevant to the study of leadership, governance and development were accessed in order to put the subject of discourse in its context and lay a theoretical foundation. However, the article examines first leadership and governance issues in Africa. It secondly analyses the after effect of colonisation on the continent. It thirdly demonstrates the necessity for an effective leadership in DRC before it proposes a framework for leadership development in the country.

LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ISSUES IN AFRICA

Since the 1950s, when African countries began assuming their independence, development economists have sought to advance neo-liberal and development theories based on European experience as the only solution to the question of underdevelopment. Consequently, the problems of underdevelopment were viewed as manifestations of distortion in the factors of production that prevented the operation of a free-market system. Therefore, corrections of such dislocation through the efficient allocation of resources and following the path Europe had taken were the only panacea. Nevertheless, approaching the question of Africa's development impasse constitutes revisiting the question of colonisation as well as issues surrounding the development of the postcolonial state in Africa. This nuance is manifested in the widespread and growing disparity that surrounds many postcolonial nations in southern Africa (Andreasson 2010:122-123). African countries must revisit the patterns inherited from colonisation before they can find the path to development. This will require structural reforms and a proper strategic planning in terms of leadership development.

Before colonialism, African governance system varied according to the level of development and the socio-political systems in place, but generally their administrative systems lacked the attributes of a modern state. Colonialism, to a great extent, supplanted or suppressed the various traditional administrative organisations, and with them their administrative cultural values. In most parts of Africa, the traditional administrative organisations were done away with and replaced by bureaucratic organisations styled after the system in the mother country. In this, the civilising mission of the colonial masters had limited scope; it was mainly concerned with pacifying the natives for purposes of facilitating exploitation of natural resources. As such, little investment was put into the development of complicated administrative infrastructures; the administrative systems consisted of skeletal organisations, only large enough for the purposes of extracting revenues and ensuring orderly governance (Mutahaba, Baguma & Halfani 1993:6). For example, recent day Nigeria consisted of three colonial territories i.e. the Colony of Lagos, the Northern and the Southern protectorates. In 1906, the Southern Protectorate and the Colony of Lagos were amalgamated and subsequently in 1914, all three (Lagos, Southern and Northern Nigeria) were amalgamated to form the Protectorate of Nigeria, all of which were administered by one administrator. Although supposedly a political fusion, the British like most colonial powers, did not carefully craft or attend to the form of administration that would best suit the people in the territories. Thus the former colonies of Northern and Southern Nigeria, were administered separately within the machinery of government. The first opportunity for a central legislature to become engaged in national deliberation was only accorded in 1946 with the introduction of the *Richard's Constitution* in 1946. This provided for three

regions; the north, east and west, a move that would have lead to the devolution of powers for the regions. However, it scarcely achieved this, as political power was concentrated in the hands of a governor. Hence the nationalists resisted the Richard's Constitution on the following grounds: the imposition of the constitution without due consultation with the Nigerian people; the ambiguous roles of the chiefs as they had become agents of the states and antinationalist; and the number of political units, which did not reflect Nigeria's ethnic nature (Elaigwu 1994:226–227; Ile 2004:610–611).

The goals of the colonial system naturally dictated the governance system that was put in place. Since the goals were to maintain 'law and order' and collect taxes, the public administration system that was fostered was highly legalistic, emphasising loyalty, processes, procedures, and precedents. Rules and regulations became the main instruments for eliciting compliance and discipline. Administrative training and practices were similarly modelled along those lines. The organisation of the administration was highly hierarchical, inhibiting lower-level participation in decision-making and since it was in the service of the colonial masters, it was highly suppressive and did not respond to public demands. These attributes contributed immensely to the evolution of an administrative culture that was conservative, unresponsive and under-developmental in orientation. However, in so far as the interests of the colonial state remained limited to the goals mentioned earlier, the administrative system seemed to operate effectively (Mutahaba, Baguma & Halfani 1993:7). In this context, Hugues (2012:298-299) argues that the bureaucratic model in developing countries has largely failed, and with the roots of its failure found most often prior to independence. Colonial governments used bureaucratic means to administer their colonies, often by using indigenous civil servants, at least at the lower levels. Even higher levels remained firmly in the hands of expatriates or the home government, a system of administration was put in place and this system continued with little change into the post-independence period. After independence, many lower-level colonial civil servants became senior officers in the public services, often as a result of the principle of seniority being rigidly acquired from the colonial government, but they were ill-equipped for their new role. The bureaucracy was large and important but did not have the institutional support to work effectively.

