

**Leadership and Governance Imperatives for Development in
the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

By

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my dear mother, Julienne Ngoya wa Kalonda, whose love and sense of responsibility paved a way for me to grasp the need for education in life. Though she can neither read nor write her own names, she made sure that I could write more than just my names. Here I am fulfilling her dream. I feel that whatever is good in me is a part of the energy, the sense of responsibility and dedication she deposited in me. Tuasakidila mamu wanyi wa balele!!!

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the research report submitted for the Philosophiae Doctor (PhD) degree in Public Affairs at the University of Pretoria, apart from the works acknowledged, is my own work and it has not been submitted to another university for any degree.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	Armée Nationale Congolaise
ANR	Agence Nationale de Renseignements
AU	African Union
BCC	Banque Centrale du Congo (Central Bank of Congo)
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
CEPGL	Communauté Economique des Pays de Grands Lacs
CENI	Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CRT	Cognitive Resource Theory
CSU	Civil Service Unit
DGG	Democratic Good Governance
DGM	Direction Générale des Migrations
DPs	Development Partners
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EC	European Commission
ECOWAS	Economic Community of Western African States
ECQs	Executive Core Qualifications
EI	Emotional Intelligence
ENDA	Ecole Nationale de Droit et d'Administration
EU	European Union
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
G&PA	Government and Public Administration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HRM	Human Resource Management
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
IGM	Inter-governmental Management

IMF	International Monetary Funds
INGOs	International Non-governmental Organisations
MBWA	Management By Wandering Around
MLQ	Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire
MPI	Multi-dimensional Poverty Index
MPR	Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEPAD	New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
NPA	New Public Administration
NPL	National Poverty Line
NPM	New Public Management
OAU	Organisation of African Union
OECD	Organisation for Economic and Community Development
OEMD	Office of Executive and Management Development
OPM	Office of Personnel Management
PMDB	Brazilian Democratic Movement Party
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SBR	Scientifically Based Research
SPM	Strategic Performance Management
SQ	Spiritual Intelligence
TLQ	Transformational Leadership Questionnaire
UMHK	Union Minière du Haut Katanga
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
USA	United States of America
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ABSTRACT

The subject of discourse in this study is *‘leadership and governance imperatives for development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo’*. The qualitative research method was deemed the most suitable in attaining the objectives of the study. The study comprises six chapters. The main objective of the study is to contribute to an understanding of the challenges that constitute a stumbling block for the establishment of a system that promotes good governance and places the DRC on the path to development. Beyond the analysis of challenges, the study also examines the environment in which leaders evolve and it focuses on leadership challenges and governance imperatives that prevail in the current setting of the country. In this context, the study formulates a framework for leadership development. The study aims at proposing a perspective for leadership development considering the fact that the DRC urgently requires leaders who are competent and effective, and who can consider modern principles of management and governance as provided by the case studies of Brazil and Botswana in order to offer the much needed leadership in the nation-building process. Considering the crises the DRC has endured throughout the years, leadership’s role is of great importance as leaders have the ability to transform the adverse circumstances that Congolese people have faced since the inception of independence. The study insists that is possible only if leaders can inspire hope and change the patterns of how things have been done in the country. The DRC needs leaders who are able to help unleash its potential and allow the country to regain and to maximise its strategic position as a significant player in the continental geopolitical affairs. The thesis argues that the success of any leadership mainly depends on the kind of social order that prevails in the DRC and on the type of the political arrangement adopted by its leaders.

The main challenge facing the DRC is establishing an effective leadership. The legacy of colonisation coupled with the misrule by Congolese cadres have made it difficult for the DRC to secure a system that promotes good governance and creates conditions for economic development. An effective and purposeful leadership has the ability to provide a clear policy guideline that might bring about change in the functioning of the country's institutions. In the case of the DRC, an effective leadership will be the one that will create an environment that promotes the reforms much needed in the political and administrative structures of the country and, consequently, enhance conditions for a successful implementation of policies for the betterment of all. This study proposes that Congolese people deserve a civilised nation and a set of capable leaders who can maximise the country's abundant resources so that citizens can benefit from the country's wealth. As soon as the DRC finds the path to prosperity and development, it will be possible for the country to also impact positively on its neighbouring countries and the whole continent at large.

DEFINITION AND CLARIFICATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Some of the concepts and variables related to the subject of discourse in the study are defined and explained:

Public administration and Public Administration

According to Balogun (1983:3-4) engineers, scientists, economists, accountants, to mention but a few, do not have much difficulty in delineating the boundaries of their disciplines. This is not the case for 'administrators'. The identity crisis facing this class of people begins with the choice of specific job title to serve as a professional rallying point. Whereas some adopt the general term 'administrator', others have shown preference for a more fanciful appellation, e.g. 'manager' or 'development administrator'. The problem does not end there. It goes right on to frustrate efforts at defining the subject-content of administration and at extending the frontiers of knowledge in the broad area. In different situations, the term 'administration' covers almost every sphere of activity and can be taken to mean anything ranging from the direction of the affairs of an enterprise to the simple act of paying monthly pensions. In fact, according to basic dictionary definitions, the verb to 'administer' means to: govern, control, direct, operate, make (something or someone) work, give (dose), treat with (prescribed drugs), and dispense (medicines). Furthermore, the author stresses that when we define public administration, we are likely to be faced with an ironic situation. For instance, it is assumed that public administration has to do with the marshalling of human and material resources in order to achieve the objectives of public policy (Balogun, 1983:3-4).

One can find a wide variety of definitions of public administration, but the following are among the most serious and influential efforts to define

the field. For instance, Nitro and Nitro (1980:14) describe public administration in the following terms: it is a cooperative group effort in a public setting; it covers all three branches: executive, legislative, and judicial, and their interrelationships; it has an important role in the formulation of public policy and is thus a part of the political process; it is different in significant ways from private administration; and it is closely associated with numerous private groups and individuals in providing services to the community. In its broadest form, administration is said to be concerned with: policy analysis, the identification of options, programme implementation, and a constant preoccupation with the efficient allocation of resources. Hence, Pfiffner and Presthus (1960:3), in particular, see public administration as the coordination of individual and group efforts to carry out public policy. It [public administration] is mainly occupied with the daily work of government. The authors also argue, as Woodrow Wilson did, that public administration is 'government in action'.

Rosenbloom *et al.* (2009:4) define public administration as the action part of government, the means by which the purposes and goals of government are realised; public administration as a field is mainly concerned with the means for implementing political values...; public administration can be best identified with the executive branch of government; and the process of public administration consists of the actions involved in effecting the intent or desire of a government. It is thus the continuously active, business part of government, concerned with carrying out the law, as made by legislative bodies (or authoritative agents) and interpreted by the courts, through the processes of organisation and management. Shafritz (2000:3) defines public administration, first, as the occupational sector, enterprises, and activities having to do with the formulation and implementation of policy of governmental and other public programmes and the management of

organisations and activities involved; and secondly, as the academic field concerned with the study and improvement of, and training for the activities mentioned in the first part of the definition. In this context, public administration refers to two distinguishable, but closely related activities: a professional practice (vocation, occupation, field of activity), and an academic field which seeks to understand, develop, criticise, and improve that professional practice as well as to train individuals for that practice.

However, Public Administration is a broad spectrum combination of practice and theory which aims to: promote public policymaking which is sensitive to the needs and aspirations of society; cultivate a greater understanding of the relationship between government and governed society; and establish managerial practices directed at efficiency, effectiveness and a sensitivity to people's innermost needs (Du Toit & Van der Waldt, 1997:61). To this end, one needs to stress that the term 'Public Administration' (with a capital P and a capital A) refers to the academic discipline taught at universities and particularly at the institutes and schools of public administration and management. 'Public administration' (with a lower case p and a lower case a) refers to the activities, both strategic and operational, within the public sector.

Public administration versus public management

There are differences of opinion about whether the two concepts 'public administration' and 'public management' are synonymous. In this study, the assumption is made that when considering the context of government institutions or public services, there is a difference between 'public administration' and 'public management'. Therefore, 'public management' can be viewed as that aspect of 'public administration' that

is concerned with efficiency, accountability, goal achievement, and other managerial and technical questions (Graham & Hays, 1993).

However, the activity of 'public administration' in government institutions is much wider in scope and nature than management. In other words, management in government institutions cannot take place if the output (results) of 'public administration' does not enable those in managerial positions to manage (Fox, Schwella & Wissink, 1991:2). Therefore, one can say that 'public administration' is an enabling activity on a continuous basis. By contrast, 'public management' is a continuing activity, the ongoing continuation of activities made possible by 'public administration'. As a result, 'public administration' enables managers in government institutions to perform their managerial functions. Management should therefore be seen as a continuation of 'public administration' so that specific products and services are provided to society (Du Toit & Van der Waldt, 1997:45-46).

Peters (2009:326) argues that while it is difficult to identify exactly when the shift from public administration to the concept of public management occurred, the phrase 'New Public Management' (NPM) has become central to describing and understanding what has been happening in government. In addition, the author says that using the concept of 'New Public Management' to describe what has been happening in the public sector also implies that there is a single pattern of behaviour that can be described in this manner. In reality, however, a variety of administrative changes has been implemented in the public sector. The dominant pattern of change in government reflects movements toward a market-based public sector, and this pattern has become the conventional interpretation of NPM. The market-based models of NPM assume a generic style of management, with their advocates considering that running public and private sector organisations are virtually identical

tasks. The model tended to assume that public sector employees were involved in their organisations primarily for financial reasons rather than for either a sense of public service or the desire to be involved in a (some societies at least) highly prestigious occupation. To this end, one can conclude that the two concepts are not similar but are intertwined in their relationship. The activities of one allow the other to achieve its objectives and vice versa.

Leadership

Definitions of leadership abound. They can be short or long and they can be scientifically or practitioner oriented. Leadership means a variety of things. Sometimes, it refers to the possession of personal properties such as courage, stamina, or charisma. Sometimes, it means a property of the position which dispenses power, authority, and responsibility. A review of literature on leadership suggests as many definitions of leadership as there are scholars who have attempted to define it. Perhaps the closest to a consensus definition of leadership is that of ‘social influence process’, although the same may be said for most experiences that involve more than one person (OECD, 2001:11).

According to leadership researchers such as Northouse (2000:4), the concept of leadership is embraced from a personality perspective which proposes, for example, that leadership is a combination of special traits or characteristics, which individuals ought to possess, so that they can persuade others to accomplish tasks through effective governance practices (De Vries, 2001:22). Nevertheless, Shafritz (2000:191) defines leadership as the actions of a person who, whether elected, appointed, or emerging by group consensus, directs, coordinates, and supervises the work of others for the purpose of accomplishing a given task.

Kuye (2008:1) insists that leadership is: first, an interpersonal influence, which is directed through communication towards goal attainment. Secondly, leadership involves an influential increment, or it is the art of influencing people by persuasion, which entails direction from the leader, which is over and above mechanical compliance. Thirdly, leadership is the principal dynamic force that motivates and coordinates the institution in the accomplishment of its objectives. Furthermore, Kuye (2010:262) stresses that the importance of effective leadership is a regular topic in the business world as well as in the political arena around the globe. International organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and super powers such as the United States of America (USA) and Great Britain have put it upon themselves to be of assistance to ensure that all countries are governed by principles upholding regular and free elections, universal suffrage, multi-party system, rule of law, sovereignty, the protection of human rights and peace and security.

Leadership is also a willingness to take the blame. Therefore, Maxwell (1998:205) argues that leadership is to be regarded as a relationship or a partnership between leaders and followers. For this reason, people who engage in leadership are referred to as 'leaders', whereas individuals, toward whom leadership is directed, are referred to as 'followers'. Consequently, leadership can be described as a transactional event that occurs between the leader and his or her followers within a particular context to promote or achieve an outcome through effective governance practices (Northouse, 2000:4). Van Wart (2003:27) defines leadership as a more complex process involving numerous fundamentally different types of acts. For Van Wart, leadership is about technical competence and achieving results. It is also about working with and through people, making sure that the organisation is in alignment with the environment in terms of resources, services and products, structures and processes, and so forth. And it is also being sure that the organisation's norms are

appropriate and are consistently adhered to, and that a healthy dynamic organisation culture is maintained.

Finally, Kouzes and Posner (1995:30) stress that leadership is the art of mobilising others to want to struggle for shared aspirations. In this context, leadership is about inspiring and guiding the efforts of others by creating an environment in which they can become motivated. From this perspective, the foundation of good leadership lies in understanding what motivates people and appealing to these criteria. From a relational point of view, leadership can be viewed as the interaction between a leader and his or her followers, as already stated. It engages the leader's ability to mobilise the followers to commit themselves to achieving objectives or goals. Hence, a leader must not only have a vision, but he or she must also know how to lead others in the attainment of that vision. Therefore, Ingraham *et al.* (2003:17-18) have made an assumption that sound leadership has a positive influence on effective management and thus, on the overall government performance. The authors add that leadership contributes to management effectiveness in two ways: it influences each management system independently by setting priorities and emphasising certain activities; and it marshals these systems to operate as elements of a coherent and cohesive administrative framework. This implies that leadership is a characteristic that is needed every time when a particular task or job requires the efforts of a group of individuals. To this end, Kuye and Tshiyoyo (2008:26) insist that leadership plays a significant role in any organisation and this role is consistently needed particularly in the context of public organisations in the DRC.

Leader

The subject of leadership, especially in government, is not fully understood, despite the fact that it is often mentioned as a critical element that accounts for government's success or failure. Almost all

commentators on the subject of leadership mention that effective leaders have a vision and share that vision with members of the organisation. A vision is not something precise. Rather, it provides the person who assumes a top-level position with the opportunity to share his or her ideas about what the organisation should become, what it should do, how it should perform, and, perhaps most importantly, what the role and responsibilities of members of the organisation should be. Leaders are effective when they inspire others. Mechanical models of administration and theoretical analyses of leadership have neglected the importance of inspiration (Straussman, 2005:43). As already noted, inspiration can be one of the mobilising forces for development administration and poverty alleviation activities. Inspiration here is being looked at both as an individual experience and as a collective requirement for successful administration, contributing to development as well as tackling the problems of acute poverty (Straussman, 2005:49). In this study, the term 'leader' will be used to refer to a person (leader) who inspires others (followers), guide them in the attainment of a communal goal. The study will basically focus on the political leadership but it will also demonstrate how politics influences the functioning of the administrative leadership.

A plethora of contributions to the understanding of leadership are recognised in the Western as well as in the African societies (Kuye, 2010:263). However, Northouse (2001:1) defines 'leaders' as those who articulate particular values within institutions and who negotiate those values into the institutional illusion that shapes, sustains, and justifies behaviour. According to Nixon (1982:2), each leader belongs to a particular combination of time, place, and circumstances; leaders and countries are not interchangeable. The author (Nixon, 1982:321, 323) adds that the successful leader has a strong will of his or her own, and he or she knows how to mobilise the will of others. Great leaders are the ones who first see what in retrospect, but only in retrospect, is obvious,

and who have both the force of will and the authority to move their countries with them.

However, the theory and practice of leadership in recent years has been transformed by one proposition. Max DuPree declares: “The first responsibility of the leader is to define reality” (DuPree cited in Gergen & Kellerman, 2000). Weick (1995) states: “A leader is one who alters or guides the manner in which his followers ‘mind’ the world. The leader is a sense-giver.” In this context, Heifetz’s (1994) distinction between ‘technical’ and ‘adaptive’ problems makes the same point. Although effective organisational leaders are rarely described in these terms, the hallmarks of their work are clear. Leaders frame problems with memorable language (for example, ‘I have a dream’); use vivid, sense-giving images (for example, battered children); and use meaningful metaphors (for example, the War on Poverty). All of these actions shape what people perceive and generate a course of action (Chait, Ryan & Taylor, 2005:90-91). Therefore, Kuye (2010:263) argues that a leader is a person who has the ability to guide and influence a group. Leaders use their ability to influence as a guide to groups of people through a certain course of action or towards the achievement of certain or particular goals. To contextualise, in Africa, a leader is someone who can influence individuals and groups within communities by creating those perceptions of support to establish their goals and leading these individuals and groups in the achievement of the set of goals.

For instance, political leadership is concerned with initiating the formulation of public policies while the administrative leadership is concerned with the implementation of those policies or the management of programmes in the policy’s implementation phase. No matter the circumstances, it is imperative to insist that a leader is a person who knows where he or she is going, helps other people (followers) to grasp

his or her vision and finally leads them towards the achievement of that vision.

Government

The term 'government' can be described as a body of persons and institutions that make and apply all enforceable decisions for a society. Government functions are usually divided into horizontal categories of legislative, executive and judicial authority. Vertically, government authority can be divided into central, regional, metropolitan, local and rural authorities with a variety of relationships among such authorities. The nature of a governmental system is characterised by the way in which governmental authority is spread. A government can take many forms, such as democratic, autocratic, socialist and nationalist, and this forms the subject of many classifications. A government is able to function only if it has adequate authority, public support and stability to be able to maintain law and order (Fox & Meyer, 1995:55). The quality of a country's governance clearly affects its success in achieving growth and improving the quality of life for people. Studies have long suggested that political organisation and administrative capacity explain much of the variance in developing countries' growth (Reynolds, 1985).

Governance

As with most concepts in social sciences, 'governance' is not a new term. The term 'governance' was first used in France in the fourteenth century where it meant 'seat of government'. The term became much more popular when the World Bank (1989:60) re-invented governance in a World Bank Report of 1989. The use of the term 'governance' by the World Bank signalled a new approach to development which was based on the belief that economic prosperity is not possible without a minimum level of rule of law and democracy.

The concept 'governance' has come to be used more commonly in the discussion of public administration, but the meaning of the term is not always clear. Governance has emerged as a new paradigm denoting something more than government, and replacing the traditional meaning of the term 'government', which refers to a set of instruments through which people living in a state, believing and sharing a common core of values, govern themselves by the means of laws, rules, and regulations enforced by the state apparatus. In 1992, the World Bank defined the term 'governance' as the exercise of political power to manage nation's affairs (World Bank, 1992). Of course, the exercise of that political power entails steering, control, and management functions. Thus, politics, government, and governance are intimately related to one another: the first deals with the allocation of state resources, the second stresses mechanisms of control, while the third encompasses the first two but goes beyond to include other stakeholders in the society. Therefore, governance is about maintaining public sector resources under some degree of political control and developing strategies to sustain the government's capacity to act. As a result, governance can be defined as the science of government behaviour and performance, including the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels (Peters & Pierre, 1998: 232; Dethier, 1999). This implies that governance provides the framework through which citizens and groups exercise their rights, meet their needs and articulate their interests (Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 2003:16). In this context, the term 'state' means an association for securing the common interests and promoting the common purposes of the individuals who are its members (Corry & Hodgetts, 1957:41).

However, Olowu and Sako (2002:1, 19) argue that in the last two decades, governance has become an important issue in development

policy discourse and social science research. Yet a lack of conceptual consensus on the term results in a multiplicity of definitions. Hence, for example, the relationship of governance to development, institutional reforms, and public policy processes and outcomes remains ambiguous. Therefore, governance is the formation and stewardship of the formal and informal rules that regulate the realm, the arena in which state as well as economic and societal actors interact to make decisions. Furthermore, Olowu and Sako (2002:37, 39) stress that the term governance denotes a system of values, policies, and institutions by which a society manages its economic, political, and social affairs through interaction within and among the state, civil society, and private sector. Thus, it implies a complexity of activities, pluralistic in nature, inclusive in decision-making, set in a multi-institutional organisational context, empowering the weaker sections of society, and geared to achieve the generally accepted common good. The concept 'governance' is founded on the four pillars, namely: legitimacy, transparency, accountability, and morality/spirituality.

According to Kooiman (1993:2, 258), governance is a set of patterns that emerge from governing activities of social, political and administrative actors. For him, these patterns form the emerging outcomes which constitute a more abstract framework at a higher level for day-to-day governing activities. The author adds that 'governing' can be described as those purposeful activities of social, political and administrative actors aimed at guiding, steering, controlling or managing aspects or facets of society. This has led to the definition that 'governance' is the pattern or structure that emerges in a socio-political system as a common result or outcome of the interacting intervention efforts of all involved actors. This pattern cannot be reduced to the outcome produced by one actor or groups of actors in particular. Inherent in Kooiman's definition is the idea of public-private interactions within a network of relationships

aimed at achieving desired objectives for society. From a public management perspective, Lynn *et al.* (2001) usefully define governance as regimes of laws, rules, judicial decisions and administrative practices that constrain, prescribe and enable the exercise of public authority on behalf of the public interest.

Governance can also be described as the way in which the underlying values of a nation (usually articulated in some way in its Constitution) are institutionalised. This has formal aspects such as separated powers, checks and balances, means of transferring power, transparency, and accountability. However, for these values to be actualised, they must guide the actions of public officials throughout the system. They must be imbedded in culture. In this regard 'leadership' is the flesh on the bones of the Constitution. It is at the heart of good governance (OECD, 2001:7). Nevertheless, the World Bank (1989:60) has defined governance briefly as the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs. Hence, Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004:21) insists that building democratic governance is therefore a necessary condition for increased responsiveness by the rulers to the economic and social development needs of the population.

To this end, Peters and Savoie (2000:38-39) note that one of the most important elements of governing is goal setting, or the determination of priorities. The old adage that 'to govern is to choose' remains true, and it indicates that priority setting is a central feature of governing. The basic argument here is that one organisation, or a single government, is the most probable source of governance in the sense of priority setting and coordination of policies. For this reason, Dallas (2004:273) insists that governance is an important element in measuring government performance. One cannot talk of governance without referring to good governance. What is good governance?

Good Governance

Kuye and Kakumba (2008:631-632) argue that the emphasis on good governance continues to capture a generous attention in a wider socio-economic and political spectrum of policies and decisions, both at national and international level. While there are several positions on what entails good governance, there are common denominators that explain the term. However, McGinnis (1999:1) argues that governance is the way society as a whole manages the full array of its political, economic, and social affairs. By shaping the incentives facing individuals and local communities, governance either facilitates or hinders economic development. If the overall governance structure reinforces the capability of local groups to deal with their own problems, then user groups have an incentive to manage their own common-pool resources wisely. Under these circumstances development is likely to be sustainable. As a result, 'good governance' is a means to an end, and not an end by itself. The end is a well-functioning state. That well-functioning state should at least do the following: maintain law and order; defend and enhance individual liberties; maintain checks and balances; and foster a growing economy.

António (2001:68) describes good governance as an essential stage towards meeting the objectives of sustainable and people-centred development, prosperity and peace. Good governance is therefore defined by the rule of law, the existence of effective state institutions, transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs, respect for human rights, and the meaningful participation of all citizens, particularly women, in the political processes and decisions affecting their lives. It is a process in which people are empowered and have sufficient freedom to set priorities for their development needs, which take into account their specific socio-economic and cultural circumstances. In this way, good governance can play a crucial role in ensuring people-oriented development particularly in Africa, because it

demands that all citizens and groups articulate their interests, needs and concerns. Therefore, Mule (2001:73) insists that good governance should be both political and economic. These together underpin sustained development. Within this broad definition, there are many variations of good governance in Africa's context, and it is impossible and unwise to try to come up with a highly specific definition of what is good governance in all countries. Despite this difficulty, there are a number of minimum conditions for good governance. These include: must have capable and effective administration; must be capable of preventing conflicts; and must have functioning institutions.

There are three stands to good governance: systemic, political and administrative. The 'systemic' use of governance is broader than government covering the distribution of both internal and external political and economic power. The 'political' use of governance refers to a state enjoying both legitimacy and authority, derived from a democratic mandate. Finally, the 'administrative' use refers to an efficient, open, accountable and audited public service (Leftwich, 1993:611; Pierre, 2000). As a result, governments with higher quality public institutions, the rule of law, and lower levels of corruption do better at both growth and human development.

Good governance depends on well-working institutions and a cadre of capable public officials. It also depends on good leadership (Bräutigam, 2000:54). This implies that good governance is an essential stage towards meeting the objectives of sustainable and people-centred development, prosperity and peace. Good governance is defined by the rule of law, the existence of effective state institutions, transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs, respect for human rights, and the meaningful participation of all citizens in the political processes and decisions affecting their lives. For instance, one can stress

that good governance is a process through which people are empowered and have sufficient freedom to set priorities for their development needs, which in turn take into account their specific socio-economic and cultural circumstances.

Development

Chari and Corbridge (2008:3) argue that most of us have given some thought to the matter of development. It is one of the most heavily used words of our time and one of the most contentious. For many people, in the global north, development is something that happens to other people. But even a few moments' thought shows this cannot be right. Development in the sense of social, economic and political change is happening all the time, everywhere. None of us stands still. In any case, the rich countries of today were not always so rich. It is widely agreed that the economic gap between Europe, Asia and Africa was far less around 1750, than it was in 1950. Something happened during this two-hundred-year period that led to enormous geographical differences in the global map of poverty and plenty.

Every socio-political problem (past, present or future) can be seen as a potential need. But a problem is only a problem in governing terms when it has been articulated as such. The articulation of a problem implies the wish for a solution, public, private or mixed. In this sense every need (physical, social, emotional) can be expressed as the wish of a system to be governed in the direction of satisfaction. In the development of needs as parts of governance, a thorough understanding of the system concerned is essential. There can only be an active society, that is to say, one that is master of itself, if governance is able to understand, to react and to use the dynamics, complexity and diversity of modern societies. For that purpose, governance should, in contrast to what we are used to, be able to cope much better with uncertainty, instability, even chaos,

long-term perspectives, broader orientations and great diversity of lifestyles and meanings (Kooiman, 1994:44, 48).

Development first emerged as a subject area in the second half of the twentieth century. After the Second World War, scholars and practitioners sought to study the causes of poverty and underdevelopment in a more systematic and sustained way than it had been before. Now, the substance of development studies – especially in relation to the developing world or the South – focuses mainly on poverty reduction and improving human development. It is a dynamic field whose importance cannot be understated as the gap between rich and poor grows seemingly ever wider. Development is a key dynamic of personal life, social relations, politics, economics and culture in the countries and regions that provide such (Haynes, 2008:vi). In this context, the concept ‘development’ can be described as the process of improving the quality of all human lives. Three equally important aspects of development are: raising people’s living levels, i.e. their incomes and consumption levels of food, medical services, education, etc., through relevant economic growth processes; creating conditions conducive to the growth of people’s self-esteem through the establishment of social, political, and economic systems and institutions which promote human dignity and respect; and increasing people’s freedom to choose by enlarging the range of choice variables, e.g. increasing varieties of consumer goods and services (Fox & Meyer, 1995:36).

Economic development occurs when persons form capital, making present sacrifices in order to reap future gains. It occurs when they form economic organisations that productively combine...such that the product of the whole – be it a city or a firm – exceeds the sum of what can be produced by the parts. When people invest and combine, the city then displaces the village, the firm displaces the farm...prosperous

societies emerge from the great transformation. Political development occurs when people domesticate violence, transforming coercion from a means of predation into a productive resource. Coercion becomes productive when it is employed not to seize or to destroy wealth, but rather to safeguard and promote its creation. The political roots of development productively join with the economic when specialists in violence realise that they can best survive and prevail by promoting the prosperity of their economic base (Bates, 2001:101-102).

The Country/The state

The term 'country' or 'state' will be interchangeably used to refer to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). It is important to stress that from the colonial period up to the second republic eras it was customary to use a plethora of names such as: Congo Free State, Belgian Congo, Congo/Leopoldville, Congo/Kinshasa, Zaïre.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

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).

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). Furthermore, the authors argue that 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).

According to Tshiyoyo (2006:10-11), in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (hereafter referred to as the DRC) economic development was essentially concentrated on the self-mining sector. Results show that, by the lack of diversification of revenue sources, the single mining sector neither responded favourably nor played the role expected from it by the government. The role of the mining sector was, however, to generate funds in order to finance the development process in the country. Though the mining sector did benefit from flourishing prices of mineral products such as copper, cobalt, diamonds, and so on, in the global

markets around the 1970s, these products allowed the sector to sustain the growth but only for a short period of time because of the fact that when trends changed in the world markets, the products of exportation faced a significant collapse in terms of prices and, thus, have had damaging effects on the global economic system and particularly on the Congolese economy. The most significant damage was the disequilibrium recorded in the macro-economic aggregates, which paved the way for crises to take place. As a result, the DRC is faced with a situation of deep crisis for many years. How could a country endowed with resources in such abundance concentrate its development on one sector while there are many opportunities for diversifying its sources of revenue? It is essential to note that development should not be regarded as a result of efforts engaged by one sector but the fruit of interaction between all sectors of the economy in the country. It is only then that development can become sustainable.

However, if any country deserves the sympathy of the outside world for the injustices heaped up on it during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is the DRC. Its colonial experience was among the harshest and most tragic. Its independence-era government was among the world's worst. Efforts of the world community to correct problems that outsiders had been instrumental in causing were fitful at best (Zagorski, 2009:476-477). A history of colonialism, post-colonial armed conflicts, mismanagement, lack of the rule of law and corruption has meant that despite its abundant natural resources, Africa remains underdeveloped and poverty, hunger, natural disasters and endemic diseases are prevalent. Ambassador Daniel António, Assistant Secretary-General of the then Organisation for African Unity - OAU (currently known as the African Union - AU), argues that despite these difficulties there is increased hope as the people of Africa begin to take the initiative and reverse the current situation. António believes that this can be achieved

if there is genuine commitment by all those concerned, including the international community, to good governance, liberalisation, cooperation, peace and democracy (António, 2001:68). Nevertheless, 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. The successive rulers have not been committed to the resolution of these problems through the provision of basic social services.

The DRC has now held a series of elections that mark the end of the long transition period, new institutions are being put in place at the national and provincial levels. Nevertheless, a culture of impunity compounded by an inversion of moral values will be among the many challenges confronting the leaders of the new regime. For decades, the Congolese corrupt elites privatised the state in collusion with international networks and systematically destroyed what was one of the most promising economies of the African continent (Kodi, 2007). As a result, the country is today ranked among the poorest and the most corrupt in the world. According to the United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), the DRC is the last country on the table of multi-dimensional poverty index (MPI). The country ranks 187 with 71.3 percent of national poverty line (NPL). The UNDP defines Multi-dimensional Poverty Index as the percentage of the population that is multi-dimensionally poor adjusted by the intensity of the deprivations (UNDP, 2011:145). For instance, an archetypical characteristic of 'failed states' is their retreat from the public domain and more particularly their inability to provide basic public services. These failed states are seen as a 'vacuum of authority' in which the state is nothing more than 'a mere geographical

expression, a black hole into which a failed polity has fallen' (Rotberg, 2003:21).