According to Smith (1996:181) a universal feature of colonial government was that it developed bureaucracies while neglecting legislatures, parties, local councils and other bodies able to maintain control and accountability. An administrative system can and did work for most of the twentieth century in the developed world, though with the limitations. But when bureaucracy is the only developed institutional actor, as in much of the developing world, a serious imbalance can and does arise. Administration requires instructions to be given clearly to enable an administrator to carry them out. However, if instructions are not clear, because of the inadequacies of the political system, or if political leaders are erratic, as is often the case, bureaucracy gains power. When bureaucracy, particularly administrative bureaucracy, is the most powerful institutional actor it rules without political constraint. But it is rudderless in the strategic sense without input from the political leadership. The separation of politics from administration may have been successful in developed countries for a long period, but in developing countries these principles have been inadequate because of the underdevelopment of the political system. Only if the political and administrative systems are in some kind of balance can Wilson's prescription have some utility.

Africa is faced with various challenges when it comes to leadership and governance. Most of the issues that hamper development on the continent are the results of what can be referred to as the 'after effects of colonisation'. Independence was an end in itself but the means to the end. After gaining their independence African countries were supposed to strategically think on how to engage on reforms that could have helped the continent to shift from the patterns established during colonisation and come up with a system that would have allowed the maximisation of the available resources (human, financial and materials). Instead, the continent celebrated its political independence for too long, no major reforms were adopted to transform or adapt structures inherited from colonisation and leadership vacuum became apparent. As a result, many countries that had means to develop when they accessed independence mainly in the 1960s are currently considered to be failed states and only few can be named as good examples (Ghana, Malawi, Botswana, Tanzania). The after effects of colonisation can also be characterised by the lack of strategic thinking that hinders Africa from taping into the much available opportunities in the 21st Century, free the potential of its people and maximise the abundant natural resources. President Obama, in his remarks at the University of Cape Town, alluded to Africa's situation in the following words:

> "Many of the fastest-growing economies in the world are here in Africa, where there is an historic shift taking place from poverty to a growing, nascent middle class. Fewer people are dying of preventable disease. More people have access to health care. More farmers are getting their products to market at fair prices. From micro-finance projects in Kampala, to stock traders in Lagos, to cell phone entrepreneurs in Nairobi, there is an energy here that can't be denied – Africa rising. We know this progress, though, rests on a fragile foundation. We know that progress is uneven. Across Africa, the same institutions that should be the backbone of democracy can all too often be infected with the rot of corruption. The same technology that enables record profits sometimes means widening a canyon of inequality. The same interconnection that binds our fates makes all of Africa vulnerable to the undertow of conflict. So there is no question that Africa is on the move, but it's not moving fast enough for the child still languishing in poverty in forgotten townships. It's not moving fast enough for the protester who is beaten in Harare, or the woman who is raped in Eastern Congo. We've got more work to do, because these Africans must not be left behind" (Obama 2013).

Africa has to overcome its leadership challenges in order to tap into the opportunities that are offered by globalisation. The continent needs effective leaders at all levels of African societies particularly at the politico-administrative level. In this article a particular attention is given to the case of the DRC.

THE NEED FOR LEADERSHIP IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Tshiyoyo (2011:104-105) insists that although the DRC inherited structures that were not wholly suitable for the needs of the newly independent citizens in 1960, it is clear that if they had been reformed and adapted properly they would have allowed the country to be on the path of development. Instead, most of the Congolese leaders neglected the maintenance

of the institutions of the state and never committed themselves to establishing a system that would ensure good governance of the country's resources. Rotberg (2002:128) notes that destructive decisions by individual leaders have almost always paved the way to state failure. Shekhawat (2009:7) stresses that the Congolese state and economy still bear the deep impact of Mobutu's *predatory* rule of thirty-two years. Makgetlaneng (2010:63) insists that the DRC has been in a continuous state of crisis in the strategic area of the provision of basic social services to its citizens. It has been characterised by the structural need for a strategy, vision and programme of action to change socio-political and economic relations characterised by the accumulation of wealth and privileges by its rulers in the face of massive socio-economic problems faced by the Congolese people. Nixon (1982:340) notes that different systems need different kinds of leaders, and different countries, with different cultural backgrounds and at different stages of development, need different systems.