The DRC is seen as a prime example of a failed state: a 'forsaken black hole characterised by calamity, chaos, confusion, and a bizarre form of social cannibalism where society is its own prey' (Trefon, 2004:1). In this 'forsaken black hole', public services seem almost utopian: the state has to a large extent retreated from its basic functions, most notably the provision of security (Vlasssemroot & Raeymaekers, 2004:412), but also other public policy domains. In this context, the government will be faced with the difficult responsibility of deciding on priorities in an environment where all sectors require urgent attention. In fact, the DRC has been shattered by several decades of kleptocracy and conflict which have left the population of one of the richest countries in Africa in dire straits. Most of the active population is unemployed and ekes out a wretched living in the informal sector of the economy. The country's formal economy and the infrastructure have been completely destroyed. The multifaceted challenges will include endemic and rampant corruption which was not considered a priority during the transition period by the Congolese authorities and the international community as they all feared that dealing with corruption would destabilise the very delicate transition period and jeopardise the elections. In all the priority areas of its reform programmes, which may include the security, justice, civil service and mining sectors, the government should aim at ending impunity and creating the necessary stability, capacity and resources to enable the government to start the process of building a state in the heart of the African continent (Kodi, 2007).

Isern *et al.* (2007) insist that the DRC government has a critical role to play in improving the regulatory environment and developing the financial infrastructure (payment system, bank card system, and so

forth), plus overall infrastructure (roads, electricity, and so forth) essential for economic development. Jerome and Busari (2008) state that re-creating a viable economy after prolonged violent conflict remains one of the most daunting challenges confronting development practitioners. However, different systems need different kinds of leaders, and different countries, with different cultural backgrounds and at different stages of development, need different systems (Nixon, 1982:340). Therefore, the first and most critical element of transformation is leadership at the top. Top leadership should be directly and actively involved in establishing an environment that encourages change, innovation, risk taking, pride in work and continuous improvement. Alignment of the top team in understanding transformation and the need for change, as well as giving clear guidance will constitute the most important factor in transforming and reforming the public service in the African context and particularly in the DRC (De Vries, 2008:89).

To this end, one can note that 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 socio-economic 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). It is in the light of this background that the study intends to examine the factors that have influenced the situation that currently prevails in the DRC.

The subject of discourse in this study is *'leadership and governance imperatives for development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo'*. The study intends to provide an understanding of the historical background

of leadership and governance in the DRC. This is done with the aim of demonstrating how this context has created the challenges the country is currently faced with. The study intends also to outline the current bottlenecks to the rise of effective leadership in the country and it explains the extent to which leadership crisis has influenced the state's failure. The analysis of global leadership and governance trends, with focus on the developments taking place in developing countries, will help in formulating recommendations that may assist in paving a way for promoting the attainment of governance imperatives in the country. In order to meet the objectives of the study, the research comprises six chapters as indicated in the chapters' delineation (see section 1.4). Before moving further it is essential that the next section outlines the maps so that one can locate the DRC. The first map demonstrates the strategic location of the DRC on the African continent and the second provides the current configuration of the country.



Figure 1.1: The map of the African continent

Source: <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/maps.htm#Africa>



Figure 1.2: Political map of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Source: <http://mappery.com/maps/Democratic-Republic-of-Congo-Map.Mediumthumb.jpg>

It is worth mentioning that the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Act of 2006 adopted a federal system of government, changing the administrative configuration of the country from 11 to 23 provinces. The administrative reform was scheduled for December 2009 but due to a lack of financial resources, the government was not able to implement the reform as planned. Up to the completion of this study the reform has not yet taken place. It is for this reason that the new political map of the DRC will not be presented in this study.

1.2 Critical eras in the history of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

There are three critical eras that have influenced leadership style in the country. These eras consist of the colonial era, the independence era and the second republic era. The aftermath of the second republic era may be subsumed within the last cited critical era for the purpose of this categorisation. There is a correlation among these periods.

1.2.1 Leadership during the colonial era

From the colonial era, the major legacy Europe left for Africa was not democracy as it is practised today in countries such as England, France and Belgium; it was authoritarian rule and plunder. On the African continent perhaps no nation has had a harder time than the Congo in emerging from the shadow of the past (Hochschild, 2002). Hochschild (2002) observes that when independence was obtained, the country fared badly. During the colonial era some black Africans were being trained for that distant day; but when pressure grew and independence was granted in 1960, in the entire territory there were fewer than 30 such African university graduates (Meredith, 2006). As a result, the Congo accessed its independence not having enough cadres to take over from colonialists. This lack created many of the challenges the country faced especially in the era that followed colonisation.

1.2.2 Leadership during the independence era

Congolese independence in 1960 was primarily an expression of the anti-colonial struggle that saw the emergence of new independent nations worldwide. Arnold adds that it is clear, judging from the current

performance of African countries, that the legacy they inherited indicates that on granting independence most colonial powers had clearly not focussed on developing infrastructure. Most of the former colonial countries were starting from tiny underdeveloped economic bases. As a result, the independence of emerging countries was hollow and the countries could therefore not achieve sustainable development. This desperate situation forced the leaders of emerging states to seek compromises with their former colonial masters (Arnold, 2005).

It is essential to note that a short while after independence, the Congo entered into a turbulent phase that was characterised by political instability, rebellions and civil wars that destroyed the fragile legacy of colonialism. What the country went through during its first months of independence, somehow determined what has been going on in that country for the past five decades.

1.2.3 Leadership during the second republic

A few months after its independence in June 1960 the DRC plunged into deep political crisis and social instability. Hence, after the assassination of Patrice Emery Lumumba (Prime Minister at independence) the second republic era started with the *coup d'état* led by Colonel Joseph-Désiré Mobutu, who later renamed himself Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu wa Zabanga (which can be translated as the all-powerful warrior who, because of his endurance and inflexible will to win, will go from conquest to conquest leaving fire in his wake) in 1965. Mobutu's rule appears to confirm the theory postulated by Frantz Fanon (1963:170-176) regarding the collaboration of the colonialists and certain national elements. For instance, the prolonged life span of Mobutu's dictatorship underscores the power and strength of the collaboration. During the second republic that existed for over three decades, the Congo did not ever hold

democratic elections; multi-party democracy was not allowed up until 24 April 1990. Mobutu's autocratic regime dedicated its bankruptcy to three blatant orders of disorder, namely, the order of subversion, which bases society on the will of the arbitrary power of a person presumed absolute, because he is armed; the order of corruption, which institutes private law to replace the law of labour and the law of society; and the order of perversion, because it rebels against everything relating to value (Kinkela, 1993:139). The second republic could have not survived for so long without the support Mobutu received from Western powers. This situation confirms Frantz Fanon's theory on compromise.

Fanon's theory on compromise and collaboration between the colonisers and the elite of the colonised society is relevant when one examines leadership in the aftermath of independence, mainly in the second republic as the first republic did not last long due to rebellions and political turbulence. Frantz Fanon's theory (1963:170-176) argues that compromise involves the colonial system and the young nationalist bourgeoisie at one and the same time. Fanon's view is particularly instructive as it focuses on the collaboration of what he refers to as a 'national bourgeoisie' in the pacification of the masses. The arrangement hastily made between the colonisers and certain elements of the colonised societies who stood to benefit at the expense of the overwhelming majority has created the foundation for the *status quo* in many developing countries. This relationship is a precursor of the unjust, unfair and unacceptable world order in which the benefits of the process of globalisation are accrued largely by the developed countries, and a handful of local holders of power. The tendency to seek out collaborators capable of protecting one's interests is old and can be traced back as far as the period of slavery, where some chiefs sold their subjects in return for personal benefits.

1.2.4 The aftermath of the second republic era

The DRC remains a country that still endures the pain of Leopold II's ghost; it remains the country that was dear to Patrice Emery Lumumba, who died as a martyr for his nationalism; it also remains a country that was beloved by Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, a leader imposed on the Congolese people by the Western countries during the cold war and who ruled the country for more than three decades; it is a country of the so-called wars of liberation with Laurent-Désiré Kabila, also imposed by imperialists using the DRC's neighbouring countries. It is essential to once more stress that the DRC remains a country of President Joseph Kabila, a president who came to power in a mysterious way and a leader who has not taken seriously the stability and development of the country in spite of all the support his regime has received from the international community. Nevertheless, all the crises that have taken place in the DRC since the independence in 1960 are just an example of a kind of predation that has no common measure in the entire world. Governance by predation which has been imposed on the DRC undermines the human nature of the Congolese people (Omari, 2011). However, the present political leadership in the DRC does not really differ from the leadership during Mobutu's rule. Political power is still largely exercised through networks of patronage. Even if the peace process aimed at instituting a different culture of governance, the end result has seemed merely to be a confirmation of former practices rather than the start of a fresh political system based on accountability, transparency and democratic representation (Vlassemroot & Romkena, 2007:31). To this end, the context in which leadership evolves in the DRC can be more readily understood in the light of the history of leaders before and after independence. Since independence in 1960 the country has been faced with institutional and structural problems that have, to a considerable level, shaped the environment in which leadership emerges.

Umeh and Andranovich (2005:xii) insist that every administrative system is influenced by the greater culture, whether the greater culture is democratic or autocratic in its governance. In order to change policy and administrative processes, we must understand the political, historical, and cultural contexts in which they have arisen. It is for this reason that the sections above dealt with the various stages the DRC went through in terms of leadership and governance. These eras have been highlighted in order to demonstrate the extent to which politics has influenced and is still influencing the functioning of the state as a whole and particularly the civil service in the DRC. The next section examines the bearing of these circumstances on the functioning of the civil service in the DRC.

1.3 Civil service in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The sterling contribution many of Africa's civil services have made to development and good governance is now nearly a thing of the past. Currently such contributions are restricted to a number of outlying countries. The civil service as an institution was originally bequeathed to Africa as part of the colonial legacy. It was an institution that was originally forged to serve as an instrument for promoting the colonial powers that ruled Africa. As the countries approached independence, this institution was further refined to ensure that it could serve the new political leadership. There is documented evidence that this institution served its purpose. Generally, civil services declined in most African countries from the 1970s onwards (Adamolekun, 2002:377). However, most of the African national governments initiated their earliest administrative reforms in the 1970s, shortly after independence. The objective of those reforms was to transform the inherited bureaucracies from colonial systems that were meant to maintain law and order in the

colonies [to the benefit of the colonial masters and their stooges characterised by the comprador bourgeoisie] into administration entities that could promote development. This entailed efforts at increasing the scope and effectiveness of these administrative systems. But many African countries had built economic and political structures within their emerging administrative systems that promoted autocracy, which undermined productivity and effectiveness. With the two oil shocks and the subsequent global recession of the 1970s these countries ran into heavy debt and were compelled by their development partners and international financial institutions to undertake the second set of reforms – associated with a liberal Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). This included severe cutbacks in the public sector in the early 1980s. By the early 1990s, however, it was already becoming clear that these cutback measures did not improve productivity either. In fact, they led to more bureaucracy and corruption instead of providing an enabling environment. A third round of public sector reforms therefore ensued with the countries pushing for new public management type reforms focused on capacity building and development to promote the three Ms, namely: markets, managerialism and measurement. This reform brought relief from the cutback management associated with stabilisation and SAP reforms. By 2000, a fourth round of reforms focused on service delivery to the citizens as customers. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agreed to by world leaders in 2000 gave new fillip to this focus on service delivery (Olowu, 2010: 636-637).

With the introduction of independence in 1960 the DRC inherited a civil service that was in good shape, though it had been used mainly as an instrument for promoting the colonial power that ruled the country. In spite of the fact that these structures were not wholly suitable for the needs of the newly independent citizens, 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. As a result, the country lies in ruins. Only a few months after achieving independence in 1960, the DRC went through a crisis due to political turmoil and instability. It was only in the early 1970s that the country was able to instigate some reforms as Mobutu Sese Seko, a general at the time, was able to settle his power. During that decade, the country's public services were considered to be among the best in the sub-Saharan region. The situation deteriorated significantly due to the consequences of inadequate policies that were adopted, particularly the policy of 'Zairianisation'. Broadly, most of the various reforms adopted after independence can be classified as masquerade. These so-called reforms were merely attempts made to close up the cracks that were already noticeable in the system of governance, especially during the second republic led by Mobutu. For instance, Nzongola-Ntalaja (1982:44) argues that during the second republic the state became a neo-colonial one that primarily served the interests of externally-based dominant classes and the interests of those who ran it in the DRC. Rotberg (2002:128) notes that destructive decisions by individual leaders have almost always paved the way to state failure. President Mobutu's kleptocratic rule of more than three decades sucked Zaïre (now known as the DRC) dry until he was deposed in 1997. Shekhawat (2009:7) stresses that the Congolese state and economy still bear the deep impact of Mobutu's *predatory* rule of thirty-two years. Executive power in Zaïre, a name given to the DRC by Mobutu, was absolute.

The 30th of June 2010 marked the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of independence for the DRC. This occasion brought mixed emotions as some Congolese citizens were celebrating, while others were shocked by

the current situation facing the country. For the latter group this was an opportunity not only to look back and speculate on what went wrong in Congolese public affairs, but also to come up with a strategy to tackle the many challenges faced the country particularly its civil services. Therefore, this section focuses on the state of the public service in the DRC in order to examine its performance after half a century of independence. The section specifically examines the extent to which various policies adopted after the country's gaining of independence have influenced the current configuration of the public service and the way it operates. It is however imperative that the section provides the historical background of public affairs and looks at major civil service reforms that took place in the country before outlining some of the hindrances to a proper functioning of the public service in the DRC.

1.3.1 Historical overview of public affairs from 1960 to 2010

In 1960, the Congo/Zaire emerged from what by all accounts was a brutal colonial period under Belgian authority with an economy that, though it was the second most industrialised in sub-Saharan Africa, founded largely on its mineral wealth, was also profoundly dualistic. The colonial authorities created a relatively centralised state administration, but inhibited the formation of a nation. However, in its extreme prohibition of non-tribal forms of organisation until the last decade before independence, and in its failure to promote a common language through the territory, Belgium bequeathed to the population an emergent elite characterised by profound ethnic animosities (not only between regions, but within them as well, based on patterns of forced labour migration and systematic patterns of discrimination and privileging between ethnic groups). As already intimated, the historical overview of public affairs in the Congo/Zaire can be grouped into two main periods present date.

The First Period: 1960–1965

The first five years of independence (1960-1965) provide a *cautionary tale* for the younger generation in the DRC today. Elections held soon after independence led almost directly to civil war that pitted radical nationalists against moderate nationalists and both those groups against federalists and tribalists. Secessionist movements drew their fighting strength from members of the *Force Publique*, which was quickly divided on ethnic lines. The embryonic *Armée Nationale Congolaise* (ANC) proved entirely ineffective in asserting control from the centre. Extreme instability led to five lost years of development in economic terms, as sites of production were captured by emergent local elites and resources diverted to finance warfare or to build new fortunes (Putzel, Lindemann & Schouten 2008:iv). The dilemma of the then newly independent country can be summed up by citing two keen observers of the period (Young & Turner, 1985:42) who repeat the ironic words spoken by Mobutu as he explained his seizure of power in 1965:

The very existence of the nation was threatened ... from the interior and the exterior. From the interior by the sterile conflicts of politicians who sacrificed the country and their compatriots to their own interests. Nothing counted for them but power ... Fill their own pockets, exploit the Congo and the Congolese, this was their trademark. Given such examples, both national and provincial administrations were mired in inertia, inefficiency, and worse yet, corruption

In summation, the first period was characterised by the challenge of establishing a true Congolese leadership in the management of the country's public affairs. But because of a lack of cadres trained in the management of state's apparatus, the country went through a good five years of destruction of inherited structures. For instance, as already

stated, in 1960, the DRC counted less than 30 cadres who had freshly graduated from Lovanium (now known as Université de Kinshasa - UNIKIN), the only major University the country had by the time of independence. This university, created in 1956, was a private initiative of a Belgian Catholic Priest, Monsignor Luc Gillon. Belgium took charge of the Congo in 1886, and the colonialists never established a proper higher education institution. This demonstrates colonisers' unwillingness to prepare Congolese cadres for a take-over.

The second period: 1965–1974

Given the ultimate decline of the state and economy by the end of Mobutu's 32-year reign, it is often forgotten that the Congo/Zaire experienced its only significant period of state building during his first decade in power. After he seized power with the backing of the notorious *Binza Group* and Western powers, Mobutu's regime consolidated authority across the entire territory of the country. The number of provinces was reduced, with a significant reduction in the power of local networks, and a concerted effort was made to marginalise traditional authorities. Mobutu's government set out to build a modern public administration dependent on the centre, ensuring that officials did not serve in their territories of origin.

While there was some effort to maintain an ethnic balance in appointments, those who held office served as officials of the then Zaire, not of their locality. Nevertheless, the regime made significant gains in expanding education, achieving a 92% enrolment in primary schools and an impressive expansion of the secondary and tertiary educational sectors. Achievements in health service delivery were also significant, not only with a radical enlargement of educated health personnel, but also a 95% rate of vaccination against childhood diseases and the establishment of a primary health care system that was envied in other

parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Putzel *et al.*, 2008:v-vi). Paradoxically, within a system whose degree of centralisation and authoritarian paternalism was probably second to none in Africa, an administration carved out a *zone of autonomy* or *invulnerability*, relatively speaking, *vis-à-vis* its environment. This is permitted by the class in power which obtains what it needs out of channels and leaves the bureaucracy to its own devices, within the general framework of two widespread watchwords. *Débrouillez-vous* or *look after yourself* was elevated into Article 15 of the Constitution by Premier Albert Kalonji of secessionist Kasai (a state without a formal budget) when he was asked in 1960 how his civil servants would get along without salaries. And, in May 1976, President Mobutu told a public assembly in Kinshasa that while brazen theft was bad, people could and perhaps should *iba na mayele* or *steal cleverly*. Both of these quotations are revealing less for their literal truth than for their contextual importance. They are widely believed to be the factors which not only motivate bureaucrats at virtually every level [throughout Africa], but which also reflect the indifference on the part of the upper classes as to the efficient functioning of the administration (Gould, 1977:359). These two periods are crucial in the history of the Congo/Zaire as they have, to a large extent, influenced the current politics/Administration interface in the country. When it achieved its independence, the DRC had numerous incentives for development, but because of inadequate policies adopted in the early stage of decolonisation the country is now unable to render to its citizens even the basic public services (Tshiyoyo, 2011:107). The next section highlights some of the major civil service reforms that have influenced the functioning of the public service in the DRC.

1.3.2 Major civil reforms

African civil services have been subjected to perpetual rounds of reforms that have, in many cases, aggravated problems, because the core issue of how to pay for quality civil service on a sustained basis has not been given the much-deserved emphasis. Many African countries have lost the capacity to pay for a high quality civil service due, in part, to the poverty of their economies, the structure of politics and administration, globalisation, and wrong-headed reform programmes (Olowu, 2010:632).

As already mentioned, most of the African national governments initiated their earliest administrative reforms in the 1970s, shortly after independence. The DRC was not an exception. The first decade of independence in the DRC was characterised by political instability and civil wars of different forms. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1960s Mobutu was able to settle his rule and created room for reforms to take place in the early 1970s. Here is a summary of the reforms that took place in the first half century of independence:

- Attempts were made to decentralise certain human resources functions in 1970s, but these did not achieve the desired outcome; in fact, they only served to exacerbate nepotism and corruption.
- In the 1980s, the move towards decentralisation was reversed, which was yet another failure. It further contributed to the bloating of the public service and the creation of *ghost* employees in the system. According to people who are intimate with the history of the DRC's public service, these responses to the crisis in the public service were not reforms in the true sense of the word. They argue that such steps were mere attempts to tamper with the system, which was either meant to close up cracks or consolidate

Mobutism. For example, three major public service initiatives that promised a respite from the stranglehold of excessive centralisation within the public service were launched in 1982, 1983 and 1995. These never really took off. The 1983 decree, hoping to establish a central computerised database of public servants collapsed, allegedly after saboteurs planted a virus in the system.

- More genuine reform efforts came in the wake of the 1997 ousting of President Mobutu by Laurent-Désiré Kabila, who soon afterward embarked on a massive programme of national reconstruction. But yet again, any hope of breaking away from the country's violent legacy seemed to disappear with the January 2001 assassination of President Laurent-Désiré Kabila (Moloi, 2010:77).

- Since President Joseph Kabila came to power in 2001, the international community has invested significantly in efforts to rebuild the Congo. State-building efforts, however, have not achieved the expected results. International partners and the Congolese authorities share responsibility for failing to bring about genuine political change and institutional reconstruction. The former have underestimated the complexities of Congolese political culture while the latter deliberately hamper reform. Administrative weaknesses and the particular nature of public service provision in the Congo constitute overwhelming obstacles to state-building (Trefon, 2010:702).

The above-mentioned reforms have in some way influenced what has been going on in the Congolese public service up to the present. At the moment, the public service is almost nonexistent; it is weak and in bad shape, and it cannot play one of its fundamental roles of supporting governmental initiatives. However, since 2005 the Congolese government,

in partnership with the South African government, initiated the head count of public servants as an important step to streamline the Congolese public service. This inventory was not an end but a stride in the process of tackling the many challenges facing the public service in the DRC. Although this process has been successful thus far, there are many other challenges that need to be addressed at the same time. As long as the challenges which hinder a proper functioning of the civil service are not addressed holistically even the best policies drafted for the reconstruction of the country will not bear positive results in their implementation phase. The next section enumerates some of the hindrances to the functioning of the civil service in the DRC.

1.3.3 Impediments to the proper functioning of the civil service

There are three main developments which can explain the decline of civil service in most of African states. The first is the policy of indigenisation, the second is the systematic politicisation of the civil service's higher echelons and, finally, there is the drift to dictatorship and military rule. Each of these political developments led to a situation in which several of the key bureaucratic values of merit, objectivity, political neutrality and integrity, became casualties (Olowu, 2010:635-636). The DRC has faced all the above-mentioned challenges and will for quite some time suffer the effects of this unfortunate past. The key impediments hindering a proper functioning of the civil service in the DRC are as follows:

Governance by predation

In the DRC today, there is little questioning of cronyism at the individual level and, logically, criticism of it in governance circles tends to be muted. The same cannot be said of predation. Predation in the modes documented here (illegal taxation and rent-seeking, administrative *tracasseries*, physical violence, coercion and deprivation) may be a

common feature of the contemporary Congolese administration, but ordinary citizens consider it exceptionally base and highly reprehensible (Rackley, 2006:429). Governance by predation started long before the country's independence. The patterns of rule established by the Belgians have been used by Congolese rulers. For instance, Mobutu firmly established a precedent of neo-patrimony and cronyism, which are maintained even today. The control of mines in Kasai and Katanga by the transitional government before the 2006 elections has been classified as the most lucrative and militarised predation documented in 2004. Given the predatory behaviour of rulers, it is difficult to enforce the rule of law as there is neither consideration nor respect for the institutions of the state (Tshiyoyo, 2011:109). This behaviour which has persisted in the country's system of governance for the last fifty years has destroyed the ruler-citizen relationship as the citizens no longer have confidence in their rulers. This has tarnished the image of the public service, which is also incapable of delivering the basic public services to the citizens. For example, Titeca and De Herdt (2011:213) note that in the DRC, the state administration has retreated from much of the public domain. The specific case of the education sector – a domain traditionally reserved for the state – shows how public services continue to be provided, and how the Congolese state continues to survive and transform itself. Although no overall power governs the system – there is no overall regulatory authority – this does not mean that the education sector is ungoverned. The state survives as an administrative framework whose role in providing public services has been redefined rather than evaporated. De Herdt and Poncelet (2010:23) argue that a more significant step in the retreat of the Congolese state from the education sector dates back to the era of Zaïre's structural adjustment programme, which was marked by an implosion of the education budget. Real expenditure per pupil dropped from US\$159 in 1982 to \$23 in 1987 and finally to around \$4 in 2002. Teachers' salaries dropped from \$68 to \$27 per month between

1982 and 1987, reaching an absolute minimum of \$12.90 in 2002. Further, the number of teachers supported (paid) by the state was cut from 285,900 teachers in 1982 to half of this number in 2002, although there has been a slow recovery since that time.

Relationship politics and administration

The way the administration is instrumentalised by the state's political elite contributes to reform failure in the DRC. They exploit the administration in the same way that they exploit mafia type networks for political survival and personal enrichment. Instrumentalisation is a dynamic and constant process, notably in strategic areas targeted for reform. The state manifests itself via the administration for security purposes, for example, which is one of its fundamental sovereign prerogatives. The branches involved in the protection of territory and population, but especially protection of the elite themselves, are the army, the police, the intelligence services (*Agence Nationale de Renseignements* – ANR) and border control (*Direction Générale des Migrations* – DGM). Although the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Interior theoretically control these services, important decisions come directly from President Joseph Kabila and his advisers (Trefon, 2010:713). In this context, the administration is instrumentalised to reinforce and stabilise the political elite (Diouf, 2002:33). As a result, it is difficult for the civil service to function properly and to be responsive to the expectations of society as civil servants are merely striving for their own survival.

The nature of the Congolese administration

The politics/administration interface, outlined in the previous section, has made the Congolese public administration ambiguous, arbitrary and somewhat of a hybrid. For instance, in the DRC administrative procedures are conditioned by the mood, availability and personal

expectations and needs of civil servants who thrive on the ambiguity of their work environment. Depending on the context, they may adopt a formal discourse (strictly adhering to rules and regulations) just as they may opt for an informal approach (inventing or interpreting rules). From a strictly formal perspective, the administration is based on legal instruments that define state–society relations, specifying rights and responsibilities (Trefon, 2010:714). This has promoted the decay of public institutions as the public service is not able to play a meaningful role within the society.

The administrative reform flaws

A fundamental flaw in the reform process is its reliance on the Congolese administrative structure. In the context of state crisis, Congolese administrations are unable and often unwilling to work towards reform. Instead of facilitating reform, they undermine it. State crisis in the DRC is characterised by the loss of legitimacy, abdication from the development agenda, inability to maintain security (or assure the monopoly of coercion), shortcomings in the management of political and technical priorities, and the inability to mobilise, generate or manage internal and external financial resources. Despite these overwhelming problems, the DRC endures an administrative space in which state agents and citizens seem to have reached a complex but workable form of accommodation. It is also a space where international partners persist in believing in the role of the Congolese civil servant as reform intermediary. Consequently, the reform planning process in the DRC is flawed. There is a missing link, which is a qualified, dynamic, honest, hard-working cadre of civil servants who are decently paid, respected by service users and motivated to rebuild the country. This explains in large part why reform initiatives have not achieved the expected results (Trefon, 2010:712, 719). For instance, Congolese authorities cunningly smother reform initiatives, but without completely suffocating them. The twofold

objective is to keep them alive (for funding, to maintain tolerable relations with foreign partners, or to stay on board as part of a process) but, at the same time, to slow down, block or sabotage reform. It will be difficult for the public service to function effectively as long as those in leadership positions who are supposed to bring about change have double minds, wanting one thing and its opposite at the same time (Tshiyoyo, 2011:110).

Human resource management dilemmas

Most African countries are confronted with human resource management (HRM) dilemmas. One of these dilemmas is that the demand for and supply of high quality human (technical) resource skills has fallen short over time for the civil services of most African countries. And, in an era of globalisation, these indigenous experts are moving to countries where they can attract the highest pay to support their families (Olowu, 2010:637-638). A major problem complicating HRM improvement in many African countries is the absence of reliable data, in spite of many years of reforms aimed at lowering the size of and numbers in the civil service (Olowu, 2010:647). Although the DRC is sorting out the latter issue, other challenges are the enforcement of administrative structures, the availability of human and financial resources, and the regular payment of the salaries of public servants to motivate them to do their jobs properly. The civil servants of the DRC earn some of the lowest salaries in the world, well below the poverty line, which creates incentives for corruption. In addition, these insignificant salaries are not even paid regularly. For months and years public servants in certain institutions have not received their salaries (Tshiyoyo, 2011:110).

All the above challenges constitute the barriers that hinder the revitalisation of civil services in the DRC. In this context, leadership is needed so because it can provide the much awaited stewardship in order

to address the above-mentioned challenges. In the light of what has been said in this introductory chapter, one can note that the DRC is indeed in need of true leaders who are transformational in nature, who have skills in dealing with public affairs and are capable of reversing the patterns that have been established before and after independence. Furthermore, the country is in need of leaders who have a clear vision of where they would want to lead the country in the immediate future and can also put it on the path of economic development for the prosperity of present and future generations.

1.4 Chapters delineation

In order to meet the objectives of this study, the research is structured as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction and general overview. This chapter introduces the study by providing a background of what happened in the DRC before and after the independence. An overview of the historical background outlines the various eras the country has been through and demonstrates how these eras have influenced and are still influencing public affairs in the DRC. In this chapter, a particular emphasis is on the impact politics has had on the functioning of the civil service in the country. This lays a foundation for understanding the issues addressed in the study.

Chapter Two: Research methodology. After the introduction, the chapter examines the scientific research methods from which the approach that is applied in the study has been chosen; then the objectives are outlined before emphasising the significance of the study. Hence, the chapter proceeds to the statement of the problem which also

encapsulates the research question that guides the study. This paves a way for outlining the research design of the study. Data collection techniques are also outlined before examining the limitations and the delimitation of the study. Finally, the chapter concludes by highlighting how the study will abide to principles of ethics, reliability and validity in a qualitative research such as this.

Chapter Three: Literature review. This chapter contextualises leadership and governance in the field of Public Administration. Following the introduction, the chapter provides a conceptual framework focusing on: the definitions of key concepts and variables related to the subject of discourse in the study, the nature and scope of Public Administration, the development of Public Administration throughout the years, the study of Public Administration and the theories of Public Administration. This enables the chapter to look at the management functions in order to demonstrate why the subject of discourse in this study fits in the field of Public Administration. Thereafter, the chapter examines the theories of leadership; it enumerates some of the leadership functions before it analyses the concept of leadership in the public sector. It is also imperative for the chapter to look at the concept of governance in the context of public administration before it concludes with the analysis of leadership and governance in the African context.

Chapter Four: Case study. This chapter entails providing a case study on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The case focuses on leadership and governance imperatives in the DRC with an outline of the overview of current leadership issues. After the introduction, the chapter highlights some of the leadership challenges in the DRC and insists on governance imperatives in the country before it concludes.

Chapter Five: Analysis of the cases. This chapter analyses the cases and highlights some of the best practices in terms of leadership and governance in developing countries. The chapter presents the cases of effective leadership and good governance based on the examples of two countries, namely, Brazil and Botswana. This is done with the aim of supporting the view that good governance is possible especially when a country disposes of an ineffective leadership. The two countries are good examples of emerging economies for the respective regions, namely, the Latin America and Southern Africa regions. Their experience can be shared, adopted and/or adapted to fit the developmental needs of the DRC. The best practices established by Brazil and Botswana have inspired the study to propose a model for leadership development in the DRC before the chapter concludes.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and recommendations. This final chapter concludes the study by summarising the themes of the study, providing the factors that have influenced leadership in the country before it suggests recommendations that may assist in addressing the challenges faced by the DRC in its long road to development.