The crisis in the DRC is basically a result of combined long-term structural degradations, medium-term inter-communitarian tensions and short-term regional, military and political conflicts. Over the years, this multi-layered crisis has had disastrous socioeconomic effects that are affecting the various regions of the country to different degrees. The root causes of the crisis are the structural degradation, which has benefited some international interests, followed by inter-communitarian tensions and the regional crisis (Bourque & Sampson 2001:6). In this context, creating a strong nation should be a priority. This will require a leadership style which is transformational in nature and leaders who will provide stewardship needed to pave a way for the country to be placed on the track of development. Most importantly, the country requires strong leaders who will attempt to reverse the circumstances that have failed the DRC. Developing strong leaders with a pronounced sense of patriotism is a prerequisite in order to tackle the various challenges the country is faced with. It is believed that effective leaders have the ability to put in place structures that can assist in tackling the challenges of development and put the country on the path to economic development.

A FRAMEWORK FOR LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Leadership development has emerged as an important theoretical and practical stream of management. There is an implicit assumption that leadership is important, that leaders make a difference, and that positive group and organisational effects are produced by leaders and the leadership process (Pierce & Newstrom 2000). As stressed previously, the framework that is proposed in this study is tri-dimensional as it is founded on three main factors, namely, spirituality/vision, emotional intelligence, and morality. The need and the relevance of such dimensions in leadership development are explained below.

Spirituality

Olowu and Sako (2002:47) describe spirituality as a kind of energy source that (a) is beyond ourselves and transcendent; (b) impels us to search for the purpose of life here and after, as well as why are we here on earth; (c) has an overarching influence on our sense of right and wrong; (d) empowers us to care for others; and (e) inspires us to act for the common

good. Although spirituality is supposed to be an integral part of our religious traditions and beliefs, its secular dimension, which is yet to be particularly acknowledged by secular institutions, is crucial in governance, especially with respect to public service ethics and values. The aforementioned energy source can be converted into a moral force to be used for good governance. Reave (2005:663) adds that effective leadership facilitates higher-quality production with more efficient services of someone who can be trusted, relied upon, and admired. Spiritual leadership is also demonstrated through behaviour, whether in individual reflective practice or in the ethical, compassionate, and respectful treatment of others. Nevertheless, Fry (2003:711) argues that spiritual leadership is concerned with creating a vision wherein organisation members experience a sense of calling in that their life has meaning and makes a difference in establishing a social/organisational culture based on altruistic love whereby leaders and followers have genuine care, concern, and appreciation for both self and others, thereby producing a sense of membership and feel understood and appreciated. To this end, Burke (2006:13-14) maintains that a spiritual leadership approach asks fundamentally different questions about what it means to be human, what we really mean by growth, and what values and power distributions are needed to enhance both organisations and society as a whole. Therefore, pre-eminence is given to spirituality because it is believed that if leaders have a clear vision of where they want to take their organisation or state it becomes easier for them to find strategic means leading them towards the attainment of that vision. Considering the historical background of the DRC and the challenges the country has faced in the past five decades, there is a need for leaders who have a clear vision of how they intend to change the way things have been done in the country, to give priority to national interests and ultimately mobilise the nation in order to reverse the patterns that have hindered the DRC's development.

Emotional intelligence

According to Fiedler (2002:91) most scholars and commentators would agree that effective leadership requires the abilities to perceive and understand information, reason with it, imagine possibilities, use intuition, make judgements, solve problems and make decisions. Hence Schmidt and Hunter (1998:262) argue that intelligence is one of the best predictors of general job performance. The intelligence-performance relationship is stronger for complex jobs, supporting the importance of intelligence for leadership, because the tasks performed by leaders are generally complex. Not only are intelligent leaders better problem solvers, but they are likely to be more creative and foster the creativity of their followers. Beyond the actual leadership advantages intelligence affords, intelligence may also cause a leader to appear as 'leader-like'. If individuals believe that leaders are endowed with certain characteristics, then when individuals observe these characteristics in others, they infer leadership or leadership potential to exist (Guilford 1950; Rushton 1990). In his research, Goleman (2004:1) found that while the qualities traditionally associated with leadership, such as intelligence, toughness, determination and vision are required for success, they are insufficient. Truly effective leaders are also distinguished by a high degree of emotional intelligence (EI), which includes self-awareness, self-regulation, motivation, empathy, and social skill. These qualities may sound 'soft' and unbusinesslike, but Goleman found direct ties between emotional intelligence and measurable business results. Therefore, emotional

intelligence should also be considered as one of the prerequisites for leadership development in the DRC. EI has the ability to assist leaders in developing a leadership style that is best suited to the circumstances faced by the country. Emotional intelligence can work better in leadership development process when it is supported by a good vision as noted previously. For instance, spirituality expressed through a clear vision can assist leaders to have a purpose, something they live for, and something that inspires their endeavour in organisation or society. But spirituality and emotional intelligence are not sufficient; they should be combined with morality.