1.5 Conclusion

This first chapter is dedicated to the general introduction of the study. Therefore, it has provided an overview and the historical background of the DRC, which is the focal point of the study. It has been noted that the DRC is potentially Africa's richest country and one of the world's richest countries. The country is endowed with abundant natural resources and it counts a huge deposit of various mineral resources. Yet, the DRC is a country that lies in ruin and poverty. This boils down to the issues of leadership and governance. However, compared to other countries, the

DRC had sufficient features for growth and economic development when it accessed its independence in June 1960 but owing to the wrong patterns left by colonisation as well as a lack of adequate policies and because of mismanagement that has characterised the leadership in the post-independence era, the country has not been able to establish a system that promotes good governance. Today, the DRC ranks among the most famous failed states in the world and it also features among the poorest countries in the world.

The DRC needs responsible and purposeful leaders who will be able to strengthen state institutions and put in place a system of governance that will put the country on the path of development and prosperity. That represents the dilemma the country is currently faced with. In order to provide an effective leadership in the DRC, it is imperative for Congolese people in general and leaders particularly, to focus on addressing the challenges related to the legacy of colonialisation, strive to understand the players in global governance and become able to deal with development's challenges. It is also imperative to tackle the damaging misdemeanour of Congolese political and administrative leaders. Although the leadership crisis faced by the DRC seems deep and perhaps difficult to solve, there is room for hope especially when one considers the experience of certain African countries that are currently moving in the right direction.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

In addition to formal educative processes, people also learn from conversations with friends, relatives, neighbours, technicians, clerks, associates at work and in school, as well as from newspapers and television. This secondary informal learning is important, but restricted, because in daily encounters people rarely ask how things occur or why they occur, and they are unlikely to think about groups other than their own. To get a deeper understanding, one needs to study the world more systematically. Sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, public administrators, educators, and professionals in the medical, social, and human services apply a more methodical approach to learning, this is called social research. Social research utilises an array of techniques (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:1). Hence, research in public administration is a purposeful and systematic investigation of behaviour, processes and techniques in the administration of public institutions in order to describe, explain, and predict certain phenomena pertaining to these behaviours, processes and techniques (Botes, 1995:26).

The subject of discourse in this study regards an inquiry into leadership challenges and governance imperatives examined from a Public Administration perspective. The study seeks to look at the power play between leadership traits and the achievement of governance imperatives for the development of a nation-state with reference to the DRC. As part of meeting the objectives of the study, this chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the research methodology. After the introduction, the chapter examines the scientific research methods from which the approach applied in the study was selected; then the objectives are

outlined before emphasising the significance of the study. Thereafter, the chapter proceeds to the statement of the problem which also encapsulates the research question that guides the study. This paves a way for outlining the research design of the study. Data collection techniques are also outlined before examining the limitations and the delimitation of the study. Finally, the chapter concludes by highlighting how the study abides by the principles of ethics, reliability and validity in a qualitative research.

2.2 Scientific research methods

O’Sullivan, Rassel and Berner (2003:1) argue that understanding research methods is a key to gathering, using, and evaluating information. Taylor (2000:2) insists that the basic thrust of all research is to solve problems and to expand knowledge of our universe, which necessitates that it is carefully and systematically conducted. However, the main objective of this study is to examine the extent to which leadership influences the attainment of governance imperatives in a developing country such as the DRC. The attainment of this objective requires the use of a research methodology. It is therefore essential to first look at scientific research methods before focusing on the approach that is to be applied.

There are basically two main groups of scientific research methods, namely, quantitative research and qualitative research. But lately, reference is made of ‘triangulation’ as a third approach. All the three methods are examined.

2.2.1 Qualitative research method

The word ‘qualitative’ implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasise the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:14).

According to Cresswell (2007:15), a qualitative study is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting. Lunenburg and Irby (2008:89) stress that qualitative research emphasises understanding by closely examining people’s words, actions and records, as opposed to a quantitative research approach that investigates such words, actions, and records at a mathematically significant level, thus quantifying the results of observations. Qualitative research examines the patterns of meaning that emerge from data gathered; such patterns are often presented in the participants’ own words.

Flick (2007:1-2) argues that the term ‘qualitative research’ was for a long time used in a distinctive way to describe an alternative to ‘quantitative’ research and was coined against the background of a critique of the latter and especially the development it had taken in the 1960s and 1970s. However, qualitative research has a long history in many disciplines, where social research in general began with approaches that

would now be summarised under qualitative research. The longer the development proceeded, the more a profile of what was meant by this term became clear. This profile is no longer defined *ex negative* – qualitative research is not quantitative or not standardised or the like – but it is characterised by several features. Thus, qualitative research uses text as empirical material (instead of numbers), starts from the notion of the social construction of realities under study; it is interested in the perspectives of participants, in everyday practices and everyday knowledge referring to the issue under study. Methods should be appropriate to that issue and should be open enough to allow an understanding of a process of relation.

The qualitative research design differs from the quantitative research design in that it usually does not provide the researcher with a step-by-step plan or a fixed recipe to follow. Put more simply, qualitative researchers will, during the process, create the research design best suited to the research (De Vos, 1998:80). Therefore, qualitative research methods are designed to give real and stimulating meaning to the phenomenon by involving the researcher directly or indirectly in the process. Qualitative research may be classified as deliberative, integrative, and historical (Taylor, 2000:79).

Denzin and Lincoln (2008:xiv, 4-5) note that the qualitative research community consists of groups of globally dispersed persons who are attempting to implement a critical interpretive approach that will help them (and others) make sense of the terrifying conditions that define daily life in the first decade of this new century. These individuals employ constructivist theory, critical theory, feminist theory, queer theory, critical race theory, and cultural studies models of interpretation. They locate themselves on the borders between post-positivism and post-structuralism. They use any and all of the research strategies (case

study, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory, biographical, historical, participatory, and clinical). Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (2008:14) add that qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world.

Several qualitative research strategies that researchers can employ to design qualitative research are identified and explained in this study. Some of these methods are outlined below:

Phenomenology

Phenomenology attempts to reveal the essential of human actions. Introduced into the social sciences by Schultz (1967), elaborated upon by Husserl (1970), and further developed by Heidegger (1972), phenomenology has been applied successfully to the study of bureaucracy and public administration (Hummel, 1992 cited in Yang & Miller, 2008:152). At least two schools of phenomenology can be identified: (1) eidetic (descriptive) phenomenology, based on Husserl's 'transcendental subjectivity' and (2) hermeneutic (interpretive) phenomenology, based on Heideggerian ontology. Others sometimes distinguish phenomenography as a different branch of phenomenology (Marton, 1994). Very often, phenomenology is included in larger groupings of hermeneutic-interpretive research methods (Diesing, 1991).

Yang and Miller (2008:152) argue that in phenomenology, comprehension is achieved first of all by reflecting upon one's own experiences. Then in-depth interviews and conversations are carried out

with subjects aiming to bring forth experiential descriptions of phenomena. These conversations are tape-recorded, transcribed, and thoroughly examined. Descriptive words and phrases are highlighted and studied. Data from other relevant sources can also be used. The principal means for combining data is the process of conducting thematic analyses by identifying common structures of the particular experience. Therefore, Van Maanen (1988) proposes four 'existential' guidelines for phenomenological reflection: lived space, lived body, lived time, and lived human relations. The result of phenomenological research is an abstract reflective statement purified through several iterations of writing. Ray (1994) stresses that affirmation and credibility of phenomenological research can be best understood by Heidegger's (1972:130) concept of truth as unconcealment and Ricoeur's idea that truth of the text may be regarded as the world it unfolds.

Ethnography and ethno-methodology

Historically originating from cultural anthropology, ethnographic approaches to social research have been applied in numerous fields such as social and cultural anthropology, sociology, human geography, organisation studies, educational research, and cultural studies (Atkinson & Hammersly, 1994). Ethnography and participant observation can be understood as the description of one group's culture from that group's perspective. As with phenomenology, ethnography is not an agreed-upon precise body of methodology. According to Lutton (2010:87), there are, of course, some disputes about what constitutes an ethnographic approach, but there is a pretty good consensus regarding the basic definition. Things get a lot more complicated when people begin to distinguish types of ethnography. Before defining an ethnographic approach, it might be helpful to point out that there are significant similarities between a case study approach and an ethnographic approach. For instance, LeCompte and Schensul (1999:82) insist that

ethnographies are culturally informed case studies. Fetterman (1998:1) defines ethnography as the art and science describing a group of culture. He recognises the creativity that may be involved in doing ethnographic work but suggests the work is also scientific. Qualitative approaches to ethnographic research tend to emphasise the creative aspect, while quantitative approaches emphasise adherence to social science methods.

Cresswell (1998:58) defines ethnography as a description and interpretation of a cultural or social group or system. His definition adds to the descriptive aspect of ethnography as a recognition of its interpretive aspect, thus distancing it a little further from at least some definitions of science. Defining ethnography as the work of describing a culture and suggesting that the essential core of this activity aims to understand another way of life from the native point of view, Spradley attends more to the purpose of the research than its object (cited in Berg, 2004:147). Spradley's definition highlights a fundamental feature of ethnography – its attempt to gain an emic understanding, an understanding from a native or insider's point of view. An ethnographer goes into the field in order to participate, observe, and talk to members of a culture or group to better understand their points of view and present them to an audience. Finally, Van Maanen (1988:ix) takes Spradley's contribution further when he says that the task of ethnography is representing the social reality of others through the analysis of one's own experience in the world of these others. Van Maanen's definition recognises the gap between the social realities of others and the representation of those realities by an outsider who can only describe his or her perspective on their worlds.

Some authors consider ethno-methodology (Garfinkel, 1967) as a part of this tradition whereas others see ethno-methodology more as a hermeneutic practice (Holstein & Gubrium, 1994). Hence, there is more

agreement on the term ‘participant observation’, which is essentially the method or technique of ethnography. Although participant observation and ethnography are not exactly the same, they are often used synonymously.

According to De Vos (1998:80), phenomenological and ethno-methodological approaches aim to understand and interpret the meaning that subjects give to their everyday lives. In order to accomplish this, the researcher should be able to enter the subject’s world, and place him/herself in the shoes of the subject. This is primarily done by means of naturalistic methods of study, analysing the conversations and interaction that researchers have with subjects. Researchers using this strategy of interpretive enquiry will utilise participant observation and interviewing as methods of data collection. Data are systematically collected and analysed within a specific context. Consequently, Taylor (2000:82) enumerates some steps that can be followed when conducting this kind of research: 1. The researcher separates him/herself from the phenomenon; 2. Epoch: the researcher looks inside self; reduces prejudices; 3. Phenomenological reduction: the researcher identifies data in pure form; 4. Horizontal data: the researcher examines groups, clusters; 5. Eliminates irrelevant, repetition, or overlapping data; 6. Identifies themes; 7. Textual portrayal of each theme: describes the experience; and 8. Structural synthesis: looks beneath for deeper meaning.

Lutton (2010:85) concludes that ethnographic research has much to offer to the field of public administration. Since public administration is an applied field, it is often concerned with issues regarding implementation of policies and programmes. Hence, it is not enough to know what the policy says or what the mission of the programme is; one needs to know how the policy is implemented and how the programme impacts those it

is intended to impact. Ethnographic research, because it is done in the field and depends upon attentive observation, is well suited to assisting us in gaining a better understanding of what impacts programmes have and what happens when policies are implemented.

Grounded theory

First articulated by Glasser and Strauss (1967), the grounded theory approach shares many features with other types of qualitative research regarding sources of data, data gathering, analysing techniques, and possible uses of quantitative techniques. It has a uniquely explicit emphasis on theory generation. Evolving theory (i.e., propositions about the nature of relationships between phenomena that are examined) is iteratively validated against the data (i.e., being grounded in the data) until a substantive theory emerges that relates the concepts and their properties and dimensions in a systematic manner.

The history and development of grounded theory has generated some controversies among researchers. The theory was first developed by Glasser and Strauss (1967) to respond to questions posed by sociologists relevant to the understanding of human behaviour assessed by quantitative methods. It was believed that human behaviour was too complex to be relegated to basing analyses on averages and statistical manipulations. Rather, human behaviour is developed through interaction with others. Symbols in one's environment are used to construct realities. Therefore, individuals must become active participants in creating incoming situations. Quantitative methods and procedures could not accomplish this goal. In contrast to the above theoretical notation advanced by Glasser and Strauss (1967), these theorists later developed separate views concerning grounded theory. Glasser (1992) strongly criticised Strauss's approach. He maintained that the nucleus of grounded theory research is the development of a theory

closely related to phenomenon under study. Strauss and Corbin (1994) disagreed and maintained that the theory should be based upon data generated from the field of sociology. In spite of the controversy in the field, grounded theory has remained a vital tool. Stern (1994) claims that both Glasser and Strauss produced scientific work; the differences in their work being the method used. Researchers should clearly indicate the method being employed at all times (Taylor, 2000:85-86).

Yang and Miller (2008:155) argue that grounded theory is not an all-agreed-upon research strategy, although disagreements in this approach are of much less magnitude than in other approaches. The research question in a grounded theory study is a statement that identifies the phenomenon to be studied. The researcher should rely on his or her ability to recognise what is important in the data and to give it meaning. However, De Vos (1998:81) insists that the systematic techniques and procedures of sampling and data analysis enable the researcher to develop a grounded theory. A grounded theory is one that is systematically developed from the data inductively derived from the study of phenomena. The qualitative researcher could, thus, in the process of designing qualitative research, start off with ethnography and participant observation as a strategy to gain an understanding of the life worlds of subjects. Then, in order to gain a better understanding of the meaning that they attach to their worlds, he/she may use a phenomenological or ethno-methodological strategy and therefore decide to conduct in-depth interviews with the subjects. In this context, Cresswell (1998 cited in Taylor, 2000:85) argues that grounded theory is designed to develop or construct theory related to the phenomenon under study. The researcher's intent is to collect all relevant data germane to the conditions. Data sources include observations, interviews, and field visits as necessary.

Case study

Stein (1952:xxvii) defines a case study as a narrative of the events that constitute or lead to a decision or group of related decisions by a public administrator or group of public administrators. Some account is given of the numerous personal, legal, institutional, political, economic and other factors that surround the process of decision, but there is no attempt to assert absolute causal relationships. Fox and Meyer (1996:18) describe a case study as the study of social phenomena by means of an analysis of individual cases. The case may be a person, event, process, community, society or any other component of social phenomena. For instance, Denzin and Lincoln (2008:443) insist that the case study method gives structure to the information, and a variety of facts are combined in this way. The point of departure is the supposition that the case being investigated is characteristic of cases of a certain type. Through analysis generalisations are made which are applicable to other similar cases. Therefore, case studies are a common way of underlying a qualitative inquiry.

Yin (2009:18) argues that a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. Furthermore, Yin adds that the case study inquiry copes with the technical distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result, relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. In essence, the Yin's twofold definition shows how a case study research comprises an all-encompassing method, covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis. In this sense, the case study is not limited

to being a data collection tactic alone or even a design feature alone (Stoker, 1991). O'Sullivan, Rassel and Berner (2003:39) describe 'case studies' as studies that examine, in some depth, persons, decisions, programmes, or other entities that have a unique characteristic of interest. They insist that case studies are the preferred research strategy if one wants to learn the details about how something happened and why it may have happened. Therefore, case study researchers tend to work with qualitative evidence or limited quantitative data.

However, Kuye (1997:3, 5) insists that the case study method is used within a qualitative research framework that is associated with a naturalistic research paradigm, that is, a social-anthropological approach. This is a preferred paradigm for qualitative research rather than the agricultural-botanical approach that involves experimentation. Furthermore, Kuye distinguishes between social anthropology (naturalistic) and the agricultural-botanical paradigms and he favours the naturalistic approach over the agricultural-botanical paradigm for most qualitative research. This is because pre-ordinate and experimental methods are inappropriate in social science. He adds that in the process of coming up with cases, the case study method involves selecting a number of cases, usually institutions or sites in which field work will be carried out. Hence, for example, case studies may be used in both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Thus, they may involve the use of multiple data sources such as total or partial group discussions, interaction between groups or individuals, or discussions between different members of the group.

To this end, the validity of case study data may be conducted by comparing one data source to another data source on the same phenomena. Caution should be exercised in selecting the type of case study method. Nevertheless, the case study approach can be single or

collective, or intrinsic or instrumental. It is the duty of the researcher to choose an approach based upon his/her training and experiences with the use of case study strategies as well as his/her knowledge on qualitative research method, to set boundaries for the study, and to choose data sources which will provide sufficient data to give a comprehensive picture of the issues involved (Yin, 1989; Taylor, 2000:87-88). In these circumstances, Nsingo (2004:77) concludes that cases have the advantage of exposing the operational reality of organisations and allow one to bring out the strengths and weaknesses of such organisations and enhance one's chances of engaging or suggesting remedial action for such organisations.

In public administration, the case study approach is one of the most frequently used research methods. Professional journals regularly publish case studies. Most of them are qualitative case studies, but case studies may rely upon or emphasise either qualitative or quantitative data. There are also many book-length case studies that are considered classics in public administration literature. Again they are typically qualitative research in nature but may also include quantitative data (Lutton, 2010:121). The next section examines the second scientific research method, namely, the quantitative research method.

2.2.2 Quantitative research method

In contrast to qualitative research, quantitative studies emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. Proponents of such studies claim that their work is done from within a value-free framework (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:14). The major purpose of quantitative research is to formulate valid and objective descriptions on phenomena. In this context, the researcher is attempting to show how phenomena can be controlled by manipulating the

variables. Attempts are made to discover principles and laws, which can be applied to the larger population. For example, quantitative methods include historical, descriptive, correlational, causal-comparative, experimental, action research, and development. These methods yield numerical data and are evaluated by utilising descriptive or inferential statistics. Statistical treatment of data through the use of descriptive or inferential means is used to test hypotheses and determine whether significant relationships or differences exist. The findings are generalised to the population (Bazerman, 1988).

Quantitative research methods have a lot in common primarily owing to the fact that all researches follow a common purpose. Research questions or hypotheses are developed to guide the research; data sources are identified depending upon the type of research being conducted; research tools are identified, such as surveys, questionnaires, standard tests, interviews, rating scales, inventories, and checklists, to name a few; in establishing methods and procedures, specific steps are outlined for conducting the research; and then there is the analysis of data, and determining what statistical procedures will be employed (Taylor, 2000:69-70).

For the purpose of this study, it is essential to also look at some of the most important quantitative research methods:

Descriptive research

Taylor (2000:71-72) argues that descriptive research explains and interprets the present. Its primary purpose is to analyse trends that are developing and to analyse current situations. Thus, data derived from descriptive research can be used in diagnosing a problem or in advocating a new or approved programme. In essence, descriptive research is designed to solve present day problems. Solutions to present

day problems will assist in projecting goals and directions for the future, including information relevant on how to reach designated goals. Information relevant to the present condition is a prerequisite in solving problems. Descriptive research may also aid in identifying goals and objectives while indicating realistic means for achieving them. Sources of data are numerous in descriptive methods. They include surveys, case studies, comparative studies, time-and-motion studies, document analyses, follow-up studies, trend studies, and predictive studies. All of the aforementioned methods can be valid techniques providing that they are properly constructed and used.

Correlational research

Correlations attempt to show relationships between two or more variables. They are classified as negative or positive and tend to show strong or weak relationships. These relationships assist the researcher in explaining, controlling, and predicting phenomena. Correlations do not show cause and effect. They simply indicate that relationships occur between two or more variables. This method permits the researcher to analyse several variables at once, or a combination of variables to determine how they may affect certain behaviour. Correlational research assists us by explaining, predicting, and controlling conditions that affect us in our society. The scientific method is also employed in correlational research. Unlike historical and descriptive research methods, correlational research requires few data sources. Only two data sources are needed, depending upon the variables under investigation. Commonly used data sources include test scores, dichotomies and the ranking of attributes. Samples in correlational research, based upon the central limit theorem, should consist of at least thirty individuals (Taylor, 2000:72-73).

Experimental research

Experimental research follows the scientific method more closely than any other method. Conditions are rigorously controlled. The researcher is able to manipulate the experimental variables. Cause-effect relationships can be demonstrated using experimental methods of research. It describes what will be when conditions are scientifically controlled. Direct manipulation of the independent variable and control of extraneous variables are necessary when conducting experimental research. Attempts are made by the researcher to keep constant all variables with the exception of the independent variable. Extraneous variables must be controlled so that the researcher will be able to determine to what degree the independent variable is related to the dependent variable. Data used in experimental methods includes standardised test results, assessment data, rating scales, interviews, surveys, questionnaires, personality tests, and informal tests, to name but a few data instruments (Taylor, 2000:73).

Causal-comparative research

Causal-comparative research methods attempt to show cause-and-effect relationships. Researchers attempt to discover how one variable influences another one. They are chiefly concerned with the factors that produced the cause-effect condition. Causal-comparative research should be used when the cause cannot be manipulated. The researcher is simply trying to establish cause-effect relationship. In essence, causal-comparative research yields data which may be used to predict, modify, and plan, to change directions and approaches. Assessment data, scores, ratings, and all types of instruments and measures are used to obtain data for causal-comparative research. Differences between the two groups are analysed and there is no attempt to manipulate the variables (Taylor, 2000:73-74).

Evaluation and action research

The purpose of evaluation research and action research is to discover if programmes and policies are working, for whom they are working, and what could be improved. For example, action research aims to change the *status quo* by documenting the extent of some problems, or by examining proposed solutions to see which might work best. An action researcher would examine problems faced by those in a neighbourhood to figure out what can be done to solve them (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:9). For this reason, action research basically follows the same format as experimental research. It is the application of the scientific method to practical problems requiring action solutions (McKay, 1992). Hence, Stringer (1996) notes that an action research project consists of gathering initial data, describing the situation, exploring and analysing what is happening and interpreting and explaining how and why things occur through the acts of planning, implementation, and evaluation.

Taylor (2000:74-75) stresses that in action research, data sources are similar to those employed in experimental research. Sources depend upon the nature and type of study being investigated. However, Stringer (1996) insists that action research is not a true method of research but an approach to research designed to solve practical problems. It is directed toward developing a greater understanding and improvement of practice over a given period of time. This type of research is a collaborative approach that permits individuals with the means to take action to resolve specific problems. This approach favours consensual and participatory procedures that enable people to systematically investigate their problems and issues; formulate powerful and sophisticated accounts of their situations; and devise plans to deal with the problems on hand. Action research focuses on methods and techniques of inquiry that examine interactional practices, and perceptions about practice. As a result, action research is presented in

such a way that its findings can be easily understood by both practitioners and lay individuals.

Whenever one is differentiating qualitative and quantitative research method, it is imperative to bear in mind that quantitative research uses the deductive method whereas qualitative research generally uses the inductive method. Generally too, quantitative methods are objective and reliable and can be generalised to the large population. Conversely, qualitative methods are often more subjective and generate rich, detailed and valid data (Taylor, 2000:171). Therefore, when making a choice between quantitative and qualitative research designs, it is significant to remember that quantitative research is about testing theories while qualitative research develops theories. Consequently, there are strengths and weaknesses of the research methods associated with quantitative and qualitative research. One possible response to this kind of recognition is to propose combining them. After all, such a strategy would seem to allow the various strengths to be capitalised upon and the weaknesses offset somewhat (Bryman, 2004:452). The next section intends, therefore, to examine the third research method known as ‘triangulation’ or ‘multi-strategy research’.

2.2.3 Triangulation or multi-strategy research

Lunenburg and Irby (2008:106) describe triangulation as a third research paradigm which can also be described as ‘mixed methods research design’. Mixed methods research can refer to those studies that have engaged both quantitative and qualitative research questions and/or that have used both probability and purposeful sampling. It is a field of research that is still emerging. The term ‘multi-strategy research’ borrowed from Layder (1993) is shorthand for research that integrates quantitative and qualitative research within a single project. Of course,

there is research that, for example, combines structured interviewing with structured observation or ethnography with semi-structured interviewing. These instances of the combination of research methods are, however, associated with just one research strategy.

According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:17) mixed methods research offers great promise for practising researchers who would like to see methodologists describe and develop techniques that are close to what researchers actually use in practice. This research design can also help bridge the schism between quantitative and qualitative research. As Howe (2004:49) notes, for example, the Scientifically Based Research (SBR) movement finds a place for qualitative methods in mixed-methods experimental designs. In such designs, qualitative methods may be employed either singly or in combination with quantitative methods, including the use of randomised experimental designs. The author (Howe, 2004:53-54) adds that mixed-methods designs are direct descendants of classical experimentalism. They presume a methodological hierarchy in which quantitative methods are at the top and qualitative methods are relegated to a largely auxiliary role in pursuit of the 'technocratic' aim of accumulating knowledge of 'what works'. To this end, the mixed-methods movement takes qualitative methods out of their natural home, which is within the critical, interpretive framework. It divides inquiry into dichotomous categories: exploration versus confirmation. Qualitative work is assigned to the first category, quantitative research to the second (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003:15; Howe, 2004:54).

There are several suggestions on how to combine qualitative and quantitative research. Hammersley (1996:167-168) distinguishes three forms of linking qualitative and quantitative research: 1. Triangulation: this refers to the use of quantitative research to corroborate qualitative

research findings or vice versa; 2. Facilitation: this approach arises when one research strategy is employed in order to aid research using the other research strategy; and 3. Complementarity: this approach occurs when the two research strategies are employed in order that different aspects of an investigation can be dovetailed. Bryman (1992:59-61) favoured a more extensive categorisation outlining eleven ways of integrating qualitative and quantitative research: 1. The logic of triangulation means to check, for example, qualitative against quantitative results; 2. Qualitative research can support quantitative research and 3. Vice versa; 4. Both are either combined in or provide a more general picture of the issue under study; 5. Structural features are analysed with quantitative methods and process aspects with qualitative approaches; 6. The perspective of the researchers drives quantitative approaches, while qualitative research emphasises the viewpoints of the subjective; 7. The problem can usually be solved for qualitative research by adding quantitative findings; 8. Qualitative findings may facilitate the interpretation of relationships between variables in quantitative data sets; 9. The relationship between micro- and macro-levels in a substantial area can be clarified by combining qualitative and quantitative research; 10. Qualitative and quantitative research can be appropriate in different stages of the research process; and 11. Hybrid forms, for example, the use of qualitative research in quasi-experimental designs.

In summation, when making a choice between the three scientific research methods (qualitative, quantitative and mixed-strategy), it is imperative to bear in mind first, that quantitative research is about testing theories. Secondly, one needs to remember that qualitative research develops theories, and finally, triangulation is about mixing the first and the second methods. For example, the deductive method is used in quantitative research while the inductive method is used in qualitative

research more often. Generally, quantitative methods are objective and reliable and can be generalised to the large population. Conversely, qualitative methods are often subjective and generate rich, detailed and valid data (Taylor, 2000:171). Consequently, the best method to choose should be the one that is applicable to the particular context of a study. For the purpose of this study, the qualitative research method seems to be the most suitable in attaining the objectives of the study. The research design of this study is examined in a later stage. The next section outlines the objectives of the study.

2.3 Objectives of the study

This study attempts to contribute to the understanding of the challenges that constitute a stumbling block for the establishment of a system that promotes good governance and places the DRC on the path to development. Beyond the analysis of challenges, the study also examines the environment in which leaders evolve in the DRC. The study also looks at leadership challenges and governance imperatives that prevail in the current setting of the country in order to pave a way for the study to formulate a framework for leadership development. Briefly, the study aims at proposing a perspective for leadership development considering the fact that the DRC currently needs leaders who are competent and effective, and who can consider modern principles of management and governance in order to provide the much needed leadership in the nation-building.

2.4 Significance of the study

This research project examines the factors that have hindered the establishment of an effective leadership for the DRC's economic

development. This is done through a thorough analysis of the historical background of the country. The aim is to gain insight into the magnitude of efforts required for the stability and development of the DRC. Therefore, the study outlines the effect of two aspects: first, the effect of the interference of Western countries in the DRC's public affairs and secondly, the effect of mismanagement and poor leadership portrayed by Congolese leaders towards the governance of their country. Nonetheless, the intent is not to point a finger at whomever might have been the cause of what has been going on in the DRC but to clarify issues that have, to a large extent, determined the circumstances in which leadership has evolved in the DRC and how those circumstances have also affected the development of the country. As a result, the study aims to arrive at a perspective that might assist current and future leaders to understand that no major changes have been made to the patterns of governance the DRC inherited at independence, and that the country currently needs strong leaders who can reverse those patterns and the trends that have been paralysing the functioning of the state for more than five decades.

This study is also significant as its findings might allow leaders to gain insight into the magnitude of effort required in order to create an environment that paves a way to meet governance imperatives. Owing to the availability of abundant mineral resources, the DRC is of strategic interest to many super powers that are in need of consistent supply of raw materials to sustain their economies. To manage or cope with the interference of external forces in the country's affairs, the DRC needs leaders who can create an environment that ensures a win-win situation as has been the case in some developing countries (e.g., Brazil and Botswana). The framework proposed in this study relies on successful cases in the developing world which are representative of best practices that can be shared and replicated in countries such as the DRC. The study focuses on some critical leadership dimensions that can assist

leaders to know how to meet the needs of the Congolese people and also conciliate the expectations of the different role-players in the DRC.

2.5 Statement of the problem

The DRC is well located in the Central African region which happens to be potentially Africa's richest region, yet the poorest compared to other regions on the continent. For example, the DRC is potentially Africa's richest country and one of world's richest countries; the country is endowed with abundant natural resources and it counts a huge deposit of various mineral resources (diamonds, gold, copper, oil, timber, coltan, rubber, to name but a few). But despite its strategic position and the availability of resources, the DRC features among the poorest countries in the world. Therefore, one would like to know, how does a country endowed with huge natural and mineral resources become one of the poorest in the world? What went wrong for a country that had prospects for development when it accessed independence to become a failed state? In this study, it is assumed that most of the challenges facing the DRC are related to the issue of leadership. The leadership crisis the country faced shortly after gaining independence has hampered its prospects for development. Since the inception of independence, the DRC has faced numerous crises but the most important crisis relates to two main challenges, namely, the interference of the Western countries in the DRC public affairs and the misdemeanour of Congolese rulers. For instance, after the country's access to independence, Belgium and many other world powers continued to be interested in gambling with the DRC's wealth. The interest expressed by imperialists in the country's wealth would have not been a problem if the country had cadres who could have provided an effective leadership and settle good deals that would have benefited everyone. Instead, Congolese rulers engaged in a predatory

kind of governance that allowed them to loot and embezzle the country's wealth for their own selfish interests. In this context, it was difficult for the country to find a path of economic development.

Compared to many countries on the African continent, the DRC was unfortunate in disposing of structures and infrastructures that could have made it possible for the country to increase the means for growth and prosperity. But because of inadequate policies and misrule, the country faced decay in its institutional and structural capacity to operate effectively. For instance, since the 1960s, the country has been the scene of uprisings, rebellions, civil wars and various kinds of political instability that have cost the lives of many Congolese citizens. Therefore, the country needs responsible and purposeful leaders who will strengthen state institutions and establish a system of governance that promotes good governance. Currently, addressing leadership challenges in the DRC remains the most important dilemma the country is faced with.

To this end, the DRC should long for competent and effective leaders who have a clear vision of where they want to take the country in the near future and it needs a proper strategic plan for the long term. The country is also in need of leaders who can establish a system of governance that is able to tackle development challenges. Although the leadership crisis in the DRC seems to be deep and difficult to solve, there are prospects for hope when one considers the experience of certain developing countries such as Brazil and Botswana which are moving in the right direction. These countries have managed to address the recurrent challenges to leadership and governance, and are now cited as the most promising economies in the developing world. The DRC can learn some good lessons from these two countries and emulate the way they have dealt with their respective challenges and learn from the manner in which they

have managed to establish systems of governance that have allowed them to become emerging economies.

In this study, the assumption is that an effective leadership can strengthen and improve the functioning of state institutions. Good leadership can also create an environment that is conducive for the promotion of good governance and, consequently, pave a way for the economic development and prosperity in a country such as the DRC. Without strong and effective leadership, it is difficult for a country to acquire an adequate and responsive public service. Hence, in the absence of a public service that is up to standard a country will find it difficult to shift from a state of being a failed state to the one that is well governed. In other words, effective and purposeful leadership has the ability to provide a clear policy guideline that might bring about change in the functioning of the country's institutions. In the case of the DRC, an effective leadership is one that will create an environment that promotes the reforms much needed in the political and administrative structures of the country and, consequently, enhance conditions for a successful implementation of policies for the betterment of all. In the current situation of the DRC, without an adequate and responsive administrative machine, the implementation of public policies will remain problematic no matter how well they are drafted.

Research Question

The main question that guides this research project is:

To what extent can public office-bearers provide leadership in meeting governance imperatives for the development of the Democratic Republic of the Congo?

2.6 Research design

In order to reach the objectives of a study, Tshiyoyo (2006:20) insists that the research methodology needs to be applied, because it provides a statement of how the research objective will be reached and how the problem encountered will be solved. This shows the critical importance of the research method in the attainment of the objective of this study as it provides adequate means in gathering data.

The term 'research design' is less common in qualitative research than in the quantitative area, where it is the major instrument for planning research and securing the quality of its results (Flick, 2007:36-37). According to such an understanding, Ragin (1994:191) defines the term 'research design' as a plan for collecting and analysing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions he/she has posed. The design of an investigation touches almost all aspects of the research, from the minute details of data collection to the selection of the techniques of data analysis.

There are several ways of understanding research design in qualitative studies. For example, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:24) insist that research design should be a flexible process which operates throughout every stage of a project. Bless and Higson-Smith (1994) note that to design a research project is to put together the various components of that particular project. A research design is, therefore, the grand plan of a particular research project that shows how one wishes to proceed with the research and how to guard it against both internal and external factors, which may interfere with its processes. It should be a foolproof plan that enhances the research's validity. This improves its acceptability as a knowledge base within the discipline in which it is rooted. More

importantly, a researcher should be able to handle extraneous variables, as these are a major cause of invalidating the research project.

Several considerations are taken into account when a researcher adopts a qualitative research methodology. For instance, Strauss and Corbin (1990) identify some of those considerations: first, qualitative methods can be used to better understand any phenomenon about which little is yet known, but can also be used to gain new perspectives of things about which much is already known; second, more in-depth information can be gained that may be difficult to convey quantitatively; and third, the ability of qualitative data to more fully describe a phenomenon contributes to the reader's understanding and makes it thus more meaningful. Therefore, in order to meet the objectives of this study and, as already stated, a qualitative research approach is followed and the study is basically explanatory and prescriptive. The following lines serve to explain the reason behind that categorisation.

This study is 'explanatory' because it first intends to explain the factors influencing leadership style in the governance of the DRC; secondly, it attempts to identify possible causes-effects related to leadership failure in the DRC and describes how leadership styles have influenced the adoption and implementation of policies during the second republic, and the way in which public affairs were conducted in the DRC. Finally, the study attempts to elucidate the way in which the historical background has impacted on the development of the DRC and it also attempts to find out if the challenges faced by the second republic regime still pose the same threats to current or future governments in the DRC. The study is also 'predictive' for the mere fact that, in its conclusions, it prescribes a framework for leadership development in the DRC. However, a complexity of methods and techniques of research have been used in order to determine the research process and how the collection of data

was effected. For instance, relevant sources have been accessed in order to place the study in its context and demonstrate the validity of its conclusions.

2.6.1 Rationale for the qualitative methodology

The choice of a qualitative approach is justified by the fact that it deemed the most suitable in meeting the objectives of this study. The use of a number of qualitative methods has assisted the researcher to successfully meet the objectives of the study.

2.6.2 Types of qualitative research strategies used in the study

The following are some of the qualitative research methods that are applied in this study: ethnography, ethno-methodology and case study. These methods have been outlined in section 2.2.1 and are partially reiterated below in relation to the thrust of this thesis.

Ethnography and Ethno-methodology

Lutton (2010:90) argues that public administration professionals who are interested in using an ethnographic research approach have choices to make about exactly what type of ethnography to use and how to proceed. Although there are many situations in which one might choose to conduct ethnographic research, three that seem particularly suitable for public administration are: 1. Studying an organisational culture, 2. Studying the relations of an organisation with its clients or the people it impacts, and 3. Studying the culture of a community being served or impacted by a programme or policy in order to improve policies and/or their implementation.

Lunenburg and Irby (2008:99) argue that ethnographic research requires that you conduct fieldwork to become involved with the individuals or group in a personal manner, using participant observation as a technique for gathering data for telling the group's or individual's story via rich narrative description. You will typically gather data via interviews during the participant observation, videography, photography, and document analysis. These techniques of data gathering yield thick and rich descriptions necessary for an ethnographic dissertation in the form of quotations (low inference descriptors), descriptions of the group and the contexts, and parts of documents. Here are some critical features to consider prior to the selection of an ethnographic design: your own understanding of culture and cultural anthropology, the foundation of ethnography; your ability to write in a narrative style so that others may understand the cultural occurrences and norms of the group; your ability to be a part of the group, yet remain apart from the group as the researcher, thus creating a fine line and balance between the researcher and the researched; the ethical implications for studying the group or individuals; and an extensive time commitment for the fieldwork.

For this research project, the experimental, ethnographic as well as the ethno-methodology studies allowed the researcher to examine the reality of his country of origin through a scientific lens. The researcher also analysed documents and accessed videography as well as documentaries narrating the historical background of the DRC in order to fully understand the situation prevailing in the country.

Case Study

In this study, case studies have been used in order to substantiate assumptions that were made in the statement of the problem. Two countries namely, Brazil and Botswana, are considered as they can assist in highlighting some of the best practices that are taking place in

terms of leadership and governance in the developing world. The choice of these two states is supported by the fact that Brazil shares many features with the DRC such as a vast territory, abundant natural and mineral resources, tropical weather, and almost the same colonial experience. For instance, Brazil went through numerous atrocities during and after colonisation. But the country has managed to overcome the challenges posed by its historical background as a result of the effective leadership it has had in the last three decades. Brazil currently ranks among the most powerful economies on the planet. Botswana was chosen for the following reason: Botswana is a country that accessed independence in 1966 without viable prospects for economic development but through effective and sustainable leadership the country has managed to rank among the emerging and exemplary economies in the developing world, particularly in Africa. One might ask, is Botswana's case relevant to this study? The researcher demonstrates that the size or the availability of abundant natural resources in a country does not matter; what matters is the ability of a country's leadership to maximise the potential that is available within its boundaries and improve the living conditions of citizens. Since the access of its independence, Botswana has gone through positive changes that need to be acknowledged in this study and portrayed as best practice on the continent.

In summation, Brazil and Botswana can serve as good examples to support the view that economic development is possible in any country that insists upon effective leadership. In the same line of thought, one can also insist that economic development is also possible in the DRC, but only if the country is governed by competent and effective leaders who have what it takes to lead a country such as the DRC. The country needs leaders who have a vision and a political will to change the patterns that have hindered its development for the past five decades.

2.7 Data collection techniques

Various sources have been accessed to collect data and information related to the subject of discourse in this study. In so doing the following techniques were used, namely:

Review of documentation

Under the survey of the literature, data and information were collected from books, journals, published and unpublished official documents, conference papers, audio and visual documents related to leadership and governance broadly but more specifically to issues concerning leadership and governance in the DRC. Secondary sources were used consistently to connect the ideas of this study to the lessons from other researchers.

2.8 Limitations and delimitation of the study

This study has faced some limitations that dictated the researcher to specify its delimitation or framework.

2.8.1 Limitations of the study

Black and Champion (1976:421) argue that knowledge of the whereabouts of sources is not necessarily available to all social scientists on an equal basis. Anyone familiar with the social organisation of scientific research knows that accessibility depends, to a certain degree, on proximity. Long distances from archives, library holdings, facilities for processing data and related conditions can do much to hinder potential accessibility to secondary information. This can, therefore, affect the knowledge that the investigator might have of the types of sources.

This study focuses on the DRC and the researcher is based in South Africa. Owing to financial constraints and a full-time lecturing position it was not possible for the researcher to visit the DRC as he would have wished in order to keep in touch with the developments taking place in the country, accessing important documents and examining developments taking place through a meaningful participative observation. The distance and the financial constraints have therefore not allowed the researcher to access and collect certain sources that he would have wished to acquire before the completion of the research project.

2.8.2 Delimitations of the study

Given the above-mentioned limitations, it was practically impossible for the researcher to examine all the issues related to leadership and governance in the DRC. The country experienced numerous leaders from the pre-colonial era to the post-colonial era. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to look at all leaders that influenced the DRC's public affairs and so, the focus of this study was placed only on the second republic that was led by President Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu wa Zabanga. The choice for the second republic is appropriate because many of the challenges currently faced by the DRC are the result of policies adopted under that regime and it also epistemises the problem of poor governance.

In order to understand the context in which the second republic leadership evolved, it is imperative to look at the colonial era. There are similarities between leadership under the second republic and the patterns established by king Leopold II during colonisation, especially the use of brutality and violence. Nevertheless, the leadership that came into power in the aftermath of the second republic is not considered in

this study. It is cited only to demonstrate how it perpetuates the effects of the historical legacy.

2.9 Reliability and validity of the study

Chandler and Plano (1988:17) define ethics as the branch of philosophy dealing with values that relate to human conduct, with respect to the rightness or wrongness of specific actions, and to the goodness or badness of the motives and ends of such actions. In the context of scientific research, ethics begins and ends with the researcher. A researcher's personal moral code is the strongest defence against unethical behaviour. Before, during, and after conducting a study, a researcher has opportunities to, and should, reflect on research actions and consult his/her conscience. Ethical research depends on the integrity of the individual researcher and his/her values. If values are to be taken seriously, they cannot be expressed and laid aside but must instead guide the actions of the sociologist. Sociologists determine who will be investigated, for what purpose and in whose service. Sagarin (1973, cited in Neuman, 1997:443) insists that ethical research requires balancing the value of advancing knowledge against the value of non-interference in the lives of others.

Along with much qualitative work, case study research shares an intense interest in personal views and circumstances. Those whose lives and expressions are portrayed risk exposure and embarrassment, as well as loss of standing, employment, and self-esteem. Something of a contract exists between researcher and the researched: a disclosing and protective covenant, usually informal but best not silent, a moral obligation (Schwandt, 1993). In this context, ethical problems arise (both inside and outside the research topic) with non-disclosure of malfeasance and

immorality. When rules for a study are set that prevent the researcher from ‘whistle blowing’ or warrant the exercise of compassion, a problem exists. Where an expectation has been raised that propriety is being examined and no mention is made of a serious impropriety that has been observed, the report is deceptive. Breach of ethics is seldom a simple matter; it occurs when two contradictory standards apply, such as withholding full disclosure (as per the contract) in order to protect a good but vulnerable agency. Ongoing and summative review procedures are needed, with impetus from the researcher’s conscience, from stakeholders, and from the research community (Mabry, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:140-141).

The discussion about ethics in research in general has been pushed forward from different angles. A number of examples have raised the awareness of research done with people not knowing about being researched and sometimes suffering from the research (medical experiments in the concentration camps during the Nazi regime in Germany but also the Tuskegee Syphilis Study, for example); the Milgram experiment, in which people were made to give other people electric shocks not knowing that they were part of a different experiment and that they were exposed to influences; cases of manipulated data and results coming up repeatedly; cover research in subgroups such as the study of Humphreys (1975); and publications of ethnographic research that allowed the identification of people or communities despite attempts at anonymity. Finally, in natural sciences in particular, there have been several cases of manipulating or faking data and results in recent years. Such cases of misuse of research and the public attention they have attracted have led to establishing precautions against such violations of good practice in research. One is that most academic societies have formulated their own codes of ethics. The other is that most institutions undertaking research, such as universities, now have institutional review

boards or ethics committees that have to approve a project if it involves human subjects as research partners. In principle, such institutionalised precautions are an important step towards avoiding unethical research (Flick, 2007:68-69).

Reliability and validity are concepts that are interconnected, because a measurement cannot be valid unless it is reliable. It is important to bear in mind that validity is not only about what is being measured, but it is also about how well it is being measured. To ensure validity and reliability in this study, the researcher took a commitment to thoroughly employ the selected research methods so that the findings of the study can draw on the principles of objectivity and honesty. As a result, the study remained focused on the significance of the subject of discourse or the main theme of the study. Nevertheless, the topic of this study was submitted to the Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria and it was approved before it was sent for registration to the research committee of the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences.

2.10 Conclusion

The main objective of this study has been to examine the extent to which leadership influences the attainment of governance imperatives in a developing country such as the DRC. The attainment of this main objective required the use of a research methodology. Therefore, this second chapter was dedicated to the research methodology.

This chapter examined the scientific research methods before it focused on the approach applied. The study follows a qualitative approach in the attainment of its objectives. Ethnography, ethno-methodology and case study are the methods that are used. Nevertheless, the study is

explanatory and prescriptive in nature. The rationale behind the choice for the qualitative study was clarified when the researcher stressed that qualitative research methods can suitably assist in meeting the objectives of the study and allow the researcher to draw meaningful conclusions and come up with some recommendations.

However, in the statement of the problem, it was noted that the DRC (formerly known as Zaïre) is a large region which is well situated on the African continent and the country is potentially Africa's richest countries. It is endowed with abundant natural resources and it counts a huge deposit of numerous mineral resources. Despite its strategic position on the continent and its wealth, the DRC features among the poorest countries in the world. In the statement of the problem, one wanted to know, how does a country which is endowed with huge natural and mineral resources become one of the poorest in the world? What went wrong for a country which had prospects for development when it accessed independence to become a failed state? It is in this context that the study attempts to contribute to the understanding of the challenges that have represented a stumbling block for the establishment of a system that promotes good governance and puts the DRC on the path of development. The study aims at proposing a perspective for leadership development which might assist the country to promote leaders who are competent and who can adopt modern principles of governance and provide the stewardship much needed for the nation-building in the DRC. To answer the research questions that guide the study, various sources of data and information related to the topic have been used. Therefore, the chapter also outlines some of the techniques used for data collection. Important data and information were gathered from books, journals, official published and unpublished documents, conference papers, audio and visual documents related to leadership and governance broadly but more specifically to issues of leadership and

governance in the DRC. This is to say that secondary sources have consistently been used to connect the ideas of this study to the lessons from other researchers. In order to substantiate the assumptions that are made in this study, the chapter has also clarified that the case studies of two countries (Brazil and Botswana) are later considered in order to highlight some of the best practices that are taking place in the developing world especially when one considers the issues related to leadership and governance.

At the end, the chapter highlighted the need for reliability and validity in a qualitative study such as this. In this chapter it was clearly stressed that validity is not only about what is being measured, but it is also about how well it is being measured. To ensure validity and reliability in this study, the researcher committed himself to thoroughly employ the research approach that was selected for the attainment of the study's objectives. As a result, the findings of the study have been constructed in line with the principles of objectivity and honesty, and the study has remained focused and restricted within the framework of the research.

CHAPTER THREE: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

Lunenburg and Irby (2008:122) describe a theory as an organised body of interrelated concepts, assumptions, and generalisations that systematically explains regularities in behaviour. Theory can provide a framework to generate hypotheses or research questions. In turn, they guide significant parts of the research design, including the data collection, data analysis, and presentation and interpretation of the findings. Bailey (1968:128) insists that the objectives of Public Administration theory are to draw together the insights of the humanities and the validated propositions of the social and behavioural sciences and to apply these insights and propositions to the task of improving the processes of government aimed at achieving politically legitimated goals by constitutionally mandated means. Morrow (1975:49) adds that the role of theory in the study of public administration is, in Bailey's term, both to understand and to improve what administration does. Where applicable, the research and the theories of other disciplines are used. Scholars are concerned with theory for two reasons: to uncover causes for behaviour and to provide impetus and guidelines whereby behaviour can be changed to serve more pertinent and mandated goals. In summation, concern for theory helps students and practitioners both to describe behaviour (descriptive theory) and to prescribe change (prescriptive theory).

Furthermore, Morrow (1975:49-50) says that descriptive and prescriptive theories are by no means incompatible. Hence, in examining the nature of public administration as a social-political phenomenon, one can be concerned exclusively with describing what actually transpires within

administrative agencies and postulate possible causes for such behaviour. One also can campaign for public administration's new mission and concentrate on the role of public administration in policy advocacy. In most cases, however, the descriptive and the prescriptive dimensions of theory work hand-in-hand. For example, if one undertakes how to describe the causes for administrative behaviour, the discoveries can be utilised by scholars and practitioners seeking policy or management reform. Such is the assumption underlying Bailey's concern for applying the insights of the humanities and social sciences to the study of public administration. Sociology, psychology, economics, and history help explain why administrators behave as they do. Similarly, one whose mission is to change the direction of public policy by exploiting the bureaucracy's expertise and political clout can pursue such reforms more effectively if they are supported by descriptive data. A disease cannot be cured if one does not know its causes. Descriptive theory supplies such causes. Once established, they can become target(s) of corrective pressures or, to paraphrase Bailey, be used to improve the processes of government. Therefore, in one sense a concern for theory is accompanied by a concern for change. When political systems are confronted with crisis, theory has often played a major role in the decision-making apparatus of such systems, as a means to uncover causes for trouble and as a guideline for change.

Peters and Pierre (2003:5) insist that the strength of the public administration is nearly always a mirror-image of the strength of the state. Internal strength is critical to the public bureaucracy's ability to fulfil its role in society regardless of the degree to which the state encroaches society. Also, a strong public bureaucracy is crucial in order to sustain core democratic values such as equality, legal security and equal treatment. For these reasons, a strong bureaucracy in a weak state need not be an arrangement that cannot be sustained in the longer term.

In this study, it is important to note that ‘leadership’ and ‘governance’ are concepts that have attracted the attention of many, particularly in the field of Public Administration. As stated in the second chapter, this study is mainly qualitative research. Therefore, this chapter will attempt to lay a theoretical foundation in order to put the subject of discourse of this study into its context. After the introduction, the chapter provides a conceptual framework by outlining the nature and scope of Public Administration, the development of Public Administration throughout the years, the study of Public Administration and the theories of Public Administration. This is done with the aim of paving a way for the chapter to look at the management functions in order to demonstrate how the topic of this study fits within the discipline of Public Administration. Thereafter, the chapter examines the theories of leadership starting with the identification of leadership functions before it analyses the concept of leadership from a public sector perspective. Finally, the chapter examines the concept of governance in the context of public administration before it concludes with the analysis of leadership and governance in the African context.

3.2 Conceptual framework

Putting ‘leadership’ and ‘governance’ in their context particularly within the discipline of Public Administration requires one to highlight the following: the nature and scope of Public Administration, the development of Public Administration throughout the years, and the study of Public Administration. These points will be outlined in the following sections before the chapter can look at the various theories of Public Administration.

3.2.1 The nature and scope of Public Administration

The nature and scope of Public Administration can be summarised referring to Balogun (1983:19-20) as he outlined some of the characteristics which have endured over time, namely:

The primacy of ends, goals or objectives: the source and origin of administration are the ends which are meant to be served. In public administration, the ends will, to a significant extent, be socio-political, but as a result of developments in the external environment, economic objectives are becoming increasingly important.

The interlocking relationship between policy formulation and policy implementation roles: from the broad goals identified, policies are formulated and then implemented. Although the political class sometimes lays claim to exclusive control of the policy formulation process, administrators have a vital role to play in the areas of policy analysis, fact-gathering, and options identification, all of which finally lead to the formulation of policy. For their own part, career administrators cannot totally keep political class out of the process of implementation in view of the latter's role in monitoring progress in programme accomplishments.

The integrative role of organisation: even when policies are conceived and formulated outside the framework of organisations, the implementation generally takes place in bureaucratic organisations or 'in programme' or matrix organisations. It is in such organisations that human and material resources are coordinated and deployed to achieve policy objectives. Therefore, the issues of executive leadership and control, as well as those of departmental organisation and machinery of government, are of strategic importance in public administration.

The interposition of values and ethics: although administration is a universal concept, its practice tends to be conditioned by values prevailing at any particular time and place. This relativity factor calls the scientific character of public administration into question and complicates the study of the subject.

The intrusion of economic values: if public administration was originally concerned in the main with political values and objectives, it now has to accommodate economic values and objectives in view of its intervention in economic spheres. This explains the new wave of concern with the issues of efficiency and productivity in public administration.

Balogun's characteristics of the nature of public administration serve to prefigure the next section to examine the development of Public Administration throughout the years.

3.2.2 Development of Public Administration

Woodrow Wilson has been acknowledged, at all times, as an eminent writer on Public Administration. His eminence was established with his famous essay titled *The Study of Administration* (1887). The essay's main themes were that Public Administration should be separated from traditional politics and Public Administration should be based on a science of management (Wilson, 1887). Nevertheless, as the 1900s progressed, a bifurcation developed among those who wrote about the work of government. While some wrote about the administrative side of the enterprise, others wrote about the policy side. Graduate programmes developed emphasised either the public policy aspects or the administrative aspects. In the meantime, those who were actively engaged in the work of government were wrestling with both sides of the coin: policy plus administration. As a corollary event, business

administration programmes made a transition from the word 'administration' to the word 'management', as public administration programmes began to replace the term 'administration' with 'management'. At least, the term 'public management' merely reflects the transition in popularity from the word 'administration' to the word 'management'. At most, it reflects the appreciation that public managers must juggle both policy and administration to be effective (Ott, Hyde & Shafritz, 1991).

In the 1940s, Herbert Simon made a contribution to Public Administration with his book *Administrative Behaviour*. He argues for the use of logical positivism when dealing with policymaking, which entails the use of natural-scientific methods to observe and measure policies objectively, thus excluding the feelings and opinions of individuals (Simon, 2004:136-149). Simon also developed the concept of *bounded rationality* in subsequent work (Shafritz, Hyde & Parkes, 2004:78). His work focuses on the behavioural and cognitive processes used by humans to make rational choices and decisions. Furthermore, Simon argued that policymakers could use the method of closed systems thinking to deal with the inevitable limitations of rational decision-making, thus limiting the choice between alternatives and their subsequent consequences (Simon, 1946).

By the 1950s, the role of government and thus public administration changed significantly in Europe and America. World War I, the Depression and World War II altered the size, the scope and the reach of governments. Public administration became increasingly sophisticated and public sector organisations progressively larger and more complex. Nevertheless, Charles Lindblom (1959) started to question the rational models of policy formulation and policy decision-making in public administration. Lindblom recognised the complexity of policymaking as

he argued that a rational-comprehensive approach to policymaking is impossible (Lindblom, 2004:177-178).

The following lines summarise the significant changes in our view of public administration since 1887, which can be considered the beginning of the discipline of Public Administration. The analysis outlined by Ergun (2011:136-140) is of importance in this regard. Ergun argues that the adventure, which began with Woodrow Wilson's article entitled *The Study of Administration* as already mentioned, was grounded on the distinction between politics/administration, and then the universal principles of administration were reached (Wilson, 1887). Wilson stated the importance of public administration and drew attention to the fact that the administration should resort to intellectual resources more often by saying it is getting more difficult to enforce law than to make it. The politics-administration dichotomy has become a paradigm and dominated the discipline of public administration in the first quarter of the 20th century. For instance, Frank Goodnow (1900:17-26) defended the view that there should be a clear distinction between politics and administration in his book entitled *Politics and Administration*.

As Nicholas Henry puts it, there were two significant lapses in the general flow of public administration line in the 40s (Henry, 1989): First, administration and politics cannot be separated easily; and secondly, administrative principles are not expressions of administrative rationality. *Elements of Public Administration* edited by Fritz Morstein Marx was the first study criticising the dichotomy between politics and administration (Marx, 1946).

The second phase that public administration went through was in 1937 when the principles of public administration, such as span of control; unity of command; specialisation, etc., were put forth before the effects of

the dichotomy between politics and administration were visible. Luther Gulick outlined public administration functions and initiated the POSDCORB acronym (Gulick & Urwick, 1937). Even if these principles and POSDCORB do not meet the challenge of changes required by current conditions, they still survive.

Herbert Simon questioned the principles of administration by bringing a new behavioural perspective to the administration. Political scientists resisted the danger posed by the traditional paradigms put forth by Simon and his supporters and the increasing freedom of public administration. Reaction to the administrative principles was accompanied by social-psychological approaches. Herbert Simon in *Administrative Behaviour* (Barnard, 1938; Simon, 1947) assimilated these principles as ironic proverbs in his article entitled *The Proverbs of Administration* (Simon, 1946).

Ergun (2011:137-138) furthermore stresses that in recent years, the postmodernists have been reflecting a different point of view of public administration. As modernism claims to represent the values that a society should reach, it is universal. Postmodernism can be considered to be taking over the tradition by adopting strategies of making transformations and breaches in previous forms presented by the tradition without ignoring the tradition. According to postmodernism, nothing is completely new, and there is no universalism. Charles J. Fox and Hugh T. Miller state that postmodernism rivals holism by atomic disintegration; entirely by particles; centralising by centrifuge; melting pot by salt; the proportional by the non-proportional; unitary moving force by excessive pluralism; universality by relativity (cited in Fox & Miller, 1995:45).

Within the scope of public administration and changes in the notion of democracy, it would be beneficial to note how postmodernism tries to perceive or explain public administration. The main function of public administration is the conduct of the daily work of government. Public organisations are structures that are formed for the transformation of individuals and organisational missions into productive relations. As for public administration, it is related to decision-making and directing individuals to reach the aims set by political leaders. Both organisation and administration aim to supervise the distribution of pecuniary and humanitarian resources. Administrative hierarchy creates a supervision network. Some contemporary postmodernists claim that notions put forward by Simon and his approach to rationality caused serious damage to American pragmatism and to Taylor who is the representative of American pragmatism. Simon puts forward the separation of values and facts instead of a separation of politics and administration. According to him, the values that determine politics are fake but the ones that determine administration are facts. As a result, McSwite insists that postmodernism provides a means to break the resistance of rationality for criticism generated by academic and popular intellectuality in his article entitled *Postmodernism, Public Administration and the Public Interest* (McSwite, 1996:198-224).

During the stunning changes of the last quarter of the 20th century and in the first decade of the 21st century, public administration has gained a feature that contains necessary competences and techniques for actualising and enforcing the policies passed by representative bodies. The aim of public administration is also to encourage public policies that are reactive to social needs as well as a better understanding of government and its relations with the society being governed. In order to serve this purpose, public administration should pay attention to resorting to administrative applications which aim to ensure efficiency

and productivity, and to provide citizens with their basic human needs. Within this context, besides a reactive approach to organisational behavioural in itself, public administration must put emphasis on developing administrative ethics, and provide solutions to social problems, because public administration has an assisting role for governments in detecting these problems and providing solutions. The next section examines the study of Public Administration.

3.2.3 The study of Public Administration

As already said, the discipline of Public Administration and management has made great strides since the article by Woodrow Wilson: *The study of Administration*, published in 1887. Kuye (2012:vii) notes that developments included the addition of management to the area of study. During the 1970s, New Public Management was proposed as a cure to the bureaucratic tendencies which hampered the efficiency of public services. It proved to be not a solution to the problem due to the unique character of the public sector as an administrative system but it is a prerequisite for any management technique to be successfully implemented. Thus the core discipline was again emphasised. During the 1980s, governance was hailed as the panacea for the public sector's maladies and its efforts to meet the needs of contemporary society. Again public administration proved to be the framework required to allow governance to be successfully implemented within the public sector terrain. According to Thornhill (2006:800), the study of public administration has developed, broadened and has been enriched to contribute to the improvement of the quality of public service by exposing public administration to new theories and practices formerly conceived to be applicable to the private sector. Furthermore, Thornhill stresses that each government should establish its own public administrative system within the constitutional and legislative frameworks developed for

governance systems. However, two main periods characterise the evolution of the study of public administration. They are briefly highlighted below.

3.2.3.1 The Early period

The study of administration is as old as history, but its modern phase begins in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. The change from predominantly rural to a complicated urban civilisation, the rapid developments in physical technology, and the consequent need for more orderly processes in both the private and the public sector have all been factors in the emergence of administration as ‘a self-conscious study’ (Waldo, 1955:19).