Morality

The morality of leadership is often a neglected element in leadership studies. This phenomenon is not unsurprising given the fixation and preoccupation on leadership effectiveness in leadership studies. To a certain extent, the insatiable quest to achieve higher quarterly profits in the corporate world dictates many leadership researchers in the academic settings to dedicate their studies answering a crucial question of how leadership improves corporate performance. Following this logic, one can easily overlook the negative effects of the absence of morality in leadership theories or models can have on the performance (Sendjaya 2005:75). The exercise of authority and power always entails ethical challenges. This internal system of moral values in every individual necessitates the inclusion of morality in any leadership concepts which presuppose a dyadic relation between leader and follower. Therefore, to say that inserting morality into the concept of leadership is unacceptable is a denial of this universal fact of human nature. As a matter of fact, there is no leadership apart from morality since all forms of leadership is value-laden (Gini 1995; Hollander 1995).

Burns (1978:20) considers morality as a crucial component of transforming leadership. He bases his notion of transforming leaders on two moral issues: the morality of the means and ends, and the public and private morality of a leader. In transforming leadership interaction, leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality. According to this concept, real leadership takes place only when leaders' and followers' ethical aspirations are enhanced as a result of their interactions. Only those who appeal to higher ideals, moral values, and higher-order needs of followers can be called transforming leaders (Burns 1978:20; Yukl 1990:210; Ciulla 1995). In this context, Sendjaya (2005:76, 84) insists that good leadership is impossible without the presence of morality. He insists that a sound understanding of leadership necessitates the inclusion of objective moral values. Rest (1979) argues that moral reasoning is thought to be one's conceptual and analytical ability to frame socio-moral problems using one's standards and values in order to judge the proper course of action. Dukerish *et al.* (1990) reported that leaders high in moral reasoning were more likely to assume a coaching or teaching role than were leaders with less sophisticated moral reasoning. Therefore, good leaders behave in ways that enable them to succeed in these roles.

In summation, if one wants to become a leader or an effective one, he or she must have a mixture of the above-mentioned dimensions. Thus a good leader must have a combination of spirituality (a vision), emotional intelligence and morality. This is because change is a process that is driven by multiple forces. In Africa and particularly in the DRC, it is essential to realise that development requires a lasting change and that change needs to come from within. Table 1 outlines a list of elements attached to each dimension.

Table 1 Combination of dimensions for leadership development

Leadership Development	**Spirituality** (vision–charisma)	• Vision • Will • Self-belief • Loyalty • Respect • Agreeableness • Conscientiousness
	Emotional Intelligence (intellectual stimulation)	• Competence • Creativity • Objectivity • Empathy • Engagement • Development • Mentoring • Coaching • Character
	Morality (individualised consideration)	• Ethics • Integrity • Mutual respect • Self-esteem • Honesty

Source: Tshiyoyo, 2012

In this article, it is therefore argued that a combination of the proposed dimensions could assist in developing leaders that are able to address the multifaceted crisis that prevails in the DRC. Current and future leaders should have a certain degree of spirituality as it is synonymous to having a vision that must lead any endeavour towards transformation. The DRC should also long for leaders who can display a well-developed emotional intelligence to cope with the multiple challenges facing the country in terms of governance as many international interests are fighting each other for the control of the country's abundant natural resources. Finally, morality is paramount as leaders are expected to abide to principles of good governance and lead by example. Given the situation that prevails in the DRC, there is a need to develop leaders who possess these three dimensions simultaneously.

CONCLUSION

Africa is faced with numerous leadership challenges that have negatively influenced the prospects for the continent's development. This is not an exception for the DRC. For instance, the country has been and is still going through a profound leadership crisis that has orchestrated the state collapse and minimised the country's prospects for economic development. In this article it is argued that the country needs effective leaders because they would commit to change and engage on the path of progress. Leadership effectiveness is determined by leaders' ability to overcome the challenges they are faced with in their direct settings. Considering the particular context of DRC, leadership development becomes problematic due to political, social, economic and environmental factors but the DRC's situation is fuelled by the fact that the root causes to the collapse of the state or the after effects

of colonisation have not been addressed adequately. To overcome the various challenges it is faced with the DRC requires leaders at all levels particularly at the politico-administrative level. It is for this reason that the proposed framework for leadership development follows a transformational leadership approach and it relies on three dimensions, namely: spirituality, emotional intelligence and morality. The combination of these dimensions can assist in developing leaders that are able to address the multi-faceted crisis facing the DRC. This kind of leaders is essential as the DRC must dispose of ineffective leaders in order to create a room for a new generation of leaders able to break with the patterns that have hampered the country's development. DRC's current predicament is partly self-inflicted, due to poor leadership and mismanagement, and only Congolese leaders and people can address this predicament.

REFERENCES

Andreasson, S. 2010. *Africa's development impasse: Rethinking the political economy of transformation*. London: Zed Books.

Bourque, A. and Sampson, P. 2001. The European Union's political and development response to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. July 2001.

Brautignan, D. 1996. State capacity and effective governance. In Ndulu, B. and Van de Walle, N. (eds.) *Agenda for Africa's economic renewal*. New York: Transaction Publishers.

Burke, R. 2006. Leadership and spirituality. *Foresight*, 8(6):14–25.

Burns, J.M. 1978. *Leadership*. New York: Harper and Row.

Ciulla, J.B. 1995. Leadership ethics: mapping the territory. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 5(1):5–25.

Dukerich, J.M., Nochols, M.L., Elm, D.R. and Vollrath, D.A. 1990. Moral reasoning in groups: leaders make a difference. *Human Relations*, 43:473–493.

Elaigwu, J. (ed.) 1994. *Evaluating federal systems*. London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Fiedler, F.E. 2002. The curious role of cognitive resources in leadership. In Riggio, R.E., Murphy, S.E. and Pirozzolo, F.J. (Eds.) *Multiple intelligences and leadership* (pp. 91–104). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Fry, L.W. 2003. Toward a theory of spiritual leadership. *The leadership quarterly, 14*(6):693–727.

Gini, A. 1995. Too much to say about something. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 5(1):143–155.

Goleman, D. 2004. *Emotional intelligence, why it can matter more than IQ & working with emotional intelligence: Omnibus*. London: Bloomsbury.

Guilford, J.P. 1950. Creativity. *American Psychologist,* 5:444–454.

Heady, F. 2001. *Public administration: A comparative perspective*. New York: Marcel Dekker.

Hugues, O.E. 2012. *Public management and administration: An introduction*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave/ Macmillan.

Ile, I.U. 2004. Federalism in a multi-ethnic state with special reference to Nigeria. *Journal of Public Administration,* 39(4):607–619.

Makgatlaneng, S. 2010. Decentralisation as a means to ensure provision of basic social services in the DRC. *Africa Insight*, 39(4):63–80.

Morrow, W.L. 1975. *Public administration: Politics, policy, and the political system*. 2nd edition. New York: Random House.

Mutahaba, G., Baguma, R. and Halfani, M. 1993. *Vitalising African public administration for recovery and development*. Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Nixon, R. 1982. *Leaders*. London: Sidgwick and Jackson.

Obama, B. 2013. Barack Obama's speech to the University of Cape Town. 30 June 2013.

Olowu, D. and Sako, S. (eds.) 2002. *Better governance and public policy: Capacity building for democratic renewal in Africa*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

Pierce, J.L. and Newstrom, J.W. 2000. *Leaders and the leadership process*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Reave, L. 2005. Spiritual values and practices related to leadership effectiveness. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *16*(5):655–687.

Rest, J.R. 1979. *Development in judging moral issues*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Rotberg, R.I. 2002. Failed states: A world of terror. *Foreign Affairs*, 81(4):127–140.

Rotberg, R.I. 2004. Strengthening African leadership: There is another way. *Foreign Affairs*, 83(4):14–18.

Rushton, J.P. 1990. Creativity, intelligence and psychoticism. *Personality and Individual Differences,* 11:1291–1298.

Schmidt, F.L. and Hunter, J.E. 1998. The validity and utility of selection methods in personnel psychology: Practical and theoretical implications of 85 years of research findings. *Psychological Bulletin, 124,* 262–274.

Sendjaya, S. 2005. Morality and leadership: examining the ethics of transformational leadership. *Journal of Academic Ethics*, 3:75–86.

Shekhawat, S. 2009. Governance crisis and conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Working Paper* (6).

Smith, BC. 1996. Understanding Third World politics: Theories of political change and development. Bloomington/Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.

Tshiyoyo, M.M. 2011. Civil service in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *African Journal of Public Affairs*, 4(1):103–113.

Vengroff, R., Belhaj, M. and Ndiaye, M. 1991. The nature of managerial work in the public sector: An African perspective. *Public Administration and Development*, 11:95–110.

Wohlgemuth, L., Carlsson, J. and Kifle, H. (ed.) 1998. Institution building and leadership in Africa. Uppsala: Nordiska Africainstituteit.

Yulk, G. 1990. *Leadership in organisations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.