The mental climate in America emphasised efficiency and the scientific approach, symbolised in the scientific management movement. This movement was pioneered by Frederick W. Taylor, who believed that in any undertaking, scientific analysis would lead to discovery of the ‘one best way’ of carrying out each operation (Taylor, 1911). Originally applied to shops in private establishments at the turn of the previous century, Taylor’s techniques were later (from about 1910 on) introduced in government. New philosophical approaches gave impetus and a more realistic character to political and administrative reform. Pragmatism emphasised the study of government as it actually worked and led to thorough analyses of the facts of political life and public administration. Summarising these developments, Waldo writes: “The rise of public administration ... is an attempt to make government work under the new and more demanding conditions, by increasing the amount of systematic study of the problems of government and the competence and training of those entering government service.” (Waldo, 1955:19) Furthermore, Waldo (1955:19) adds that in the universities, political science developed

as a separate and substantial area of academic research and teaching and it was in the political science departments that the first courses in Public Administration were taught. White (1926) stresses that these courses and the first textbooks described the structure of administrative organisation in government and emphasised management services such as personnel and financial administration. Some attention was given to intergovernmental relations, regulatory functions, the role of the chief executive, relationships of administrative agencies with legislators and the general public, and the nature of the programmes carried out by the executive branch. The focus on administrative housekeeping functions not only responded to the need at that time to strengthen them in government but also served to pave the way for careers in the public service for college students with general backgrounds. Administrative policymaking was given little attention; indeed, it was generally left out, because it was considered part of the separate field of politics. Problems of organisation were treated within the scientific management mold, and attempts were made to formulate principles for the best way of structuring and managing administrative agencies.

Nitro and Nitro (1980:15) note in retrospect that the contribution of the early period was to focus attention on the administrative function as such and on improving organisation, procedures, and the quality of public service personnel. The successes were many, because public administration did achieve recognition as a new field and the public service was improved. Graduates of public administration programmes were among the large numbers of college-trained people entering the federal service and state and local governments during the New Deal period. In 1939, the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) was established; its purpose is to advance the science, processes, and art of public administration and its membership includes public employees from all levels of government, teachers, researchers, consultants, civic

leaders, and others united in this objective. Until the mid 1940s, international attention was on war, so, the next section outlines the study of public administration from the period that followed World War II.

3.2.3.2 The period since World War II

After World War II the whole concept of public administration expanded. The administration/policy split was rejected, thus opening up a large new area for study: administrative policymaking. The value judgments of administrators, goal conflicts, power struggles, and relationships with pressure groups and legislators became essential items for administrative study. New dimensions were added to administration as a process, in particular, the analysis of decision-making and communications. The preoccupation with organisation charts and formal lines of authority was replaced by a much broader focus, namely, the consideration of organisations as social systems in which the workers interact in many different ways, frequently at variance with the directives and conceptions of those in official charge (Nitro & Nitro, 1980:16).

Simon (1957) insists that so many questions were raised about the principles approach to administration that the word itself came into disrepute. Although the best of management experts had been careful to condition the application of principles to the special facts of each case, others had confidently defined certain universals of administration. Generally, such universals were presented as having been discovered through personal experiences or as desirable models to follow in any case. Not derived from empirical research, they rested on premises of organisational logic rather than on documented facts of human behaviour in organisations. The repudiation of the principles approach did not, however, signify the abandonment of the search for a true

administrative science. This quest was resumed on a new basis: behavioural research testing various hypotheses in different kinds of organisations (Presthus, 1965:17-40).

However, Marini (1971) stresses that, as the examination of the human factor became a principal concern, public administration dropped its original stance of separateness and now applies the knowledge and insights of the social sciences, particularly sociology, social psychology, psychology, and anthropology. References to findings in these fields are now commonplace, both in theoretical works and in discussions of practical problems in administration. Scholars and practitioners are primarily concerned with the substantive programmes of government, not the tool subjects like personnel and finance. It is not that the latter are no longer considered important; indeed, they are viewed more broadly, reflect the human relations emphasis, and take into account important new developments. In more recent years, public administration has been giving more attention to improvement of all aspects of the public policymaking process. The need in this area is great for, as Yehezkel Dror (1971:11) states, while human capacities to shape the environment, society, and human beings are rapidly increasing but policymaking capabilities to use those capacities remain the same. In this context, it is essential to outline some of the theories of Public Administration. The next section is dedicated to those theories.

3.2.4 Theories of Public Administration

The paradigms of Public Administration are basically drawn from two main models: orthodox public administration and supremacist political enterprise.

3.2.4.1 Orthodox Public Administration

The Orthodox Public Administration's model can be easily described based on:

The Politics/Administration Dichotomy

This is the first paradigm of public administration. The dichotomy indicates that there should be a separation of roles between public administration and politics. Public administration should be tasked with policy implementation while politics should be tasked with policy formulation. This means that public administration should maintain a servant status and its action should be solely dependent on political enterprise. This presupposes a passive administration, the innovative and creative skills of which are curtailed. Such an administration concentrates on 'craft competency' (the ability to implement appropriately) rather than 'craft literacy' (the ability to formulate or design appropriate policy blue prints to enhance service delivery). The separation of policy functions reduces the entrepreneurial nature of public administration as the interest of bureaucrats is to put policy into action although cognizant of the limitations of such policies (Nsingo, 2005).

According to Balogun (1983:17-18), administration represents a process having to do with the efficient implementation of the ends, goals or objectives. However, because of the special nature of public administration, the attention of scholars frequently focuses on the distinction between politics and administration. It is sometimes argued, for instance, that while policymaking is within the domain of politics and politicians, the implementation of policies is the sole responsibility of career administrators. To put it differently, politics and administration

are mutually exclusive, just as the process of policy formulation is distinct from that of policy implementation.

In his famous work, *Politics and Administration*, Goodnow (1900) came up with what was later interpreted as an advocacy of the policy/administration dichotomy. Goodnow's primary focus was on politics rather than administration. Proceeding from the premise that the two processes of government were beset by different problems and needed to be evaluated on the basis of different criteria, he concentrated on the organisation of political parties. For instance, accountability of administration to the electorate was the main thrust of Goodnow's argument. However, when other commentators seized upon it, they turned the argument round. Instead of focusing on the political or value element of Goodnow's thesis, the commentators concentrated on the administrative or factual aspect. Their main objective was the 'maximisation' of the efficiency of administration, and they regarded politics as the only obstacle before them. They saw themselves as proponents of 'good government'. Among the threats that had to be eliminated were political jobbery and the spoils system, which along with other factors contributed immensely to the persistence of waste, inefficiency and corruption in government. According to the proponents of the idea of good government, the answer to the problems lies in the 'insulation' or separation of administration from politics. Many significant individuals and groups belonged to the good government movement, e.g., Woodrow Wilson, the National Reform League, the League of Women Voters, the Bureau of Municipal Research, etc. They attacked the problem of administrative inefficiency by concentrating their attention on the 'organisation portion' of public administration. Hence the efforts they devoted to the production of 'model city charters' and 'strong-executive' models of organisation.

The Weberian model of bureaucracy

This model exalts hierarchy, rules and regulations, impersonality, seniority as 'sacrosanct or revered fundamentals' in public administration. Regular contact with a bureaucrat will show you that he or she cannot act until he or she refers to the rules or regulations. This is not to say that they are not important but to emphasise the fact that the rules have become excessive and too cumbersome, instilling a culture of caution and fear in the bureaucrat. Needless to say, instructive guidelines have led to a conservative bureaucracy characterised by delays, red tape, passing the buck, rigidity, unaccountability and non-responsiveness in service delivery. These bureaucracy pathologies have tremendously reduced the entrepreneurial nature of public administrators. This has portrayed public organisations as non-performing institutions and has led to calls for administrative reform, hence the New Public Administration (NPA) or the New Public Management (NPM), concepts that have come to dominate current administrative parlance in matters of governance (Nsingo, 2005). It is essential at this stage to examine the concept of NPM before stepping into the second approach to public administration.

3.2.4.2 New Public Management

Peters (2009:328) argues that what has come to be known as the New Public Management (NPM) did not emerge from any single theory or statement of how to run the public sector better, but rather emerged from different strands of thinking about governing. What these ideas and approaches all shared, was a sense that something was wrong in government, especially within the public bureaucracy, and had to be changed. The various scholars and practical reformers involved in the process differed, however, in what they considered the root cause of the

problems in the public sector and therefore differed in what the most effective solutions for the problems of the public sector were likely to be.

According to Denhardt and Denhardt (2007:12), the New Public Management refers to a cluster of contemporary ideas and practices that seek, at their core, to use private sector and business approaches in the public sector. While there have long been calls to ‘run government like a business’, the current version of this debate involves more than just the use of business techniques. Rather, the New Public Management has become a normative model, one signalling a profound shift in how we think about the role of public administrators, the nature of the profession, and how and why we do what we do.

However, the phrase ‘New Public Management’ implies that there was an old public management, and indeed there was. This approach to managing in the public sector is often referred to as ‘scientific management’, and had its heyday during the 1930s and 1940s. In the United States the publication of the Brownlow Report in 1939, with its principles of management, was derived from scholars such as Gulick and Urwick (1936). In Britain and other countries analogous academic and official reports emphasised the existence of principles that could enable the public (or private) manager to run an organisation effectively and efficiently (Self, 1973). These principles were subsequently questioned and largely debunked by decision-making approaches to management (Simon, 1947), but the old public management did influence behaviour in public organisations for decades (Peters, 2009:326).

The New Public Management approach was developed as a reaction to the focus of the traditional Public Administration discipline on the input-related structures and functions of government that did not seem to produce the anticipated results in terms of social development in

industrial societies (Hood, 1995; Kettl & Milward, 1996:4). As a result of the perceived inefficiencies of the traditional public administration system, NPM promotes the adoption, by the public sector, of generic and liberal free market-oriented business management principles. It also promotes the voluntary transfer of the public sector's non-core functions to private or voluntary sectors, either through full or partial privatisation exercises, joint or partnership ventures, or agency, or outsourcing contracts. In this way, the state can gain access to other resources in society in addition to those under its direct control and it can improve the quality of public services by allowing other service providers to deliver specified services better than the state can do itself.

This approach blurs the distinction among the public, private and voluntary sectors by postulating that many principles of management are generic and applicable to both public and business-oriented organisations. It has brought about a paradigm shift in the way the role of the state in society is perceived. It has changed Public Administration into Public Management (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000:8). It has become an influential approach that has taken root across the world and is still expanding in its application in different societies. NPM scholars disagree about the ideal new boundaries between the traditional sectors in society (Rhodes, 1997:47). It has even been alleged that the NPM approach has extended the role of the state in society rather than restricted it, because of its gaining access to, and its regulation and control of, both profit making and voluntary agencies as proxies to achieve its objectives (Durant, 1998:212; Smith, 1998:51).

The NPM and governance approaches have, therefore, stimulated the development of the network approach to public affairs by highlighting the fact that traditional public policies and functions are increasingly designed and performed by networks of diverse, autonomous public,

private and developmental institutions brought together around, and loosely bound together by, the same or related interests, instead of being controlled solely by the public sector (Mandell & Steelman, 2001). In this network view of the relationship between public and other institutions, the public sector does not necessarily control the networks that it participates in, but it has to rely on persuasion or bargaining in some cases in order to get its way. The vertical bureaucratic authority and control that the public sector exercises in traditional public administration, therefore, has given way to a process of horizontal consultation, persuasion, bargaining and coordination in order to achieve the desired results (Cloete, 2005:13-14).

Ergun (2011:147) believes that the recent 'new public management' notion has become one of the most salient and important international tendencies in public administration field. The main indication of this movement is that public administration, which is generally considered to be within the scope of political science, has come under the auspices of management. This movement is also related to four other mega administrative tendencies. These are: slowing or stabilising the growth of the state with respect to public spending and personnel; transition to privatisation from a structure which is dependent on the state; getting away from the notions of national state and unitary state to a certain extent by having a more transnational agenda; and making use of information technologies in the development and distribution of public services.

It is essential to stress that the concept 'New Public Management' did not yield expected results. As a result, many countries are shying away from trying to engage in the application of its principles as they seem to conflict with the core values of public administration and management.

3.2.4.3 Supremacist Political Enterprise

Politics is supreme in the public sector. Politics and society have a democratic social contract, where those who rule are expected to protect society and provide goods and services to improve the good life and pleasure of all. If a state fails in this fundamental mission then it is no longer necessary. It should be rejected and alternatives must be found. However, supremacist politics tends to: minimise the role of public administration; reduce the participatory nature of politics (violation of the democratic social contract); formulate policies that have not received thorough consultation (hence, flawed policies are pronounced); make promises that are difficult to fulfil; and be responsive to its whims and not to society (Nsingo, 2005). This tends to frustrate the bureaucracy, as it would have limited operational space. As a result, public administrators lose interest in the success of the institutions for which they work. They put in enough effort to keep going. They become inherently docile and non-entrepreneurial. Their organisations become static and incapable of fulfilling social needs. Worse still, the public administrators can also decide to be corrupt and engage in systematic accumulation of resources for themselves just as with politics. This becomes a competition for resources between politics and the bureaucracy at the expense of the community. Under these circumstances, it is pertinent to bring about reform by way of public administration functions. Alteration is only possible in terms of the New Public Management, which allows the public administration to become entrepreneurial and to focus on rendering excellent services to the community.

Having said that, the next section outlines the management functions that will allow the study to demonstrate the extent to which the subject of discourse in this study fits into the field of Public Administration.

3.3 Management functions

There are four main management functions and six additional management functions. The focus is, however, limited to generic functions, namely, planning, organising, leading, and controlling.

3.3.1 Planning

According to Koontz and O'Donnell (1976:129-130), planning is deciding in advance what to do, how to do it, when to do it, and who is to do it, as already stated. Planning bridges the gap from where we are to where we want to go. It makes it possible for things to occur which would not otherwise happen. Although the exact future can seldom be predicted and factors beyond control may interfere with the best-laid plans; unless there is planning, events are left to chance. Planning is an intellectually demanding process; it requires the conscious determination of courses of action and the basing of decisions on purpose, knowledge, and considered estimates. Roussow and Louw (2005:18, 20) describe planning as the formulation of goals and objectives, and developing the strategies to achieve these goals and objectives within a changing environment. The reason for planning is to reduce the risk that is an inherent part of the changing environment. The planning process includes the following steps: gather information regarding the organisation; develop goals and objectives; develop strategies; and implement and monitor progress.

However, planning is a process of thought concerning the future determination of objectives and making things happen in terms of the objectives set. As bureaucracies have a tendency towards conservatism, bureaucratic planning is substituted for open competition, and

managerial control passes to professional managers. The need for programme continuity creates the need for planning experts, who create a convergence of public and private interests, because the private sector cannot supply leadership for large-scale social planning, and to approach the government for regulating authority (Fox & Meyer, 1995:96). To manage one's time within today's demanding environment is very important. This is also true for every manager and staff member. A person has to prioritise what has to be done now and what can wait for a while. One way to assist managers and staff members in planning their time is by determining the importance and the urgency of the task. The importance and urgency are determined by the goals and objectives of the organisation.

3.3.2 Organising

For an organisational role to exist and to be meaningful to people, it must incorporate: 1. Verifiable objectives, which are the task of planning; 2. A clear concept of the major duties or activities involved; and 3. An understood area of discretion, or authority, so that the person filling it knows what he or she can do to accomplish results. In addition, to make a role operational, provision should be made for needed information and other tools necessary for performance in a role. It is in the sense of a structure of roles that formal organisation is conceived. It is within this connotation that we think of organising as the grouping of activities necessary to attain objectives, the assignment of each grouping to a manager with authority necessary to supervise it, and the provision for coordination horizontally and vertically in the enterprise structure. An organisation structure should be designed to clarify the environment so that everyone knows who is to do what and who is responsible for what results; to remove obstacles to performance caused by confusion and uncertainty; and to furnish a decision-making communications network

reflecting and supporting enterprise objectives (Koontz & O'Donnell, 1976:274-275). Organising creates the framework within which strategies can be applied to achieve the objectives. After formulating strategies, the organisational structures must be developed to ensure that strategies can be carried out. For example, an organisation may decide on a matrix organisational structure, because projects are part of its strategy to achieve its goals. Organising also includes comprehensive coordination to ensure that all tasks are geared towards achieving the goals and objectives of the organisation (Roussow & Louw, 2005:21).

3.3.3 Leading

The managerial function of leading is defined as the process of influencing people so that they will contribute to organisation and group goals. It is obvious that while enterprise objectives may differ somewhat in various organisations, the individuals involved also have needs and objectives that are especially important to them. It is through the function of leading that managers help people see that they can satisfy their own needs and utilise their potential while at the same time contributing to the aims of an enterprise. Managers thus require an understanding of the roles assumed by people, the individuality of people, and their personalities (Koontz & Weihrich, 1988:392). The theme of this study fits within the function of leading. Therefore, the study places a particular emphasis on leading throughout the examination of key issues related to the concept of leadership.

Jones *et al.* (1998:403) describe leadership as the process according to which a person exerts influence over other people by inspiring them, encouraging them and guiding their activities to help achieve the organisation's goals and objectives. Therefore, leading includes the following additional management functions: leadership, motivation,

communication, and discipline (Roussow & Louw, 2005:23). Leadership involves taking the lead to bridge the gap between formulating plans and reaching goals, in other words translating plans into reality (Smit & De Cronjé, 2002:279).

Leading is of critical significance, because a particular leadership style determines, to a large extent, how well an institution or organisation is achieving its goals and objectives. The concept of leadership becomes relevant to this study when one considers the situation that has been prevailing in the DRC. As previously noted, the country is endowed with numerous natural resources and it also possesses a viable workforce that can help to maximise and capitalise on the country's potential. But because of a lack of an effective leadership that can provide the much needed stewardship for the creation of an environment that promotes good governance and development, the DRC is facing challenges at all levels. As a result, the country is now ranked among the poorest countries and failed states, as stated early in this study. It is assumed that a good and responsible leadership will be able to reverse the patterns that have hindered the DRC's development. It is therefore important for this study to point out the significance of leadership in the governance of a country such as the DRC. Control is inherent in leadership.

3.3.4 Controlling

Thompson (1976:711) argues that control is making something happen the way it was planned to happen. As implied in this definition, planning and control are virtually inseparable. According to Mosley and Pietri (1975:29-43), planning and control are so inseparable that they have been called the Siamese twins of management. The following statement by Robert L. Dewelt (1977:18), describes this relationship between

planning and control: ‘the importance of the planning process is quite obvious. Unless we have a soundly charted course of action, we will never quite know what actions are necessary to meet our objectives. We need a map to identify the timing and scope of all intended actions. This map is provided through the planning process. But simply making a map is not enough. If we do not follow it or if we make a wrong turn along the way, chances are we will never achieve the desired results. A plan is only as good as our ability to make it happen. We must develop methods of measurement and control to signal when deviations from the plan are occurring so that corrective action can be taken.’

Fox and Meyer (1995:28) describe control first as the degree of influence that management has for directing the behaviour of organisation members and activities. Secondly, they describe control as an effort to try to get others to change themselves or to change their attitudes, opinions, or behaviour in making choices. It could also refer to the function of a system that provides adjustments according to a plan, the maintenance of deviations from a system’s objectives within allowable limits. In general it refers to the authority to give orders or to restrain something, and to set standards of comparison for checking the results of organisational activities. Controlling is one the crucial management tasks and it is important in ensuring that the goals and objectives of the organisation are achieved. People often do not like the word ‘controlling’, because it seems to have a negative connotation for them. The word ‘controlling’ tends to imply limitations, constant supervision and punishment. The actual task of controlling should be seen in a positive light, because it gives the manager guidelines according to which performance can be improved. The following three controlling steps can be identified: (1) Setting standards, (2) Measuring actual performance against standards, and (3) Taking corrective steps (if necessary). Therefore, Roux *et al.* (1997:154) claim that control is probably the most

neglected administrative activity. Despite impressive and attractive public activities being launched, relatively little attention is given to control. Large sums are spent and a great deal of trouble is taken to exercise control over quantities. Furthermore, Roux *et al.* stress that control in the public sector comprises two process groups, namely, internal control and external control, which is also referred to as accounting control, because it involves giving an account to political institutions and, through them, to the public.

In sum, one can assert that management is the process of planning, organising, leading and controlling human and other resources in order to achieve the goals and objectives of the organisation. This implies that there is a direct correlation or interrelationship between all the management tasks. Planning, organising, leading and controlling influence one another and one cannot really exist without the other (Roussow & Louw, 2005:26). In this study emphasis is placed only on 'leading', a function that plays a crucial role within any institution or organisation. In the context of a state, leadership is essential as it provides the stewardship needed for an effective management of governmental institutions. One can also conclude that leading involves all the other functions as it is not possible to lead without being able to plan, organise and control. A leader uses all the four functions interchangeably.

3.4 Theories of leadership

Contemporary theories of leadership focus essentially on organisational and inter-organisational contexts and settings. However, Daft (2008:38) outlines two leadership approaches, namely, the trait approach and the behaviour approach.

The trait approach

Early efforts to understand leadership success focused on the personal characteristics of a leader, such as intelligence, honesty, self-confidence, and appearance. Research early in the 20th century examined leaders who had achieved a level of greatness, and hence became known as ‘the Great man approach’. Fundamental to this theory was the idea that some people are born with traits that make them natural leaders. The ‘Great Man approach’ sought to identify the traits leaders possessed that distinguished them from people who were not leaders. Generally research found only a weak relationship between personal traits and leader success. Indeed, the diversity of traits that effective leaders possess indicates that leadership ability is not necessarily a genetic endowment (Daft, 2008:38).

The behaviour approach

Rather than looking at an individual’s personal traits, the behaviour approach says that anyone who adopts the appropriate behaviour can be a good leader. Diverse research programmes on leadership behaviour have sought to uncover the “behaviours” that leaders engage in rather than what traits a leader possesses. “Behaviours” can be learned more readily than traits, enabling leadership to be accessible to all. One study that served as a precursor to the behaviour approach recognised autocratic and democratic leadership styles. An autocratic leader is one who tends to centralise authority and derive power from position, control of rewards, and coercion. A democratic leader delegates authority to others, encourages participation, relies on subordinates’ knowledge for completion of tasks, and depends on subordinate respect for influence (Daft, 2008:43-44).

Most subsequent work in respect of styles of leadership has been based on two early studies. One of these on behaviour was carried out in 1939

and 1940 by two American researchers, White and Lippitt (1959), and is now regarded as one of the classical experiments in social psychology. Their aim was to evaluate the effectiveness of different ways of exercising the leadership role. In their first experiment they compared two contrasting ways of behaving or styles of leadership – the autocratic and the democratic. These terms largely speak for themselves; the autocratic leader takes decisions and imposes them on the group, expecting group members to put them into effect without questioning the reasons for them. The democratic leader, by contrast, encourages the members of his or her group to share the decision taking process and sees him- or herself as a coordinator of the group effort, rather than as the decision taker. In a subsequent experiment a third style was also examined which was described as *laissez-faire*. This third type of leader, as the use of the term indicates, plays a passive role in group affairs, and normally interacts with group members only on their initiative (Sadler, 2003:61). Therefore, leadership behaviour varies along continuum and as one moves away from the autocratic extreme the amount of subordinate participation and involvement in decision taking increases. White and Lippitt (1959) also suggest that the kind of leadership represented by the democratic extreme of the continuum will rarely be encountered in formal organisations. Common sense suggests that there will be some situations in which each of the above styles is likely to be more appropriate than the others (Tannenbaum & Schmidt, 1958).

However, Shafritz (2000:193) stresses that the theories of leadership can be categorised roughly into two types, both coined by Burns (1978). First, one type is based primarily on personal attributes and abilities. These include the charismatic and ‘transformational’ leaders and influence based on such attributes as intellectual abilities, expertise, and experience. Secondly, the other type includes the so-called ‘transactional theories of leadership’, where influence is based on an explicit social

contract, for example, an employment agreement with stated wages, salaries, and working conditions, or a labour contract. Needless to say, these two types of leadership frequently occur together, and there are few pure types. The two types of leadership are examined in this study.

3.4.1 Transactional theory of leadership

Shafritz (2000:195-197) argues that transactional theories of leadership had their beginnings in the 1930s, but did not emerge as the dominant theories of leadership until the 1950s. Two primary forces were behind the ascendancy of leadership, namely, frustration and disappointment with the trait theories and dramatic post-World War II advances in the applied behavioural sciences. In this case, contingency theories assert that the effects of a leader's personality or behavioural style on performance are contingent on the nature of the leadership situation. These theories attempt therefore to integrate the role of personality and situational factors in their predictions of leadership performance. The first theory to do so was the contingency model of leadership effectiveness. This theory holds that the effectiveness of a group depends upon two interacting elements: the leader's personality, and the degree to which the situation gives the leader control and influence over the group process and outcomes. The relevant personality component is the leader's motivational structure (the hierarchy of goals the leader seeks to satisfy at work).

The key to the transactional style of leadership is the exchange between the superior and subordinate. They influence each other in a way that both parties receive something of value. In other words, the superiors give subordinates something that they want (for example, a salary increase) in exchange for something that the superiors desire (e.g. greater productivity, conformity to standards, etc.). The parties are mutually

dependent on one another and the contributions of each side are understood and rewarded (Burns, 1978:19). In this transaction, leader influence is based on the premise that it is in the best interest of the subordinates to follow.

However, Burns (1978:19) summarises his concept of transactional leadership in the following terms: “Such leadership occurs when one person takes the initiative in making contact with others for the purpose of an exchange of valued things. The exchange could be economic or political or psychological in nature; a trading of votes between candidate and citizen or between legislators; hospitality to another person in exchange for willingness to listen to one’s troubles. Each party to the bargain is conscious of the power resources and attitudes of the other. Each person recognises the other as a person. Their purposes are related at least to the extent that the purposes stand within the bargaining process and can be advanced by maintaining that process. But beyond this the relationship does not go. The bargainers have no enduring purpose that holds them together; hence they may go their separate ways. A leadership act took place, but it was not one which binds the leader and followers together in mutual and continuing pursuit of higher purpose.”

Rost (1993:140) argues that transactional leadership diverges from transformational leadership in that the transactional leader does not individualise the needs of subordinates, nor focus on their personal development. Transactional leaders exchange things of value with subordinates, to advance their own as well as their subordinates’ agendas. Transactional leaders are influential, because it is in the best interest of subordinates to do what the leader wants. It refers to an exchange process between leaders and followers in which the efforts by followers are exchanged for specified rewards. With this kind of

leadership, the leader endeavours to obtain agreement from followers on what needs to be done and what the payoffs will be for the people doing it. However, transactional leaders practise management-by-exception and contingent reward.

Management-by-exception is practised in two forms: passive and active (Bass, 1990). Passive management-by-exception is displayed when a leader sets work objectives and performance standards but then waits for problems to arise, reacts to mistakes and intervenes reluctantly. The active form entails monitoring for deviations and errors and then correcting them, and enforcing rules and procedures.

Contingent reward: entails setting work objectives and performance standards, providing feedback, and providing financial or psychological rewards in exchange for performance that meets expectations. This may result in motivating people to achieve goals and to develop themselves, but not to the extent that transformational leadership behaviour does.

However, transactional leaders appear to be strongly directive and they tend not to use the consultative, participative or delegative styles to any significant extent (Gill, 1999). They set objectives and performance standards, but do so in a directive rather than participative manner. Transactional leaders, according to the Bradford micro-skills theory of leadership, are also more likely than transformational leaders to use closed and leading questions in their interactions with others (Wright & Taylor, 1994; Randell, 1998). These “behaviours” run the risk of gaining only compliance rather than commitment. Transactional leaders also tend to use rewards for performance on the basis of directives about objectives. And, while this can result in short-term achievement, it runs the risk of stifling human development, with a consequential loss of competitive advantage (Gill, 2006:51).

Furthermore, Shafritz (2000:195-197) argues that the contingency model views leadership as a dynamic process. As situational control changes, so will the match between leadership style and situational control. It is therefore possible to predict the changes in leadership performance that are likely to occur as a result of changes in the leader's situational control. To help leaders become more transactional, various methods were designed. These methods are: path-goal theory, the normative decision model, life-cycle theory, situational leadership theory 'SLT', and so on. For the sake of this study, these methods are not discussed.

Advantages and disadvantages of transactional leadership

According to Kuye (2010:266), the advantages of transactional leadership style are as follows: it is practical and allows for tactical flexibility; it ensures efficiency in so far as the performance of the subordinates is concerned (i.e., the subordinates are aware that they are being closely monitored, as a result of which they tend to perform optimally); and leadership tends to manage the intervention only in cases where the standard performance by a subordinate is not met. However, the hands-on approach might compromise the relationship between the leader and the subordinate, because of the powers vested in a leader (i.e., in an event where a subordinate fails on a particular task, the leader tends to strictly reprimand without implementing corrective measures).

3.4.2 Transformational theory of leadership

The concept of transformational leadership has its roots in earlier work on rebel leadership (Downton, 1973). Burns (1978) studied political leaders and found a contrast between two divergent types: transforming and transactional leadership styles. Bass (1985) extended this work by

articulating three types of behaviour of transformational leadership: charisma, intellectual stimulation, and individualised consideration. Bass and Avolio (1990) expanded the three-factor model by adding a fourth factor: inspirational motivation. Later, Antonakis, Avolio and Sivasubramaniam (2003) replaced the term 'charisma' with 'idealised influence'. Much research has shown that leaders' use of the four transformational types of behaviour relates to positive organisational behaviour outcomes (Lowe *et al.*, 1996). The focus of leadership has shifted from traditional or transactional models of leadership to a new genre of leadership theories, with an emphasis on transformational leadership, which has been termed 'visionary leadership', 'charismatic' or simply 'new leadership'. The transformational approach to leadership has grown in popularity since 1980, and is part of the 'New Leadership paradigm' (Lourens, 2001:36; Ozaralli, 2003:335; Naidoo, 2005:154).

James MacGregor Burns (1978) describes 'transformational leadership' as a process in which leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of understanding and morality. He adds that transformational leadership promotes significant change in the life of people and organisations. It redesigns and shapes perceptions and values, and changes expectations and aspirations of employees. It is not based on a 'give and take' relationship, but on the leader's personality traits and ability to make a change through vision and goals. Furthermore, Burns describes transformational leadership as the kind of leadership that is able to raise the moral and ethical standards of followers and enlist them in actions that go beyond their own self-interest. Burns's theory is supported by other writers such as Bass (1985) as he believes that transformational leaders stimulate their group members to greater intellectual accomplishments and unselfish deeds. This is a relatively new development in the area of leadership and will, no doubt, become more developed and systematised in the years to come. Some methods

were also designed to develop transformational leadership. The most important of them is the Cognitive Resource Theory. Bass (1985) adds that transformational leader behaviour also originates in the personal values and beliefs of the leader but does not constitute an exchange of commodities between superior and subordinate. Nevertheless, Bryman (1992:23) indicates that the term ‘transformational leadership’ was first used by Downton (1973). It took root with a classic work by the political sociologist James MacGregor Burns which was entitled *Simple Leadership* (1978). Northouse (2001:23) claims that Burns linked the roles of leadership and followership. Burns, for instance, indicates that leaders are individuals who tap into the motives of followers, in order to better reach the goals of both leaders and followers. As already stated, Burns (1978) distinguished between two types of leadership: transactional and transformational.

Transformational leaders operate out of deeply held personal value systems that include aspects such as justice and integrity. Burns (1978:20) refers to these as end values. End values are those values that cannot be negotiated or exchanged between individuals. By expressing these personal standards, transformation leaders unite their followers but, more importantly, they can change their followers’ goals and beliefs. Consequently, transformational leadership results in the achievement of higher levels of performance among followers than previously thought (Bass, 1990). Transformational leaders achieve this in one or more ways. Bass (1985) proposes four “behaviours” he believes are associated with transformational leadership: charisma (idealised influence); inspiration; intellectual stimulation; and individual consideration (transformational leaders tend to pay close attention to the inter-individual differences among their followers. They often act as mentors to their subordinates. Coaching and advising followers with individual personal attention characterise this factor of ‘individual consideration’).

However, Bass and Avolio (1994) stress that transformational leaders achieve superior results through: being role models for their followers; motivating and inspiring followers by providing meaning and challenge to their work; stimulating intellect by instilling innovation and creativity; and focusing on individual needs for achievement and growth. Transformational leadership behaviour represents the most active/effective form of leadership, a form in which leaders are closely engaged with followers, motivating them to perform beyond their transactional agreements. Podsakoff and colleagues extensively reviewed six conceptualisations of transformational leadership behaviour and found that it included articulating a vision of the future, fostering group-oriented work, setting high expectations, challenging followers' thinking, supporting followers' individual needs, and acting as a role model (Podsakoff *et al.*, 1990; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman & Fetter, 1993). As Avolio (1999) has noted, every leader displays behaviour that can be characterised as transformational, transactional, and non-transactional; however, effective leaders more often display transformational leadership behaviour and contingent reward behaviour and less frequently display more passive and ineffective “behaviours” (Rubin, Munz & Bommer, 2005:845). Thus, transformational leaders do more than ‘transact’ with subordinates or followers, and this is what makes a significant difference to people’s motivation and development (Gill, 2006:52-53). For instance, Bass (1985) insists that transformational leaders achieve ‘performance beyond expectations’ in their subordinates or followers; they stimulate followers to transcend their own immediate self-interest for the greater good of the group, organisation or society. Transformational leadership makes a positive impact on empowerment, motivation and morality.

Bass and Avolio’s model (1994) highlights the fact that transformational leaders tend to use one or more of the following four T’s: individualised

consideration, intellectual stimulation, inspirational motivation and idealised influence:

Individualised consideration (IC): transformational leaders display individualised consideration when they listen actively; they identify individuals' personal concerns, needs and abilities; they provide matching challenges and opportunities to learn in a supportive environment; they delegate to them as a way of developing them; they give developmental feedback; and they coach them. Individualised consideration is embedded in transformational leaders practising 'Management By Wandering Around' (MBWA). This 'I' is similar to the dimension of consideration or socio-emotional in leadership-style theories.

Intellectual stimulation (IS): transformational leaders use intellectual stimulation. They question the *status quo*. They present new ideas to followers and challenge them to think. They encourage imagination and creativity in rethinking assumptions and old ways of doing things. And they do not publicly criticise errors, mistakes or failure or ideas or approaches that differ from their own. Socrates, in his famous question-and-answer dialogues [now known as Socratic dialectic], is probably the greatest example of an intellectually stimulating leader (Avolio & Bass, 1990; Hazell, 1997:8-12). Such leaders use and encourage intuition as well as logic. This is a recipe for personal growth. In the words of the American Supreme Court Justice, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr (1841-1935): "A mind once stretched by a new idea never regains its original dimension". With the increased emphasis today on knowledge work, intellectual stimulation is particularly important (Kelloway & Barling, 2000). Knowledge-based organisations require leaders who can create and maintain an environment where innovation thrives. Intellectual

stimulation, together with individualised consideration, is the basis for an effective coaching and mentoring role.

Inspirational motivation (IM): transformational leaders display inspirational motivation. They communicate a clear vision of the possible future; they align organisational goals and personal goals so that people can achieve their personal goals by achieving organisational goals; and they treat threats and problems as opportunities to learn. They provide meaning and challenge to the work of their followers. And they speak (and write) in an appealing and exciting way. In Bass's words: "quantum leaps in performance may be seen ... when a group is roused out of its despair by a ... leader who articulates revolutionary new ideas about what may be possible" (Bass, 1985:4). As a result, followers want to meet expectations and they display commitment, not merely compliance, to the vision, goals and tasks. They are inspired.

Idealised influence (II): transformational leaders also display idealised influence, something closely related to 'charisma'. They express confidence in the vision; they take personal responsibility for actions; they display a sense of purpose, determination, persistence and trust in other people; and they emphasise accomplishments rather than failures.

Such leaders also gain the admiration, respect, trust and confidence of others by personally demonstrating extraordinary ability of one kind or another. They put the needs of other people before their own, and they display high standards of ethical and moral behaviour. Trust is perhaps the single most important factor in transformational leadership (Bass, 1997). As a result of these "behaviours", leaders become role models: people identify with them, and they want to follow and emulate them.

Transformational leaders tend to use the consultative, participative and delegative styles as well as the directive style to a significant extent (Gill, 1999). The four 'I's are related to these four leadership styles in different ways. Transformational leaders are also more likely than transactional leaders to use open and probing questions and reflective responses. These findings are consistent both with what Tom Peters and Bob Waterman (1982) called 'loose-tight' leadership behaviour and with the findings of Abraham Sagie *et al.* (2002) in respect of the participative and directive styles. The latter researchers found that integrating these styles can be effective. The implication is that transformational leaders are more active and more flexible in their leadership behaviour.

Advantages and disadvantages of transformational leadership

According to Kuye (2010:266-267), the transformational leadership style brings the following advantages: the charisma in leadership provides vision and sense of mission, instils pride, gains respect and trust; the inspiration, ensures that higher expectations with regard to performance are clearly communicated; transformational leadership promotes intelligence, rationality and careful problem analysis and solving; and leaders tend to give personal attention to subordinates, treat each employee individually and often provide coaching and advice. Nonetheless, the transformational leadership style has the following disadvantages: when leaders fail to inspire the subordinates, the planned task is destined to fail, despite the efforts taken by a leader to transform the situation; and communication breakdown caused by rhetoric would ensure failure of the vision that the leader holds; this culminates in subordinates being confused about which tasks to perform.

3.4.2.1 Pseudo-transformational leadership

Transformational leadership may also take a dark form, what Bass and Avolio call ‘pseudo-transformational leadership’ (Bass, 1997; Bass & Avolio, 1997:93-94). Such leaders encourage an ‘us-and-them’ competitiveness and pursue their own self-interest rather than encourage the common good. They use symbols of authority and hierarchical differentiation (Howell & House, 1992). Pseudo-transformational leaders may possess ‘dysfunctional’ charisma. Their values are highly questionable, and they are likely to lead their followers to disaster and perdition (Gill, 2006:53).

3.4.2.2 Other models and concepts of transformational leadership

Tichy and Devanna’s (1986) concept of transformational leadership proposes that transformational leaders are visionaries, see themselves as change agents, display courage in the face of resistance and risk, emphasise the need for motivation, empowerment and trust, are driven by strong values, see mistakes, errors and failures as learning opportunities, and cope with complexity, uncertainty and ambiguity (Tichy & Devanna, 1986). This model, however, is based on observations of only 14 business leaders in action (Gill, 2006:53).

Raffery and Griffin (2004) propose another variation that they determined empirically, with the following five dimensions of transformational leadership: vision (expressing and idealised picture of the future based around organisational values); inspirational communication (expressing positive and encouraging messages about the organisation, and making statements that build motivation and confidence); intellectual stimulation (enhancing employees’ interest in and awareness of problems, and increasing their ability to think about problems in new

ways); supportive leadership (expressing concern for followers and taking account of their individual needs); and personal recognition (providing rewards such as praise and acknowledging effort for achievement of specified goals).

3.4.2.3 Visionary leadership

Marshall Sashkin's 'visionary leadership' concerns transforming an organisational culture in line with the leader's vision of the organisation's future (Sashkin, 1988). Sashkin and Rosenbach also suggest that there are three personal characteristics that guide leader's behavioural strategies: self-efficacy (self-confidence), power orientation (use of power in different ways) and cognitive capability (Sashkin, 1992; Sashkin & Rosenbach, 1998). Cognitive capability concerns understanding complex cause-and-effect chains to be able to take action at the right time to achieve desired outcomes (Streufert & Swezey, 1986). Vision is fundamental to leadership.

3.4.2.4 Charismatic leadership

Outstanding leaders are often perceived as charismatic: they attract and inspire followers. Charismatic leadership is found at all levels in the organisation, though most frequently at the top, Bass (1992) says, and it is associated, with greater trust in leaders and achievement among followers. The charismatic leader 'weaves a spell' outside the organisation too, attracting shareholders and investment in troubled times, according to research by Francis Flynn and Barry Staw (2004). David Waldman *et al.* (2001), however, in a study of senior managers in *Fortune* 500 companies in the United States, found that charismatic leadership is associated with the net profit margin, but only under conditions of environmental uncertainty. Charismatic leadership appears to be

dysfunctional in predictable conditions, perhaps because it may generate unnecessary change.

Max Weber (1864-1920), the German sociologist, wrote the classic on charisma (Roth & Wittich, 1968). He saw charisma as primarily a social relationship between leader and follower resulting from extraordinary personal qualities but which requires continual validation: followers' perception of the leader's "devotion to ... exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character (and) the normative patterns of order revealed or ordained by him". Weber saw charisma as a process of influence and commitment that arises in opposition to traditional bureaucracy.

A more contemporary view is that charisma is not something that is possessed by a leader but a consequence of the relationship between leader and followers (House, 1977:189-207; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir *et al.*, 1993). Followers appear to be attracted to different types of leaders, and followers' work values – favouring participation, security and extrinsic rewards – contribute to their leadership preferences (Ehrhart & Klein, 2001). Ciulla (1999) comments on charismatic leadership and values: "the values of charismatic leaders shape the organisation, but in some cases these values do not live when the charismatic leader is gone."

3.4.2.5 Distant and close leadership

Beverly Alimo-Metcalfe and Robert Alban-Metcalfe (2001) emphasise the importance of distinguishing between 'distant' leadership and 'close' or 'nearby' leadership. They contrast interview studies with top-level managers and studies at all levels of the 'perceptions' of top-level managers ('distant' leadership) and immediate bosses ('close/nearby')

leadership). Support for this contrast comes from literature on leadership and social distance.

Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe (2001) suggest that most studies, including those using the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ), tend to describe distant leaders, and they do so in terms of charisma, vision and transformation, while perceptions of close leaders may be different. Their own research employed a grounded-theory approach but ensured content validity in their research questionnaire consistent with the transformational leadership literature. They identified the following nine scales with high reliabilities and convergent validities that formed the basis for a new instrument, the Transformational Leadership Questionnaire (TLQ): genuine concern for others (similar to Bass's individualised consideration); political sensitivity and skills; decisiveness, determination and self-confidence; integrity, trustworthiness, honesty and openness; empowering and developing of potential; inspirational networking and promoting; accessibility and approachability; clarifying of boundaries and involving of others in decisions; and encouraging of critical and strategic thinking.

Two second-order factors emerged: internal orientation and external orientation. Internal orientation concerns relationships within the department or organisation; external orientation concerns relationships with the external world. The model requires confirmatory factor analysis and concurrent and predictive validation, and it is open to criticism of the use of same-source data that may produce 'halo' effects. However, the underlying model has benefited from using the 'richness' of grounded theory in addition to conventional empirical research, a higher than usual proportion of female subjects and subjects from four hierarchical levels (Gill, 2006:55-56).

3.4.2.6 Organic leadership

Avery (2004:19) suggests that organisations of the future will require an 'organic' form of transformational leadership. She characterises this as: mutual sense-making within the group; emergence rather than appointment of leaders; buy-in to the group's shared values and processes; self-determination; emergence of vision from the group (rather than from a leader); and vision as a strong cultural element.

Further, the author (Avery, 2004:29-30) adds that the organic paradigm of leadership involves letting go of conventional notions of control, order and hierarchy, replacing them with trust and an acceptance of continual change, chaos and respect for diverse members of the organisation ... the members are expected to be self-managing and self-leading. Nevertheless, the Cognitive Resource Theory (CRT) attempts to discover the conditions under which leaders make effective use of their own, and their followers, intellectual abilities and job-relevant knowledge. CRT identified two major situational factors that affect how the leader's cognitive resources contribute to leadership and organisational performance. First, the leader has to be willing and able to direct and supervise the group. Secondly, stress, especially caused by conflict with the immediate superior, strongly inhibits the leader's ability to make effective use of intellectual abilities, and creativity. In somewhat oversimplified terms, leaders in stress-free situations use their intelligence and creativity but not their intellectual abilities. In fact, under high stress, leader's intelligence correlates negatively with performance; under low stress, leader experience tends to correlate negatively with performance (Shafritz, 2000:3).

Ingraham *et al.* (2003:20-21) insist that leaders can serve an important function as shapers and coordinators in the realm of government

management. Here the concern is with the ability of leaders to cause the structures, work processes, and incentives within and throughout the government's management systems to function in a way that promotes operational coherence and cohesion throughout the government. Leaders are situated within governments, where they can attain perspective on how the management systems interact; thus, they are in a position to ensure that the systems are mutually enabling, that each system operates in a way that supports the performance of the others. Moreover, beyond ensuring that the systems work cooperatively, leaders are also able to see that the joint effort of the management systems supports a commonly held vision of the achievement of the government's missions, goals, and objectives.

However, Dukakis and Portz (2010:3) stress that to some observers of the public sector, the critical need is for more effective leadership. From this perspective, we need individuals who can look at the 'big picture' and lead others to overcome the challenges we all face. We want leaders with vision who can bring together resources and people to address our common concerns. We look for inspiration, integrity, and purpose in our government officials. To other observers, the more important need is better 'management'. From this perspective, the key concern is effective and efficient delivery of government services. We need government officials who are skilled in the allocation and oversight of personnel and financial resources. We need effective managers who can implement and deliver the many services that we expect from government at the lowest possible cost. Furthermore, Dukakis and Portz (2010:3) insist that, in fact, both are needed. Rather than a dichotomy between leadership and management, we need public servants who can effectively operate in both realms. We need 'leader-managers' who demonstrate leadership as well management skills. We need individuals who can bring vision to their work as well as organise resources to effectively deliver services. We need

public sector leaders who can inspire others to address the challenges we face, who can be effective managers to implement government policies, and who can do both with a high degree of competence and absolute integrity. In this context, one will agree with Van Wart (2005:25) when he stresses that public servants today are called upon to be both leaders and managers. To be certain, there are differences between leadership and management. Leadership typically involves a long-term horizon, while management implies a short-term perspective. Leadership is often cast at a general level of motivating followers, while management highlights the immediate tasks required to meet specific goals. Leadership focuses on building a vision for the future, while management emphasises the use of resources to meet organisational goals.

3.4.2.7 Stewardship

Block (1993) argues the case for replacing our traditional concepts of leadership with a new concept: ‘stewardship’. Most of our theories about making changes, he asserts, are clustered around the idea of leadership and the role of the leader in achieving the transformation of organisational performance. In Block’s view, this pervasive and almost religious belief in leaders actually slows the process of genuine transformation. Stewardship is about the willingness to be accountable for some larger body than ourselves – an organisation, a community. It is to do with our choice for service over self-interest, with being willing to be deeply accountable without choosing to control the world around us.

Block draws a basic distinction between ‘good parenting’ as an approach to the governance of organisations and ‘partnership’. The former is based on the belief that those at the top are responsible for the success of the organisation and the wellbeing of its members. Partnership is based on the principle of placing control close to where the work is done. Another

distinction is between dependency and empowerment. The former rests on the belief that the people in power know what is best and that it is their job to create a safe and predictable environment for the rest of us. Empowerment reflects the belief that the ability to get things right lies within each person and is our willingness to commit ourselves to making the organisation work well, with or without the sponsorship of those above us (Block, 1993; Sadler, 2003:161).

3.4.2.8 Servant leadership

The term servant is defined as one who is under obligation to work for the benefit of a superior and to obey his or her commands (Oxford English Dictionary, 1971:1643). Robert Greenleaf, the founder of the Greenleaf Centre for Servant Leadership, conceptualised the idea of the servant leader. In his (Greenleaf, 1977:13) vision, a servant leader is a person who has an innate desire to lead by serving, serves to align with own beliefs, and strives to meet the highest priorities of others. The leader is first seen as a servant to others. For Greenleaf (1977:89), the servant assumes a non-focal position within a group, providing resources and support without an expectation of acknowledgement. Through repeated servant behaviour, these individuals eventually emerge as pivotal for group survival and are thrust into a leadership position. Greenleaf suggests that these people were not initially motivated to be leaders, but assume this position in response to the urgings of others and in response to the need for group success.

The servant-leader model views a leader as a servant of his/her followers. It places the interest of followers before the self-interest of a leader, emphasises personal development and empowerment of followers. The servant leader is a facilitator for followers to achieve a shared vision. Servant leadership promotes the valuing and development of people, the

building of community, the practice of authenticity, the providing of leadership for the good of those led and the sharing of power and status for the common good of each individual, the total organisation and those served by the organisation. A servant leader views leadership not as position or status, but as an opportunity to serve others, to develop them to their full potential (Greenleaf, 1977; Smith, Montagno & Kuzmenko, 2004:81-82). Another key characteristic of servant leadership is a leader's humility; that is, servant leaders are more concerned about followers receiving recognition for their achievements than receiving accolades for his or her successes. Thus, a servant leader strives to build an environment in which followers have a voice. In some cases, a servant leader may make personal sacrifices to secure the involvement, well-being and achievements of their followers. In cultures characterised by lower power distance, followers tend to view leaders as similar to themselves but occupying a different role in a work setting. In such cultures, leader behaviour and organisational procedures that emphasise recognition and rewards for follower achievements may be appreciated by followers and build high levels of trust between followers and their immediate leaders (Fields *et al.*, 2000; Hofstede, 2001).

Despite the vast array of terms various formulations of servant leadership have employed, three major descriptors originally employed by Greenleaf (1977) are consistently cornerstones of servant leadership. These are: 1. Service to followers, an organisation or society. Based on the alternative descriptions of servant leadership noted above, this dimension may include service-orientation, follower development, organisational stewardship, follower empowerment, covenantal relationship, responsible morality, helping subordinates grow and putting subordinates first; 2. Humility: putting the success of followers ahead of the leader's personal gain. This dimension may include relational power, altruistic calling, emotional healing, moral love,

altruism, credibility, voluntary subordination, authentic self, transcendental spirituality, emotional healing, and behaving ethically from the various alternative servant leadership formulations above; and 3. Vision: having foresight combined with the ability to communicate vision to, and influence followers in, developing a shared vision for an organisation. This dimension includes wisdom, persuasive mapping, influence, transforming influence, credibility, creating value for the community, and conceptual skills from the various alternative servant leadership formulations above (Hale & Fields, 2007:399).

Spears (1995) cited in Sadler (2003:163-164) identifies the following 10 characteristics of the servant-leader from his study of Greenleaf's work:

1. Listening: servant-leaders make a deep commitment to listening intently to the vibes of others. They also listen to their own 'inner voice', seeking to understand the messages that their own bodies, minds and spirits are telling them. They spend time in reflection;
2. Empathy: striving to understand others; not rejecting them as people, while not accepting their behaviour or performance;
3. Healing: in the sense of helping people to cope with emotional pain and suffering;
4. Awareness: sensitivity to what is going on, including self-awareness;
5. Persuasion: seeking to convince others of the rightness of a course of action rather than achieve compliance through coercion;
6. Conceptualisation: the ability to think in conceptual terms, to stretch the mind beyond day-to-day considerations;
7. Foresight: the ability to understand the lessons from the past, the realities of the present and the likely future consequences of decisions;
8. Stewardship: seeing one's role in terms of holding in trust the wealth and resources of the organisation for the benefit of society;
9. Commitment to the growth of people: valuing people beyond their contributions as employees and showing concern for their personal, professional and spiritual growth; and
10. Building

community: creating a true sense of community among those who work in an organisation.

3.5 Leadership functions

Burns (1978) identifies several characteristics of leadership. To reiterate some of the main points, leadership is collective: it responds to the mutual needs and wants of both leaders and followers. Leadership is purposeful: it leads to the creation of ideas, movements, institutions, and nations. Leadership is of two types: transactional and transforming. Transactional leadership rests on the exchange of one thing for another (e.g., jobs for votes), as already discussed at some length. Transforming leadership seeks the moral elevation of both leaders and followers, which may require sacrifices all around. 'True' leadership is morally uplifting, and the true leader is a moral agent (Rejai & Phillips, 1997:59-60). Roos (1991:244) enumerates the different aspects of leadership functions, namely, executive, policymaker and exemplar. Other authors such as Schalter (2000:11) have added an important strand that focuses on the achievement of goals in an institution or community. In this regard, all leaders within an institutional or community context ought to serve many functions to some degree towards the achievement of goals. As a result, they constitute a process, which implies movement through a series of events. They also include giving direction in the sense of guiding, steering, inspiring, and activating people. Furthermore, they include managing and directing the efforts of others and they refer to the performance of tasks through people to achieve a specific goal, as already discussed.

However, a leader performs a number of functions. These functions are briefly highlighted below following the descriptions provided by Roos (1991:245) and Schalter (2000:9):

Executive: in his or her executive capacity, the leader does not perform the work alone. He or she assigns duties or tasks to other persons through delegation. This, however, requires the leader to know how to delegate authority and maintain accountability. Should he or she be ignorant about the delegation of authority, he or she will create a bottleneck and an obstacle in the group's success.

Planner: the task of deciding how a group will achieve its objectives is part of a leader's functions. Planning in this respect entails the determination of intermediate steps as well as the long-term planning of future steps to attain the final objective. The leader is often the sole custodian of the plan and the only one who knows the entire programme of action.

Policymaker: the leader is the central "determinator" of the policies and goals of any group. It is through in his or her capacity as a policymaker that the style of leadership employed by a leader becomes clear, since policies originate from three sources, namely, superimposed from above by authorities using the leader first as consultant and eventually as messenger; from below (the bottom) where the policy is dictated by the group, although the leader is still expected to guide the discussion; and from the leader himself or herself in those cases where he or she has the autonomy to make independent policy decisions.

Expert and informational role: the leader acts as a monitor, disseminator of information and spokesperson of the group or team. The leader is often required to act as a ready source of information and skills.

Especially in informal groups, the leader is the person from whom the impossible is often expected.

External group representative: it is impossible for all members of a group to deal with other groups directly. The leader thus assumes the role of representative of the group and as such will deal with outgoing and incoming communications.

Controller of internal relations: the leader determines the detail of the group structure and thus functions as the controller of intra-group relations. The involvement of the leader with the group may vary over time; for example, a group may have started with a new task and it may be necessary for the leader to be one of the team members. Subsequently, as the task or project develops, the leader may decide to be more remote to allow the continuation of the project without further direct involvement.

Purveyor of rewards and punishments (motivator): owing to the leader's power to reward or punish, he or she can control group members. The leader has the power to decide on promotions, to award honours, to reduce status, and, in extreme cases, to dismiss group members.

Arbitrator, mediator and decision-maker: the leader is entrepreneur, conflict handler, negotiator and resource allocator. In intra-group conflict, the leader is expected to act as the arbitrator and mediator. He or she has to act as judge and as conciliator, which does however put him or her in a position to encourage cooperation within the group, depending on the aims he or she seeks to achieve.

Exemplar: many groups use their leader as the example of what they should be and do. In military and religious circles, for instance, the leader's bravery or piousness is often used as an example of what the soldier or the churchgoer should aspire to.

Symbol of the group: a leader has to play a similar role to a badge, uniform, or name in providing a cognitive focus for group identity and unity. He or she is the figurehead of the organisation.

Substitute for individual responsibility: the leader plays an important role for individual members by relieving them of responsibility for individual decisions and acts. The individual thus trusts the leader to make the final decision.

Scapegoat: as much as the leader constitutes an ideal object for positive emotions, he or she will also be the target for aggression and feelings of frustration, disappointment and disillusionment. This ambivalence is inherent in the leadership position. To the extent that the leader takes responsibility, he or she should be prepared to take the blame for failures.

3.6 Characteristics of leaders

Leaders throughout the world have emerged for a particular purpose. The world has known numerous leaders some of them are remembered for the way in which they shaped their societies and others are remembered for the way in which they somehow destroyed their respective nations (Sadler, 2003:171). Since 1983 James M. Kouzes and Barry Z Posner have been conducting research on personal best-leadership experiences, and they have discovered that there are countless examples of how

leaders mobilise others to get extraordinary things done in virtually every arena of organised activity. They have found them [leaders] in profit-based firms and non-profit organisations, manufacturing and services, government and business, health care, education and entertainment, and work and community service. Leaders reside in every city and every country, in every position and every place. They are employees and volunteers, young and old, women and men. Leadership knows no racial or religious bounds, no ethnic or cultural borders. We find exemplary leadership everywhere we look. From their analysis of thousands of personal best-leadership experiences, they have discovered that ordinary people who guide others along pioneering journeys follow rather similar paths. Though each experience examined was unique in expression, every case followed remarkably similar patterns of action. They have forged these common practices into a model of leadership, and they offer it as guidance for leaders as they attempt to keep their own bearings and steer others toward peak achievements ... They uncovered five practices common to personal-best leadership experiences. They insist that when getting extraordinary things done in organisations, leaders engage in these five practices of exemplary leadership, namely, model the way, inspire a shared vision, challenge the process, enable others to act, and encourage the heart (Kouzes & Posner, 2007:14). The Table 3.1 outlines the five leadership characteristics and the commitments attached to each of them. These attributes can be found in autocratic as well democratic leaders and they may be applied across cultures and regions. Be it in Africa or elsewhere, the practice of leadership remains the same; only the context and the circumstances vary (Tshiyoyo, 2012b:202).

Table 3.1: The five practices and ten commitments of leadership

Practice	Commitment
Model the way	1. Clarify values by finding your voice and affirming shared ideals. 2. Set the example by aligning actions with shared values.
Inspire a shared vision	3. Envision the future by imagining exciting and ennobling possibilities. 4. Enlist others in a common vision by appealing to shared aspirations.
Challenge the process	5. Search for opportunities by seizing the initiative and by looking outward for innovative ways to improve. 6. Experiment and take risks by constantly generating small wins and learning from experience.
Enable others to act	7. Foster collaboration by building trust and facilitating relationships. 8. Strengthen others by increasing self-determination and developing competence.
Encourage the heart	9. Recognising contributions by showing appreciation for individual excellence. 10. Celebrate the values and victories by creating a spirit of community.

Source: Kouzes & Posner, 2007:26.

Different cultural groups may have different conceptions of what leadership in organisations should entail, i.e., different leadership prototypes or culturally endorsed implicit theories of leadership (CLTs). In some cultures, one might need to take strong decisive action to be seen as a leader, whereas in other cultures consultation and a

participative approach may be a prerequisite. And, following from such different conceptions, the evaluation and meaning of various types of leader behaviour and characteristics may also strongly vary among cultures. For instance, in a culture endorsing an authoritarian style, leader sensitivity might be interpreted as weak, whereas in cultures endorsing a more nurturing style, the same sensitivity is likely to prove essential for effective leadership (Den Hartog *et al.*, 1999). The above Table 3.1 provides a framework one can consider when analysing the practices of leadership in any context.

3.7 Leadership in the public sector

The public sector in democratic nations is the instrument of elected politicians for pursuing their vision and mission. In public services, Paul Joyce (2003) says that it is important to recognise the primacy of politicians in creating strategic visions. Public sector managers are expected to articulate and sell the vision to employees at all levels. Nevertheless, the public sector is not comparable to the private sector. Politicians are responsible for regulating markets. And they, not public service leaders, establish values and remain ultimately accountable for public service delivery. Moreover, the public services are constrained by taxpayer funding, whereas private sector organisations can more often release funds where this increases revenue. Freedom to act is also constrained by legitimate public concern and clearly justified good practice. These constraints point to the differences between political and executive leadership (Lewis, 2006:16).

Gabris *et al.* (1998) describe leadership in the public sector as enigmatic. They say that public sector leadership involves the tension between the political and administrative spheres of responsibility. For instance,

public administrators are expected to advocate innovative and creative solutions to complex problems. Yet, by acting as advocates, public administrators do increase the risk that they will step on political toes or at some point appear overly brash. Administrators within the private sector do not often operate within such constraints. This often puts public administrators in the awkward position of being damned if they do and damned if they do not. The solution, for most of them, is to play it safe, adhering to the dictum that ‘discretion is the better part of valour’.

Rosenbloom *et al.* (2009:152) argue that in the view of the generality of contemporary knowledge about leadership, some have sought to learn more by studying the organisational careers of individuals who were exceptionally successful public administrative leaders. For instance, Eugene Lewis’s book *Public Entrepreneurship: toward a theory of bureaucratic political power* (1984) considers in depth the ‘organisational lives’ of Hyman Rickover, J. Edgar Hoover, and Robert Moses. These men were eccentric in many respects, but Lewis found some common keys to their leadership: first, each saw organisations as tools for the achievement of his goals. These goals were not simply rising to the top but rather accomplishing something substantive through the organisation. Hoover thoroughly improved the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Rickover brought the U.S. Navy into the atomic age by demonstrating the desirability and feasibility of submarines driven by nuclear power, and Moses pursued his vision of the public good by building parks and improving transportation in the greater New York City area. Secondly, Lewis (2006:16) finds that the [highly successful] public entrepreneur typically ‘owns’ all or some of the reality premises of the society in one or more areas of specialised concern. Such entrepreneurs dominate media accounts, legislative hearings, and various meetings pertinent to their area of specialisation and interest. In this way, the leader comes to ‘own’ some aspect of public policy. Hoover ‘owned’

statistics pertaining to crime; Rickover ‘owned’ nuclear power in the Navy; and Moses ‘owned’ the construction of parks and bridges in metropolitan New York. Thirdly, successful public administrative leaders grasp the potential impact that effective organisations can have. As Lewis (2006:16) puts it: “The public entrepreneur, somewhere during his career, comes to understand that the large, complex public organisation is the most powerful instrument for social, political, and economic change in the political universe.” Public organisations can provide a base of political power that protects the leader from opponents and serves as a lever for exercising influence on important external political actors, such as legislators. Furthermore, Lewis adds that at the height of their influence, Hoover and Moses were untouchable by their political opponents.

3.8 Governance in the context of Public Administration

In this section emphasis will be on governance approaches and the scope of governance.

3.8.1 Approaches to governance

Most governments around the world, particularly those on the African continent, have been incapable in establishing a system that ensures good governance in the management of public affairs. For example, they are unaccountable, inefficient, ineffective, corrupt and generally non-performing. To become effective (or more effective) in the management of public affairs, certain governments need to be transformed and reformed. This can occur only when governments acquaint themselves with the key factors of governmental excellence which involve the following factors

(Nsingo, 2005): Democratic good governance (DGG), New equation of government and managerialism.

3.8.1.1 Democratic good governance (DGG)

This approach regards the best political system as one based on the model of a liberal democratic polity. This polity respects human rights, and has a competent, non-corrupt and accountable administration. DGG can be defined using three factors: the systemic factor; the political factor; and the administrative factor. These factors are examined below:

The systemic factor

The systemic factor indicates that DGG should operate within a systems framework where the environment becomes a key factor to generate input for the political system to make decisions. These decisions should in turn be churned back into the environment for implementation so as to satisfy the needs of communities. The government should return to get feedback, which would indicate whether or not communities are satisfied with the policy decisions that have been implemented. The systemic factor indicates that all subsystems are important in the governing process. If one subsystem is ignored the whole system can be destabilised and can atrophy. Pluralist democracy works well within a systemic framework.

The political factor

While systemic factor emphasises input from the environment, the political factor focuses on the need for the decision box to be accountable and responsive to society. It should respect human rights and the dignity of all. It should respect the rule of law and work to enhance honest and just government. The political factor is intended to encourage the

development of a consultative and participatory culture where communities become part of the decision-making process.

The administrative factor

The administrative system's emphasis is on excellence in policy implementation and quality service delivery. This implies that the administrative wing of government should have the necessary skills to offer appropriate policy advice and to implement policies in accordance with policy design and the wishes of society. This calls for a high degree of responsiveness and accountability. It also means that administrators have to be entrepreneurial in order to cherish the rudiments of Democratic Good Governance (DGG), that is, excellence in service delivery, proactive enterprise, creativity and innovation.

However, Ergun (2011:134) argues that ensuring the balance between political democratisation and administrative liability is a key factor in dealing with the problems posed by bureaucratisation while trying to be a democratic society. It should be discussed if this can be ensured by a transition from poor administration to good governance. Governance comprises mechanisms, processes and organisations, which enable citizens or groups of citizens to stand up for themselves, use their legal rights, meet their liabilities and state their dissimilarities. Good governance is participative, transparent and accountable; it is effective and equalitarian and protects the rule of law. This implies that good governance ensures that political, social and economic privileges are based on a broad social agreement and also the voice of the poorest and the most vulnerable in the process of decision-making is heard in the distribution of resources.

3.8.1.2 The new equation of government

The new equation of government takes cognisance of the changing responsibilities of governments that would like to enhance democratic good governance as a panacea for socio-economic development. The focus here is on reshaping the public service so that it could be strategically placed to deal with socio-economic competitiveness and customer needs. This means that the public service had to forgo the old ways of doing things encapsulated in what is called the 'old equation of government' and come up with new and improved processes of socio-economic development within the umbrella concept of the 'new equation of government'. In this context, the public service is no longer seen as a constant, to be taken for granted when things are working well. It has entered the new equation as a key variable for excellent service delivery and enhancing governmental competitive success. It should no longer be a drain on public resources but it should drive the processes of socio-economic development. This will be qualified as an entrepreneurial government (Nsingo, 2005).

3.8.1.3 Managerialism

Managerialism is a concept that attempts to explain the proliferation of public management in public sector organisations. It is also referred to as the managerial ideology or neo-taylorism. Therefore, it can be considered as a way of thinking, which indicates that the public sector can only succeed if it adopts market driven strategies and allows public administrators (now public managers) to exercise their utmost discretion in transforming public sector institutions to be entrepreneurial and to cherish excellence in service delivery. The fundamental notion of managerialism is that management is necessary, important and good for any organisation (Nsingo, 2005).

One of the most fundamental principles advocated by the managerialist approaches to the public sector is ‘let the managers manage’. The assumption behind that argument is that if government is able to recruit or retain high quality managers, and if those managers are given the latitude to direct operations within their own organisations, then the public sector will perform better than it would if it remained dominated by political considerations and traditional bureaucratic administration. As ‘managerialism’ has moved on, the emphasis has become ‘making the managers manage’, and using a number of instruments to apply pressure on managers to make them and their organisations perform better (Peters, 2009:329).

In organisational terms, when the government cannot, for whatever reasons, transfer the service delivery functions to the private sector, the usual choice proposed by the New Public Management has been to create autonomous public, or quasi-public, organisations to provide these services. Some countries such as Sweden have used the model of ‘agencies’ for centuries as a means of delivering public services. These organisations remain within the public sector but are to some extent independent of direct ministerial control, and are empowered to make most decisions about implementing their programmes on their own. As well as creating the autonomy for agency providing a single service, in contrast to larger, multi-service departments that have been typical for most governments, the concentration on the single service then enables governments to understand better the costs of each service, and also to determine ways of managing those services better (Bouckaert & Peters, 2004; Thynne, 2005; Peters, 2009:329).

However, the objective of good governance is to create an environment in which public servants, as well as politicians, are able to respond to the

challenges of better governance. These challenges involve factors such as a notion of duty, vocation, and service delivery to the public, as well as the caring responsibility for their welfare. Consequently, one can say that good governance strengthens the values of a liberal democracy. That ideal, based on vocation, duty, and service also draws upon the concept of sacrifice, a concept that rises above self-interest, placing individualism over collective good, and greed. The concept also creates a shared feeling or a spirit of public duty among those who govern (Olowu & Sako, 2002:49-50). This implies that good governance is prescriptively conceptualised as the achievement by a democratic government of the most appropriate developmental policy objectives to develop its society in a sustainable way by mobilising, applying and coordinating all available resources in the public, private and voluntary sectors, domestically and internationally, in the most effective, efficient and democratic manner (Cloete, 2005:15).

To this end, Peters (2009:335) distinguishes two waves of managerial reform. The first wave of reform was directed at increasing the efficiency of government in many administrative systems, and also toward enhancing the capacity of citizens and employees to influence government. While these were certainly important improvements in administration, they were purchased at some cost to other important values in governing. Further, the initial changes in administration generated the capacity for additional change. The traditional system of hierarchical government was effective for some years, but the adoption of many of the ideas of the New Public Management have led governments to rethink how they can best organise the public sector and motivate the people who work there. Furthermore, Peters (2009:335) concludes that if the first wave of managerial reform was designed to 'let' the managers manage, much of the emphasis of the second wave has been on 'making' the managers manage, as already discussed. That is, while the first wave

tended to assume that managers wanted to make their organisations more effective, whether for personal gain from their own contracts or simply, because they were committed to doing the job well, the emphasis on performance in the second round of reforms has placed increased pressures on managers – and the other members of organisations – to perform well and to produce high quality public services at a good ‘price’. As well as making the managers manage, the second wave of reform has tended to emphasise the need to manage together. That is, while the first wave was successful in improving management within individual organisations, reforms in the subsequent wave was faced with the problem of numerous successful organisations that did not cooperate adequately to govern the society in a more coherent and coordinated manner. The first wave had succeeded in fragmenting government even further than it had been, so there was a need to put it back together.

3.8.2 Scope of governance

In understanding statehood, attention must be given not only to state institutions but also to the whole spectrum of formal and informal actors in the ‘field of power’ around state institutions (Migdal & Schlichte, 2005:15). In essence, when analysing governance in particular localities, one has to leave behind implicit state centric views of what constitutes governance, rather defining it as “an emergent pattern or order of a social system, arising out of complex negotiations and exchanges between ‘intermediate’ social actors, groups, forces, organisations, public and semi-public institutions in which state organisations are only one – and not necessarily the most significant – amongst many others seeking to steer or manage these relations” (Rose, 1999:21). Joel Migdal and Klaus Schlichte focus is on the state, which involves the diverse, multiple actions of state actors as well as the myriad responses and interactions between state officials and non-state actors. These state practices are to

be distinguished from the idea or the image of the state as “a coherent, controlling organisation in a territory, which is a representation of the people bounded by that territory” (Migdal & Schlichte, 2005:15). The Weberian ideal-type of the state as a goal-oriented, centralising, and unitary actor which is distinct from society should be replaced, therefore, by a view which pays attention to the different alliances and connections with non-state actors who play an important role in the formation of public authority (Lund, 2006:686).

According to Olowu and Sako (2002:38-39), the scope of governance includes five main parts: 1. Political governance includes setting policies, marshalling resources, and creating participation in governance, fundamental rights and democratic pluralism, rule of law, and socioeconomic consensus and equity; 2. Economic governance includes the economic and financial policy of instruments, processes, and systems of economic decision-making, industrial policy and role of the private sector, and impact of globalisation and international trade; 3. Social governance consists of social norms, values and standard setting, role of culture, religion and civil society, the welfare state, and institutions to control poverty and human deprivation; 4. Green governance includes environmental democracy and sustainable development, environmental Bill of Rights, green justice, and eco-spirituality; and 5. Spiritual/Morality-inspired governance is based on moral leadership, which is an essential requirement of good governance; public confidence and trust in the process of governance can be maintained in the presence of a higher moral tone that draws on spirituality and sustains the common good. Nevertheless, Tshiyoyo and Koma (2011:122) insist that modern concepts of good governance invoke, as essential political accountability, freedom of association and participation, a reliable and equitable legal framework, bureaucratic transparency, availability of valid information and effective and efficient public sector management.

3.9 Global experience of leadership

Until recently, many theories of leadership and most empirical evidence was rather North American in character, that is (House 1995:443), individualistic rather than collectivistic; emphasising assumptions of rationality rather than ascetics, religion, or superstition; stated in terms of individual rather than group incentives, stressing follower responsibilities rather than rights; assuming hedonistic rather than altruistic motivation and assuming centrality of work and democratic value orientation. However, in the 1990s there has been a growing interest in both similarities and differences in leadership within different cultures (Bass, 1990). A basic assumption in this interest is, in the words of Steers, Porter and Bigley (1996:423), that “no nation or culture has a monopoly on the best ways of doing something. This is especially so when it comes to understanding motivation and leadership at work.” The critical question in cross-cultural analyses of managerial influences is whether individuals’ responses to organisational practices are more or less universal. Steers *et al.* (1996) state that research evidence to date does not provide a clear-cut answer to this question (Koopman *et al.*, 1999:503-520).

The role models available for business leadership in the different regions of the world are significant. In America, with its longstanding experience with professional business leadership, the most readily available role model for the head of a company is the corporate CEO. In China and Chinese-related businesses it is the head of the family. In France it remains the military general. In Japan it is the consensus builder. In Germany today it is the coalition builder. However, there are nine key qualities that research shows people seek in a successful leader: passion, decisiveness, conviction, integrity, adaptability, emotional toughness,

emotional resonance, self-knowledge, and humility (Mills, 2005). The emotionalism that goes with passion is more common in America than elsewhere. Europeans see it as a sort of business evangelicalism and are very suspicious of it. Decisiveness is common to effective executives in all countries. In this regard, European and Japanese chief executives are the most consensus-oriented and Chinese and American top executives are more likely to make decisions personally and with their own accountability. Conviction is common to all. Integrity is a complex characteristic very much determined by national cultures. What is honest in one society is not in another, and vice versa. Adaptability is a pronounced characteristic of American leadership generally. It is less common and less valued in Asia and Europe. It will be needed everywhere soon enough. Emotional toughness is common to all top executives; Americans spend more time trying not to show it. Emotional resonance, the ability to grasp what motivates others and appeal effectively to it, is most important in the United States and Europe at this point in time. It will become more important in Asia as living standards improve, knowledge workers become more important, professional management gets greater demand, and CEOs have to compete for managerial talent. Self-knowledge is important in avoiding the sort of over-reach so common in America; it is less common a virtue in America than in Asia, and is a strength of the Asian executive. Humility is a very uncommon trait in the American CEO. It is sometimes found in Asia. It is often a trait of the most effective leaders, as it was in the best-respected of all American political leaders, Abraham Lincoln (Mills, 2005).

Leadership in East Asia is therefore much less likely to be withdrawn or diluted as a result of follower dissatisfaction, or through lack of technical competence. This is consistent with the higher levels of power distance which characterise most East Asian societies, with patrimonial family structures and such cultural features as filial piety (Hofstede, 1980). All

of these factors contribute to the wide social distance separating leaders from followers. Goals and means for their attainment are decided by leaders and are carefully and humanely imposed. There is little involvement of followers and little expectation on their part that this will occur. The power and authority of the leader are accepted as right and proper. Hierarchy is viewed as the natural way to order social relations. There is conformity to the 'natural' order of power relations (Kirkbride *et al.*, 1991:368).

Durcan (1994) argues that leadership in the United Kingdom is not the same as leadership in Sweden, France or Spain. To engage in the same behaviour patterns regardless of context is to risk failure and humiliation. To use the same leadership processes without regard to national context is to risk at least mild misunderstanding and private amusement. At worst, it risks a fundamental but unrecognised clash of values which can only rebound to the disadvantage of all parties. Sadler (2003:129-130) insists that moving outside the culture with which one is familiar, the expectations created by this process frequently are not met. Differences of language and concept make it difficult, even in Western Europe, to develop a common understanding of the meaning of leadership.

As with Asia and the West, it is unrealistic to suppose that much of what can be said about leadership will apply equally across the whole vast continent of Africa, even if we confine ourselves to those nations generally referred to as 'south of the Sahara'. Given the cultural heterogeneity of many African countries, similar dangers exist in relation to individual nations (Adigun, 1995). According to Hale and Fields (2007:400-401), traditional sub-Saharan African leadership centres on the concept of kingship. Masango (2003) points out that the hierarchy in African society is well defined, with the king at the top of the structure.

However, kingship in pre-colonial times was not the autocratic dictatorship that appeared in the colonial and post-colonial periods (Banutu-Gomez, 2001; Masango, 2003; Williams, 2003). Rather, in earlier periods, followers expected the king to function as a servant to the clan, tribe or community (Williams, 2003). In essence, the kingdom was more important than the king. Historical examples document the removal of kings who became a detriment to the kingdom (Banutu-Gomez, 2001; Williams, 2003). The king used influence to build consensus (Banutu-Gomez, 2001; Masango, 2003). Finally, the king was the religious leader and guardian of the kingdom's religious heritage (Rugege, 1994). In contrast, contemporary sub-Saharan Africans seem to want leaders who are strategy- and goal-directed, especially if their strategic objectives address social and economic issues. One earns leadership through demonstrating good character, competency, compassion, justice and wholeness. Decision-making should be participatory and leaders should provide spiritual and moral guidance. In practice, it appears that both traditional and contemporary sub-Saharan African leadership models include such characteristics as earning credibility through competence, being visionary, using participatory decision-making, mentoring followers and building community through service (Jones, 2002; Okumo, 2002; Masango, 2003; Nyabadza, 2003; Sunwabe, 2004). To this end, one can surely reiterate the fact that leadership characteristics remain the same throughout the world but the approach used differs, based on the context and cultural background (Tshiyoyo, 2012b:204). As already mentioned, this study focuses on the practice of leadership in the African context. It is therefore critical that the next section examines leadership reality on the African continent.

3.10 Leadership and governance in the African context

The attainment of independence ushered in great development expectations as well as new and expanded responsibilities that, in turn, demanded changes in the administrative culture, orientations, and capabilities. Public administration had to be oriented toward development, as well as responsive to the interests and expectations of the governed. It had to recruit personnel with a greater range of knowledge and skills. Nevertheless, 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, as well as of sustenance (Mutahaba *et al.*, 1993:7, 17). Hence, the impending challenges to the system of African public administration call for a redynamisation of its capacities. As has been shown previously, the present characteristics of the system do not enable it to meet this challenge and steer the society towards recovery and sustainable development. Among the critical elements of the administrative system which urgently need a re-examination is the role and scope of the state in the process of governance (Mutahaba *et al.*, 1993:19).

To most people the importance of leadership is self-evident no matter what the setting. In organisations, effective leadership provides higher-quality and more efficient goods and services; it provides a sense of cohesiveness, personal development, and higher levels of satisfaction among those conducting the work; and it provides an overarching sense

of direction and vision, an alignment with the environment, a healthy mechanism for innovation and creativity, and a resource for invigorating the organisational culture. This is no small order, especially in contemporary times (Van Wart, 2003:214). However, leadership development has emerged as an important theoretical and practical stream of management. As an area of higher learning, leadership draws from numerous academic fields (e.g., psychology, sociology, and history) and real life sources (e.g., work, family, and social experiences) and therefore requires integration of knowledge with experience. 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).

Farazmand and Pinkowski (2007:624) argue that soon after their independence, a large number of countries on the African continent earmarked a central role to the public sector for economic development. Public sector continued to expand not only as a result of creation of new public enterprises but also due to large-scale nationalisation of private enterprises (indigenous, foreign, and multinational) motivated by ideological, political, or preferred development policy and development planning considerations. Toward the end of the past century, as a result of continued poor performance of public enterprises, the collapse of communism, and advocacy of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) by donor agencies, the state and the public sector agencies in these countries started rolling back and we started witnessing a shift of emphasis from public sector to private sector. A significantly different approach toward the private sector was noticeable. The private sector that was earlier considered to be an instrument of exploitation and creator of disparities between rich and poor was then recognised as an engine of growth. Divestiture and privatisation in different forms became

common. The governments of different countries started encouraging private and even foreign investments. New forms of partnership between public and private sector started developing.

However, 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) noted five commonalities about the nature of political leadership that in effect, suggest that knowledge of political processes in the developing countries is understandably still fragmentary and tentative. According to Heady (1991), 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. In this context, Brautignan (1996:89) argues that in Africa, leadership is a scarcity. 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. As long as leaders make arbitrary policy decisions not based on careful analysis and rule mainly through patrimonial ties rather than rational-legal norms, there will be little demand at the top for analytical capacity, technical skills, and good management in public administration. According to Wohlgemuth *et al.* (1998:21), 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.

Kuye (2011:182) argues that the nature of African leadership is a problem in terms of development. There needs to be a universal set of values that African nations need to adopt in terms of leadership. For instance be it democratic or patriarchal, transparency, the respect of human rights and the rule of law should be adopted as well as commitment to the people. In other words, while the world prescribes democracy as the only form of good governance, where other forms of leadership such as in one party states and patriarchy manifest themselves in Africa, the aim should be to entrench the universal values of transparent, accountable leadership and the respect of human rights.

Africa needs leaders. 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. They ensure effective arteries of commerce and enshrine personal and human freedoms. They empower civil society and

protect the environmental commons. Crucially, good leaders also provide their citizens with a sense of belonging to a national enterprise (Rotberg, 2004:17). Good leaders help people to make their dreams come true. Donald Krause (1997:8) says that the main goal of leadership is to accomplish useful and desirable things that benefit the people being led. The importance of leadership in determining what we achieve has long been recognised (Gill, 2006:12). Therefore, the task of becoming a truly balanced leader in today's highly competitive global marketplace is not for the fainted heart. Balanced leadership requires men and women to be very clear in their focus, know themselves well, and courageously make the right decisions on behalf of their followers, customers, shareholders, and communities, at times standing alone against the tide of popular management philosophy. This kind of leadership requires a genuine love of others and the acceptance of accountability as a leader, all the while protecting one's most enduring investment, the family (Henderson, 2007). It is critical for one to insist that Africa needs leaders who are able to think globally but act locally. This requires African leaders to understand the new order that leads the global governance; leaders must be able to understand governance imperatives in the 21st century and they must also be able to gather consensus around the priorities of their respective countries. Moreover, leaders must reconsider the relevance of public administration in the governance process. Without a viable public service even the well drafted public policies will not yield positive results because of the lack of a bureaucracy that is meaningful in the implementation phase.

3.11 Conclusion

The third chapter was dedicated to the literature review that allowed the study to lay a theoretical foundation in order to put the subject of

discourse into its context. After the introduction, the chapter provides a conceptual framework that examined the nature and scope of Public Administration, the development of Public Administration throughout the years, the study of Public Administration as well as the theories of Public Administration. The chapter also looks at the management functions in order to demonstrate why the topic of this study fits within the field of Public Administration. Thereafter, the chapter examines the theories of leadership and it enumerates some of the leadership characteristics and functions before analysing the concept of leadership in the public sector. The chapter also discussed the concept governance in the context of public administration and concludes with the analysis of leadership and governance in the African context in order to pave a way for Chapter Four to examine the extent to which issues related to leadership and governance have had an impact on the DRC's development.

CHAPTER FOUR: A CASE STUDY ON LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE ISSUES IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

4.1 Introduction

The introductory chapter emphasised that the DRC is a vast country that is endowed with various mineral and natural resources. In the late 1950s and even slightly after the access to independence, the country ranked among the strong economies on the continent until the late 70s. But owing to many political and administrative challenges the country faced in its post-independence era, it was not able to sustain its prospects for development. Rather the DRC took an opposite direction due to many crises it faced and consequently state institutions were neglected. As a result, the country became famously known as a failed state, as noted earlier.

With the introduction of independence in 1960 the DRC inherited a civil service that was in good shape, though it had been used mainly as an instrument for promoting the colonial power that ruled the country, as already stated. In spite of the fact that these structures were not wholly suitable for the needs of the newly independent citizens, 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. As a result, the country lies in ruins (Tshiyoyo, 2011:104-105). Only a few months after achieving independence in 1960, the DRC went through a crisis due to political turmoil and instability. It was only in the early 1970s that the

country was able to instigate some reforms as Mobutu Sese Seko, a General at the time, was able to settle his power. During that decade, the country's public services were considered to be among the best in the sub-Saharan region. As stated earlier, the situation deteriorated significantly due the consequences of inadequate policies that were adopted, particularly the policy of 'Zairianisation'. Broadly, most of the various reforms adopted after independence can be qualified as a masquerade. These so-called reforms were merely attempts made to close up the cracks that were already noticeable in the system of governance, especially during the second republic led by president Mobutu. For instance, Nzongola-Ntalaja (1982:44) argues that during the second republic the state became a neo-colonial one that primarily served the interests of externally-based dominant classes and the interests of those who ran it. Rotberg (2002:128) notes that destructive decisions by individual leaders have almost always paved the way to state failure. President Mobutu's kleptocratic rule of more than three decades sucked Zaïre (now known as the DRC) dry until he was deposed in 1997. Shekhawat (2009:7) stresses that the Congolese state and economy still bear the deep impact of Mobutu's *predatory* rule of thirty-two years. Executive power in Zaïre, a name given to the DRC by Mobutu, was absolute.

The 30 June 2010 marked the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of independence for the DRC. This occasion brought mixed emotions as some Congolese citizens were celebrating, while others were shocked by the current situation facing the country. For the latter group this was an opportunity not only to look back and speculate on what went wrong in Congolese public affairs, but also to come up with a strategy to tackle the many challenges faced by the civil services particularly (Tshiyoyo, 2011:105). This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of leadership challenges and governance imperatives in the DRC. The chapter briefly

provides the historical background in order to demonstrate the extent to which the past trajectory taken by the country has created challenges that currently constitute a stumbling block for the development of the DRC even after more than five decades of independence. This provides a backdrop for the chapter to examine some of the leadership challenges the country is faced with before it outlines the country's governance imperatives. This is done with the purpose of clarifying the extent to which leadership challenges have also influenced the attainment of governance imperatives and, consequently, are hindering development.

4.2 Leadership challenges in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The effectiveness of leadership is determined by leaders' ability to overcome the challenges they are faced with in practice. Given the particular context of the DRC, leadership development becomes problematic owing to political, social, economic and environmental factors. Some of the impediments that fall under these categories and which hinder the development of an effective leadership in the DRC are briefly highlighted below.

Governance by predation

Given the predatory behaviour of rulers, it is difficult to enforce the rule of law as there is neither consideration nor respect for the institutions of the state. This behaviour, which has persisted in the country's system of governance for the last fifty years, has destroyed the ruler-citizen relationship as the citizens no longer have confidence in their rulers. This has tarnished the image of the public service, which is also incapable of delivering the basic public services to the citizens (Tshiyoyo, 2011:109).

Instrumentalisation of the administrative system

“Instrumentalisation” is a dynamic and constant process, notably in strategic areas targeted for reform. The state manifests itself via the administration for security purposes, for example, which is one of its fundamental sovereign prerogatives. In the DRC, the administration is instrumentalised to reinforce and stabilise political elites (Diouf 2002:33). Given the fact that administrators strive to prioritise political elites’ interests above all, it is difficult for effective administrative leaders to emerge in the administrative domain, because public servants are only concerned with serving politicians rather than serving the society (Tshiyoyo, 2012a:111-112).

Corruption

The persistent logic of politics for private gain is probably most visible in Congo’s natural resource sector, but other sectors are also skilfully exploited. Most administrative departments have developed their own structures of predation, often based on the creativity of those leading them (Vlassemroot & Romkena, 2007:34). The persistence of corruption poses a serious threat to the rise of effective leadership in Congo, because leaders will come forward to pursue their own interests and also because corruption paralyses the functioning administrative structures (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1986:52-53).

Lack of a genuine leadership

The problem in the DRC is that from the beginning leadership was imposed by people and forces external to Congolese society. For instance, each regime (head of state) came into power just to fill a power vacuum but never to change the underlying structure of a modern nation-state (Bakaly Sembe, 2006:296). As a result, there is an absence of a truly independent national leadership in the country. The troubled Congolese history since the independence made it difficult to develop a leadership

that concentrates on national priorities rather than focusing on its own interests or the interests of external backing forces (Wamba-dia-Wamba, 2003).

Lack of political culture

The long autocratic rule of president Mobutu Sese Seko left the Congo without real leaders entrusted with a strong political culture. In most cases, leaders (politicians basically) lust after power not because they have a specific goal or vision they are intending to achieve but only to get rich or richer by any means. For them, public office equates with a golden opportunity for embezzling public funds and misusing public properties. In addition, the members of opposition parties find it difficult to support the government even when its actions are directed towards the welfare of the population or national interests (Tshiyoyo, 2012a:112). In this context, governance becomes problematic.

Traps of development

Apart from all the above-mentioned challenges, the last challenge relates to the development traps that are characterised by the conflict trap, the natural resources trap, the trap of being virtually landlocked with bad neighbours, and the trap of bad governance (Collier, 2007). The DRC is facing all the aforementioned traps. For many years the country has not been able to deal with these traps adequately and there is a lack of strong leaders who can effectively tackle these challenges and establish a system that promotes good governance (Tshiyoyo, 2012a:112).

This study stresses that because of the challenges mentioned above it follows that the situation in the DRC is serious. But as much as this state of affairs is dire, one needs to also acknowledge that it can be addressed. It will require a change from within, meaning that Congolese people at all levels of the society, and particularly those in positions of

power, must be aware of the danger the country is facing and they should rise in order to ensure that things are done in a proper way especially when it comes to the management of public affairs. Most importantly, this will require the rise of strong leaders who will attempt to reverse the circumstances that have failed the DRC. Chapter Six however attempts to formulate a model for leadership development. Developing strong leaders with a pronounced sense of patriotism is a prerequisite in order to tackle the many challenges the country is faced with. The assumption made in this study is 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. In this context, what are the imperatives of governance in the context of the DRC?

4.3 Governance imperatives in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The concept 'governance' includes essentially a full range of activities involving all stakeholders in a country such as all governmental institutions (legislative, executive, administrative, judicial, and parastatal); political parties; interest groups; non-governmental organisations including civil society; the private sector; and the public at large (Frederickson, 1997:86). Thus, governance implies a complexity of activities, pluralistic in nature, inclusive in decision-making, set in a multi-institutional organisational context, empowering the weaker sections of society, and geared to achieve the generally accepted common good. Finally, it is founded on the four pillars of legitimacy, transparency, accountability, and morality/spirituality (Olowu & Sako, 2002:39).

Considering the DRC's current situation, one might be tempted to say that everything is of priority because of the state of the collapse the state is in. However, the study assumes that, in the DRC, all the sectors need attention but it also acknowledges that not everything is a priority and there are some prerequisites that if addressed all the other issues can be solved in due course. Therefore, the next section elaborates on the concept of good governance in order to understand what might be the imperatives of governance in the current context of the DRC.

4.3.1 Good governance

António (2001:68) argues that good governance is an essential stage towards meeting the objectives of sustainable and people-centred development, prosperity and peace. Good governance is therefore defined by the rule of law, the existence of effective state institutions, transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs, respect for human rights, and the meaningful participation of all citizens, particularly women, in the political processes and decisions affecting their lives. It is a process in which people are empowered and have sufficient freedom to set priorities for their development needs, which take into account their specific socio-economic and cultural circumstances. In this way, good governance can play a crucial role in ensuring people-oriented development particularly in Africa, because it demands that all citizens and groups articulate their interests, needs and concerns. Africa as a whole has made a tremendous effort to submit itself to the imperatives of good governance, by encouraging a wider popular participation in national issues, transparency and responsibility in the administration of public affairs, and gradually involving women more in the major activities of government.

However, good governance is a means to an end, and not an end by itself. The end is a well-functioning state. That well-functioning state should at least do the following: maintain peace, law and order; defend and enhance individual liberties; maintain checks and balances; and foster a growing economy. A sound state can only be brought about by good governance that results in the capacity of public organisations to provide public services to its citizens in an effective, efficient, transparent and accountable manner under rule of law and individual liberties. Good governance should be both political and economic. These together underpin sustained development. Within this broad definition, there are many variations of good governance in Africa's context, and it is impossible and unwise to try to suggest a highly specific definition of what good governance is in all countries. Despite this difficulty, there are a number of minimum conditions for good governance. For instance, a country must have capable and effective administration; must be capable of preventing conflicts; and must have functioning institutions (Mule, 2001:73).

Considering what good governance is all about and bearing in mind that the DRC currently ranks amongst the most notorious failed states on the continent and in the world as stated earlier, what are the governance imperatives in the DRC? The next section identifies some of the aspects of governance that need to be given priority in order to take the country out of its state of collapse. Nevertheless, it is essential to insist on the fact that only an effective leadership can create an environment that promotes the attainment of governance imperatives that are highlighted below. This presupposes proper training and education for leadership.

4.3.2 Imperatives of public administration and governance in the DRC

Mule (2001:74-75) suggests particular imperatives for any state that wishes to find a path to good governance. He identifies the following actions as the imperatives for good governance: create a strong nation-state, foster good leadership, ensure stable and representative constitutional arrangements, defend the role of the state, build capacity and strengthen empowerment, and ensure free and fair elections. Based on the context of the DRC, the following are some of the imperatives that need to be attended to in terms of enabling good governance.

Creating a strong nation state

The greatest challenge in Africa is the creation of a stable, viable, durable nation-state. Without the nation-state there can be no meaningful talk about governance. Creating a strong nation should be a priority given the state's failure in the DRC. This will require the establishment of a government that strives to maintain peace, law and order; to defend and enhance individual liberties; to maintain checks and balances; and to foster a growing economy. Without good leadership, nothing can or will happen (Mule, 2001:74-75).

A good leadership is characterised by skilled and devoted leaders who strive to achieve better results for their societies. To be successful in this endeavour, leaders must find ways to protect their people, guarantee a voice to all citizens, and make it possible for the economy to grow and the people to prosper. Good leadership in the context of the DRC will promote peace and stability, feature inclusive rule which will, in turn, create an environment that enhances the betterment of living conditions of all (Tshiyoyo, 2012a:113). In this context, the end result will be the establishment of a system that ensures good governance.

Defending the role of the state

There has been extensive debate about the state and its role. In many cases the state has been seen as the villain; it is now becoming clear that the state is important and what is needed is a good, effective, efficient, but just state (Mule, 2001:75). In the DRC, the role of the state should be the one of a protector and regulator. It is very important to have good governance to build capacities and empower the poor and the excluded, and to empower the state itself (Tshiyoyo, 2012a:113). It is therefore imperative that the state should empower itself to do the job that it is supposed to do. This will require the restoration of the integrity of the civil service in the DRC.

Ensuring free and fair elections

Goodwin-Gill (2006:viii-x) argues that in any state the authority of the government can only derive from the will of the people as expressed in genuine, free and fair elections held at regular intervals on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage. States should take the necessary legislative steps and other measures, in accordance with their constitutional processes, to guarantee the rights and institutional framework for periodic and genuine, free and fair elections, in accordance with their obligations under international law. In addition, states should take the necessary policy and institutional steps to ensure the progressive achievement and consolidation of democratic goals, including through the establishment of a neutral, impartial or balanced mechanism for the management of elections. Finally, states must respect and ensure the human rights of all individuals within their territory and subject to their jurisdiction. Mule (2001:75) adds that it is important for there to be free and fair elections regularly and this is a controversial point for governments which are formed after the elections to be inclusive. In the West, there are many *winner takes all* government systems where the political party that wins an election forms the

government. In Africa, this approach can lead to problems, because African nations typically have multi-ethnic societies. Voting patterns tend to be ethnically determined. When a government, even if it is a majority government, excludes the opposition, it excludes a very significant part of that society. This creates the possibilities for crises. Hence, for governments to be really accepted, they should be all inclusive, and they should be in coalition or comprise proportional governments.

On 28 November 2011, the DRC held its second democratic elections in more than four decades. According to Melmoth (2012:59-60), after a presidential election which was declared unreliable by the Carter Centre, European Union, the Congolese Catholic Church, some major civil society organisations as well as an alerted Diaspora, which voiced its opinion from Canada to Australia, and even protested violently in Belgium, the DRC began 2012 with the controversy surrounding the elections. In spite of the pressure, Kinshasa's regime has not conceded anything. Instead it acknowledged some irregularities and Etienne Tshisekedi, the historic opposition leader, who held second position with 32%, is confined to his residence where he even proclaimed himself the winner of the elections. This implies that the 2011 presidential and legislative elections brought pre- and post-election tensions that have divided internal and external players in the DRC's public affairs. This situation is not new in the African context, because many countries that have held elections have manifested this problem. In this study, the author stresses that elections are of great significance as they give legitimacy to the rulers; but elections should not be considered as an end in themselves. Rather elections should pave a way for peace, stability and development. For instance, the electoral process should inspire a renewed effort to militate for the integration of different stakeholders and forming a government of national unity which will mobilise the country towards the path of stability and development. What happens often is

that elections are used by African leaders as means to hold onto power even when governments have not been able to implement a single policy towards enhancing the living conditions of citizens (Tshiyoyo, 2012a:114). Therefore, the responsibility that rests upon the winners of the 2011 elections, be it at the presidential or the legislative, is to operate differently as they did previously because the Congolese people deserves to have a civilised state which is ruled according to basic principles of good governance.

4.4 Conclusion

Chapter Four has examined leadership challenges and has also outlined governance imperatives in the context of the DRC. The chapter explains the context in which leadership has evolved in the DRC through a brief overview of the country's history. This survey introduced a discussion by providing an overview of the concept of leadership followed by the critical eras in the history of the DRC, leadership challenges and the imperatives of public administration and governance in the Congo. In this chapter the author has argued that governance is about affecting the frameworks within which citizens and officials act and politics occurs, and which shape the identities and institutions of civil society. It is in this context that one may then consider governance as 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 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 a leader who will provide stewardship needed to put the country on the track of development.

A transformational leadership style is essential, as leaders will strive to revitalise the country through the renewing of the mindset of rulers and followers. Although the DRC's crisis seems dire, there is however hope that, with good leadership, the country can rise up again and become a major player on the continent. This hope is nurtured by some of the best practices given as evidence by some African countries that are making a difference by striving to obtain effective leaders who are, in turn, committing to place their respective countries on the path of stability and development. The next chapter entails therefore an examination of best practices in terms of leadership and governance based on case studies of Brazil and Botswana. These countries have particular lessons that can be shared, adapted and/or duplicated on the continent and particularly in the DRC.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF THE CASES: BRAZIL AND BOTSWANA

5.1 Introduction

Governance has been defined as the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. This includes: 1. the process by which governments are selected, monitored and replaced, 2. the capacity of the government to effectively formulate and implement sound policies, and 3. the respect of citizens and the state for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions amongst them (Kaufman *et al.*, 1999:1). According to this view, poor economic performance stems from poor governance and either a lack of desire or an inability to support the process of growth. One might therefore ask, why is governance poor in developing countries and particularly African countries? On the African continent, the situation is thought to stem from a particular style of politics, prevalent in much of the world, but endemic to Africa. Different people call this by different names: some name it ‘neo-patrimonialism’, some ‘personal rule’, and some ‘prebendalism’. Nevertheless, all scholars basically mean the same thing. In the words of Bratton and Van der Walle (1997:62), the right to rule in neo-patrimonial regimes is ascribed to a person rather than to an office, despite the official existence of a written constitution. One individual, often a president for life, dominates the state apparatus and stands above its laws. Relationships of loyalty and dependence pervade a formal political and administrative system, and officials occupy bureaucratic positions less to perform public service than to acquire personal wealth and status. Although state functionaries receive an official salary, they also enjoy access to various forms of illicit rents, prebends, and petty corruption, which constitute an entitlement of office. The chief executive and his inner circle undermine the

effectiveness of the nominally modern state administration by using it for systematic patronage and clientelist practices in order to maintain political order.

How does personal rule lead to poor economic policies or impede the creation of a developmental state? Perhaps the main mechanism, according to Bratton and van de Walle (1997) is that the mobilisation of political support via clientelism and the introduction of patrimonial logic into the bureaucracy destroys the capacity of the state and creates an economic environment of unpredictability (Bates, 1981; Sandbrook, 1985; Van de Walle, 2001 cited in Robinson & Parsons, 2006:101-102).

In spite of all the negative scores recorded in the developing world, there are currently some countries that are making a difference in terms of leadership and governance. There are many examples that can be acknowledged but for the purpose of this study only two cases (Brazil and Botswana) are outlined as they represent two regions: the Latin American region and the Southern African region. The outstanding results recorded by Brazil and Botswana can be shared with many other countries that are still battling to establish systems that promote good governance.

This chapter attempts therefore to highlight the experiences encountered by the two above-mentioned countries and to also demonstrate how they can serve as an example to other countries, particularly the DRC. On the one hand, Brazil's experience can be useful to new nations in Africa, Asia and elsewhere for, after four centuries of pre-national and national development and more than a century of independence, Brazil is now emerging as a civilisation in search of forms of expression suited to a tropical environment. The cultural affinities between Brazil and Africa are strong. But we must not forget that another factor, besides the

historical one, has contributed to these similarities: a common tropical environment undergoing the process of modernisation. On the other hand, Botswana is a country that was poor when it accessed independence in 1966. Its leadership is characterised by what is called ‘new breed of leadership’ which relies on the foundation laid by the fathers of independence and ensure sustainable development. These case studies are outlined in order to support the view that effective leadership can lead to good governance which, in turn, puts countries on the path of development. The experience of these two countries can be shared, adopted and/or adapted to fit the development needs of the DRC. In this study, there is no intention to affirm that Brazil and Botswana have “arrived” but the study acknowledges the apparent positive results that have made these countries rank among the emerging countries in their respective regions.

The chapter outlines first the profile of Brazil by providing the country’s map and thereafter highlighting the historical emergence of the state in Brazil, examining the facts about governance, and finally, the best practices in terms of leadership and governance. Secondly, the chapter outlines the case of Botswana by insisting on the historical emergence of the state, the facts about governance, and also the best practices in terms of leadership and governance before it proposes a framework for leadership development.

5.2 Leadership and governance in Brazil

The Federative Republic of Brazil (Portuguese: *República Federativa do Brasil*), commonly known as Brazil (Portuguese: *Brasil*), is the largest country in South America. It is the world's fifth largest country, both in terms of geographical area and population with over 190 million people.

It is the only Portuguese-speaking country in the Americas and the largest lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) country in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). Figure 5.1 outlines the political map of Brazil.



Figure 5.1: The political map of Brazil

https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/maps/maptemplate_br.html

Bounded by the Atlantic Ocean on the east, Brazil has a coastline of over 7,491 km (4,655 miles). It is bordered on the north by Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname and the French overseas department of French Guiana; on the northwest by Colombia; on the west by Bolivia and Peru; on the southwest by Argentina and Paraguay and on the south by Uruguay. Numerous archipelagos form part of Brazilian territory, such as Fernando de Noronha, Rocas Atoll, Saint Peter and Paul Rocks, and Trindade and Martim Vaz (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008). It borders with all other South American countries except Ecuador and Chile.

The CIA World Factbook (2011) stresses that “Characterised by large and well-developed agricultural, mining, manufacturing, and service sectors, Brazil's economy outweighs that of all other South American countries, and Brazil is expanding its presence in world markets. Since 2003, Brazil has steadily improved its macroeconomic stability, building up foreign reserves, and reducing its debt profile by shifting its debt burden toward real denominated and domestically held instruments. In 2008, Brazil became a net external creditor and two ratings agencies awarded investment grade status to its debt. After record growth in 2007 and 2008, the onset of the global financial crisis hit Brazil in September 2008. Brazil experienced two quarters of recession, as global demand for Brazil's commodity-based exports dwindled and external credit dried up. However, Brazil was one of the first emerging markets to begin a recovery. Consumer and investor confidence revived and GDP growth returned to positive in 2010, boosted by an export recovery. Brazil's strong growth and high interest rates make it an attractive destination for foreign investors. Large capital inflows over the past year have contributed to the rapid appreciation of its currency and have led the government to raise taxes on some foreign investments. President Dilma Rousseff has pledged to retain the previous administration's commitment to inflation targeting by the Central Bank, a floating exchange rate, and fiscal restraint”.

5.2.1 The historical emergence of the state in Brazil

From 1875 to 1960, about five million Europeans immigrated to Brazil, settling mainly in the four southern states of Sao Paulo, Parana, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul. Immigrants came mainly from Italy, Germany, Spain, Japan, Poland, and the Middle East. The largest Japanese community outside Japan is in Sao Paulo. Despite class distinctions, national identity is strong. Brazil prides itself on being open

to all races but recently began a national conversation on racial equality and entered into a memorandum of understanding with the United States on addressing racial inequality. Indigenous full-blooded Indians, located mainly in the northern and western border regions and in the upper Amazon Basin, make up less than 1% of the population. Their numbers are declining as contact with the outside world and commercial expansion into the interior increase. Brazilian Government programmes to establish indigenous reservations and to provide other forms of assistance have existed for years but are controversial, reflecting, as they do, notions of separate development. Pedro Alvares Cabral claimed Brazil for Portugal in 1500. The colony was ruled from Lisbon until 1808, when Dom Joao VI and the rest of the Portuguese royal family fled from Napoleon's army, and established its seat of government in Rio de Janeiro. Dom Joao VI returned to Portugal in 1821. His son declared Brazil's independence on 7 September 1822, and became emperor with the title of Dom Pedro I. His son, Dom Pedro II, ruled from 1831 to 1889, when a federal republic was established in a coup led by Deodoro da Fonseca, Marshal of the Army. Slavery had been abolished a year earlier by the Princess Regent, Isabel, while Dom Pedro II was in Europe.

From 1889 to 1930, the government was a constitutional republic, with the presidency alternating between the dominant states of Sao Paulo and Minas Gerais. This period ended with a military coup that placed Getulio Vargas, a civilian, in the presidency; Vargas remained as dictator until 1945. Between 1945 and 1961, Brazil had six presidents: Jose Linhares, Gaspar Dutra, Vargas himself, Cafe Filho, Carlos Luz, Nereu Ramos, Juscelino Kubitschek, and Janio Quadros. When Quadros resigned in 1961, Vice President Joao Goulart succeeded him. Goulart's years in office were marked by high inflation, economic stagnation, and the increasing influence of radical political elements. The armed forces, alarmed by these developments, staged a coup on 31 March 1964. The

coup leaders chose Humberto Castello Branco as president, followed by Arthur da Costa e Silva (1967-69), Emilio Garrastazu Medici (1969-74), and Ernesto Geisel (1974-79), all of whom were senior army officers. Geisel began a democratic opening that was continued by his successor, General Joao Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo (1979-85). Figueiredo permitted the return of politicians exiled or banned from political activity during the 1960s and 1970s and allowed them to run for state and federal offices in 1982.

Concurrently, an electoral college consisting of all members of congress and six delegates chosen from each state continued to choose the president. In January 1985, the Electoral College voted Tancredo Neves from the opposition Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) into office as President. Neves died 39 days later, before his presidential inauguration, from abdominal complications. Vice-President Jose Sarney became President upon Neves's death. Brazil completed its transition to a popularly elected government in 1989, when Fernando Collor de Mello won 53% of the vote in the first direct presidential election in 29 years. In 1992, a major corruption scandal led to his impeachment and, ultimately, resignation. Vice-President Itamar Franco took his place and governed for the remainder of Collor's term. To date, all democratically elected presidents that followed Itamar Franco started and finished their mandate with no interruptions in the constitutional order. On 3 October 1994, Fernando Henrique Cardoso was elected President with 54% of the vote. Cardoso took office on 1 January 1995, and pursued a programme of ambitious economic reform. He was re-elected in 1998 for a second four-year term. Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, commonly known as Lula, was elected president in 2002, after his fourth campaign for the office. He was re-elected in 2006 for a second four-year term. President Lula, a former union leader, is Brazil's first working-class president. In office he took a prudent fiscal path, warning that social reforms would take years and

that Brazil had no alternative but to maintain tight fiscal austerity policies. At the same time, he made fighting poverty through conditional transfer payments an important element of his policies.

In October 2010, Brazil held its sixth consecutive presidential and general elections since the reinstatement of democracy in 1985. About 130 million Brazilians, two-thirds of the country's population, were eligible to vote, a mandatory civic duty. Up for election were the President, the governors of all 26 states and of the federal district of Brasília; all 513 federal deputies; 54 senators (two-thirds of the total); and 1,057 delegates to the 27 state assemblies. Dilma Vana Rousseff, the Workers Party (PT) candidate, won a runoff election against the Social Democrat Party candidate, becoming the first woman president in Brazil. Dilma had previously served as the Minister of Mines and Energy and the Executive Chief of Staff, a cabinet-member position, in President Lula's administration. Rousseff took office on 1 January 2011 and has prioritised growth with equity policies to eradicate poverty and fiscal austerity. President Rousseff has also been a vocal defender of human rights and promoter of social inclusion, most notably gender equality (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35640.htm> [accessed 30 June 2011]).

5.2.2 Facts about governance in Brazil

Speaking about Brazilian's creativity, Lenine (1999:147-148) stresses that what is telling about the country's psychology, to the extent that there is such a thing, is the resilience of Brazilian culture and its ability to break out into new and dynamic creative directions. This holds both at the levels of elite and of popular culture. In the nineteenth century, educated Brazilians turned hungrily to European ideas but altered them for their own purposes. Comtean positivism, brought to Brazil from

France, was adapted by military planners to justify the need for secular technology, and, for better or worse, by civilians anxious to resist what they considered the smothering influence of the Roman Catholic Church. We may not agree with the positivist programme, but it represented a uniquely Brazilian adaptation.

Brazil is the largest national economy in Latin America, the world's eighth largest economy at market exchange rates and the seventh largest in purchasing power parity (PPP), according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Brazil has a mixed economy with abundant natural resources. The Brazilian economy has been predicted to become one of the five largest in the world in the decades to come, the GDP per capita following and growing (Goldman Sachs, 2010). Its current GDP (PPP) per capita is \$10,200, putting Brazil in the 64th position according to World Bank data. It has large and developed agricultural, mining, manufacturing and service sectors, as well as a large labour pool (Central Intelligence Agency, 2008).

Brazilian exports are booming, creating a new generation of tycoons (Phillips, 2008). Major export products include aircraft, electrical equipment, automobiles, ethanol, textiles, footwear, iron ore, steel, coffee, orange juice, soybeans and corned beef (Phillips, 2007). The country has been expanding its presence in international financial and commodities markets, and is one of a group of four emerging economies called the BRIC countries (O'Neill, 2008). Brazil pegged its currency, the real, to the U.S. dollar in 1994. However, after the East Asian financial crisis, the Russian default in 1998 and the series of adverse financial events that followed it, the Central Bank of Brazil temporarily changed its monetary policy to a managed-float scheme while undergoing a currency crisis, until definitively changing the exchange regime to free-float in January 1999 (Fraga, 2000).

Brazil received an International Monetary Fund rescue package in mid-2002 of \$30.4 billion (Wheatley, 2002), then a record sum. Brazil's central bank paid back the IMF loan in 2005, although it was not due to be repaid until 2006 (BBC News, 2005). One of the issues the Central Bank of Brazil recently dealt with was an excess of speculative short-term capital inflows to the country, which may have contributed to a fall in the value of the U.S. dollar against the real during that period. Nonetheless, foreign direct investment (FDI), related to long-term, less speculative investment in production, is estimated to be \$193.8 billion for 2007. Inflation monitoring and control currently plays a major part in the Central Bank's role of setting out short-term interest rates as a monetary policy measure. For instance, between 1993 and 2010, 7'012 mergers and acquisitions with a total known value of 707 billion USD with the involvement of Brazilian firms have been announced. The year 2010 was a new record in terms of value with 115 billion USD of transactions. The largest transaction with involvement of Brazilian companies has been: Cia Vale do Rio Doce acquired Inco in a tender offer valued at 18.9 billion USD.

However, the Brazilian economy's solid performance during the financial crisis and its strong and early recovery, including 2010 growth of 7.5%, have contributed to the country's transition from a regional to a global power. Expected to continue to grow in the 4% to 5% range, the economy is the world's eighth-largest and is expected to rise to fifth within the next several years. During the administration of former President Lula, surging exports, economic growth and social programmes helped lift tens of millions of Brazilians out of poverty. For the first time, a majority of Brazilians are now middle-class, and domestic consumption has become an important driver of Brazilian growth. President Dilma Rousseff, who took office on 1 January 2011, as already noted, has indicated her

intention to continue the former president's economic policies, including sound fiscal management, inflation control, and a floating exchange rate. Rising employment and strong domestic demand pushed inflation to nearly 6% in 2010, leading the Central Bank to boost interest rates and the Rousseff government to announce cuts in 2011 spending. The economic boom and high interest rates have attracted foreign currency inflows that have driven up the value of the currency (the real) by nearly 40% since the start of 2009. In an effort to limit the appreciation, the government has increased dollar reserves and capital controls. Brazil is generally open to and encourages foreign investment. It is the largest recipient of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Latin America, and the United States is traditionally the top foreign investor in Brazil. Since domestic savings are not sufficient to sustain long-term high growth rates, Brazil must continue to attract FDI, especially as the government plans to invest billions of dollars in off-shore oil, nuclear power, and other infrastructure sectors over the next few years. The major international athletic competitions that Brazil will host every year until the 2016 Rio Olympics are also leading the government to invest in roads, airports, sports facilities, and other areas (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35640.htm> [accessed on 30 June 2011]).

Brazil is home to some of the most successful experiences in participatory local government. The proliferation of civil society organisations in Brazil during the transition to democratic rule was accompanied by the development of new political values and strategies that fostered institutional renewal at the municipal level. Brazil's 1988 constitution decentralised political authority, thereby granting municipal administrations sufficient resources and political independence to restructure policymaking processes. Coalitions of civil society organisations and political reformers have taken advantage of this flexibility to experiment with new institutional types. The political

strategies of civil society organisations are often driven by the need to find immediate solutions to dire social problems and by a broader interest in increasing the access of ordinary citizens to key decision-making venues. The strategies of the political reformers, often led by the left-of-centre Workers' Party (PT), have been based on transforming how and to whom public goods are distributed. The specific political strategies developed by civil society organisations during Brazil's transition to democracy fostered the creation of deliberative policymaking institutions. One institutional type, participatory budgeting, incorporates citizens into deliberative decision-making venues. Political activity within civil society has led to significant political and social change in municipal government in Brazil, belying claims that Brazil finds itself trapped in a 'deadlocked democracy'.

Participatory budgeting was initiated in 1989 in the municipality of Porto Alegre and had by 2001 spread to at least 103 municipalities. Important characteristics of the new institutional format include increased and sustained participation, public deliberation and negotiation, and the distribution of public resources to poorer neighbourhoods. The institutional design of participatory budgeting reflects the dual interests of its strongest advocates: immediate short-term resolution of specific social problems and more general demands for greater access to and participation in formal decision-making venues. Although participatory budgeting has been successfully disseminated to 103 municipalities, Brazil nevertheless has over 5,000 municipalities (Wampler & Avritzer, 2004:291-292).

However, participatory budgeting changed the process of budget-making in Brazil (Abers, 2000; Nylén, 2002; Baiocchi, 2005). In its most important manifestation in Porto Alegre (1990–2003), participatory budgeting introduced four new types of institutions, three of which

involved deliberation: regional and thematic assemblies, the Participatory Budgeting Council (COP) and deliberation on the constitution for participatory budgeting by the participants themselves. The regional and thematic assemblies are places where participants make their claims, criticise the local authorities in relation to previous administrative actions and also negotiate among themselves on what their priorities for public expenditure are (Baierle, 1998). The administration agreed to redesign its administrative regions so that they matched patterns of mobilisation. Thus, the first element in the deliberative process was an attempt to combine a collective-action logic with an administrative logic (Avritzer, 2006:627).

5.2.3 Leadership and governance best practices in Brazil

Lenine (1999:14) argues that Brazil's government is based on the Aristotelian ideal that hierarchy leads to order. Unlike the other Latin American nations, which declared themselves republics after winning independence, in Brazil seven decades of monarchy followed colonialism before giving way to a federal republic, which itself was only nominally democratic. The Empire period reinforced the paternalistic and elitist values of colonial life. The republican movement, starting in the early 1870s and ultimately victorious in 1889, saw life in terms that were even more hierarchical, borrowing from the French philosopher August Comte's positivist notion of a state based on technological advances (progress) and rooted in social stability (order). This preserved Aristotle's notions about government (aristocratic) and voting rights (dominated by the landowning class). The author (Lenine, 1999:14) continues by stating that Brazil's peaceful transition to independence contrasted with the Spanish-American tradition of armed insurrection. Except for Cuba and Puerto Rico, every part of Spain's New World empire either won its independence as a republic or was 'liberated' by troops from the Creole

armies of its newly independent neighbours. Brazil eased into independence as a constitutional monarchy. The monarchy fell in 1889. In 1891 Brazil adopted a constitution patterned after that of the United States. The United States of Brazil, as the nation now called itself, actually was closer to the United States than it had been under the late-eighteenth-century Articles of Confederation. Individual states retained almost all powers; they could raise revenue, set their own laws, and maintain powerful militias.

To this end, one can note that Brazil differs from its Spanish American neighbours significantly and in many ways. It not only preserved Portuguese as its sole language but maintained its territorial integrity despite its vast size. Brazil did not split up, like Bolívar's Gran Colombia, nor was it torn apart by civil war, as was the United States. It did not lose national territory, as did Mexico, half of which was taken by the United States, or like Bolivia and Peru, in regional wars. Conservatism, not the anticlerical liberalism of mid-nineteenth-century Mexico, characterised Brazil's political life under the Empire, but reformism was tolerated. Under the republic, proclaimed in 1889 after a non-violent political coup, Brazil moved tentatively forward in the direction of elections and rule of law to an extent not seen in half of its neighbours in the region (Lenine, 1999:28).

Phillips (2008) reports that sitting in his air-conditioned office in Guarantã do Norte, a remote agricultural town on the edge of the Amazon rainforest, local mayor José Humberto Macêdo looked a contented man. Thanks largely to the global boom in commodities, this soya-growing region has been transformed into the vanguard of Brazil's march on to the world stage. "This is going to be the new Brazil," Macêdo beamed (cited in Philips, 2008), explaining how ballooning commodity prices had made his region, Mato Grosso state, into a powerhouse of the

Brazilian economy. Across the country, similar optimism can now be heard among businessmen and politicians, all convinced that South America's sleeping giant is finally waking up. Brazil has long been known as the *país do futuro* (country of the future). But a series of economic and political crises and 21 years of military rule somehow meant the future never quite arrived. Now things seem to be changing. Brazil's currency recently hit a nine-year-high against the dollar, inflation is under control and millions of Brazilians are being propelled towards a new middle class.

However, Cabral (2010) notes that Brazil's increasing prominence in international affairs, which, over recent years, has been reflected in an unprecedented increase in resources to technical cooperation with the South. The country is, as result, gradually switching from a position of recipient to a position of provider of development assistance. Although Brazil is still a relatively small player, compared to giants like India and China, it is a source of world-leading technical expertise across a range of areas of great relevance to developing countries' development processes. Examples include agriculture (e.g., agricultural research), health (e.g., antiretroviral treatment) and social protection (e.g., Bolsa Família, the world's largest conditional cash transfers programme). Comparative advantages of Brazilian cooperation are also derived from regional ties with Latin America and cultural as well as historical affinities with the African continent.

5.3 Leadership and governance in Botswana: The African Miracle

Public service delivery remains a challenge in most African countries. In spite of this negative picture, there are countries that strive to establish

adequate systems of local government in order to improve public services delivery (Tshiyoyo & Koma, 2011:120). Therefore, a look at the case of Botswana is crucial in the context of this study. Botswana had featured among the most successful economies in the world in the last 35 years. From being the poorest of the poor at independence in 1966, it has experienced an average growth rate of around 7% in per-capita terms and has witnessed large increases in human and social development. Moreover, it has been a relatively vibrant democracy and despite the hegemony of the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) it has had a continual experience of openly contested elections and a free press (Robinson & Parsons, 2006:103). Why is Botswana called ‘the African Miracle’? The next section answers the question by examining the historical emergence of the state in Botswana and some of the facts about governance.

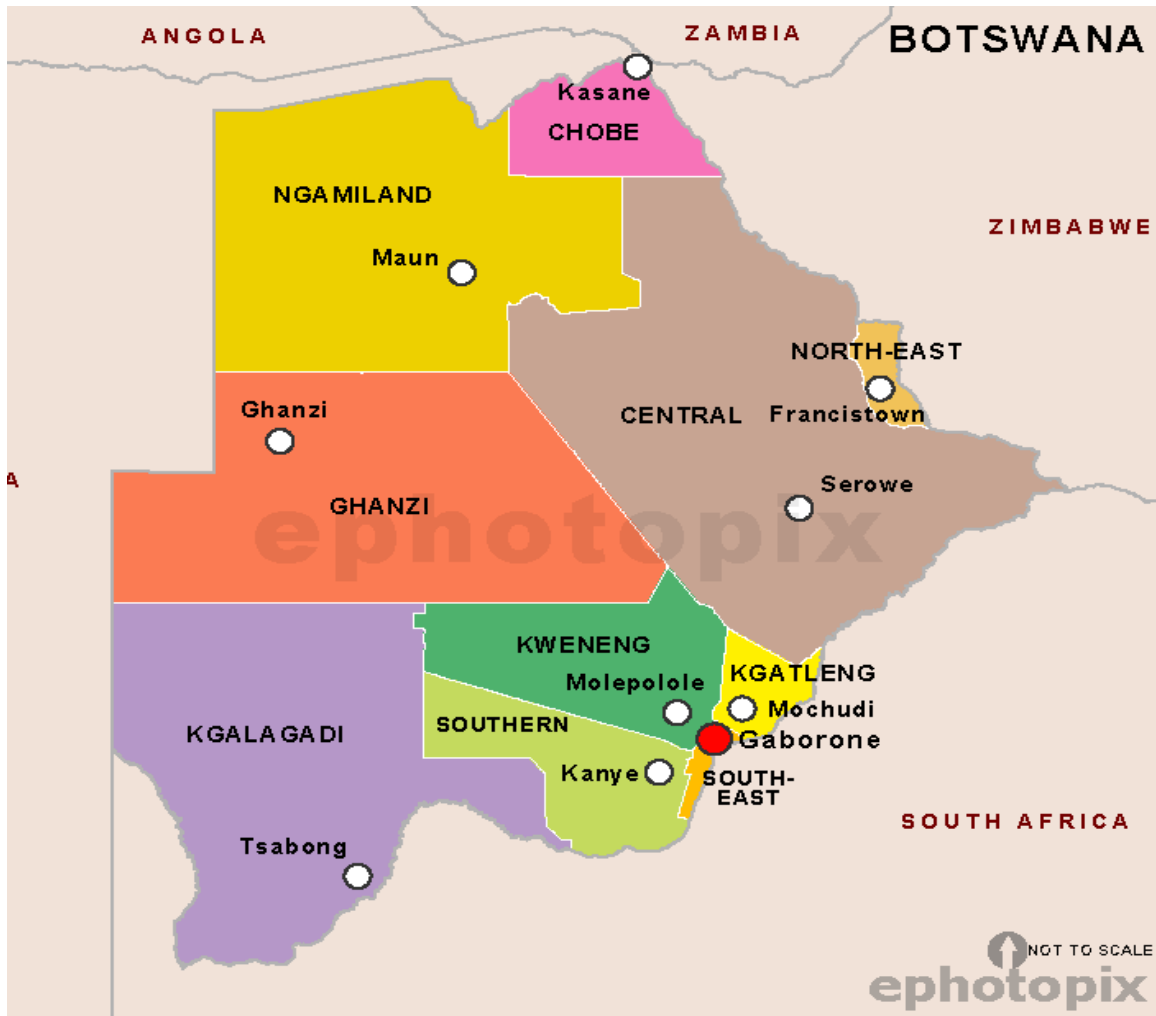


Figure 5.2: The political map of Botswana

Source: http://ephotoPIX.com/botswana_district_map.html

5.3.1 The historical emergence of the state in Botswana

Botswana is a land-locked country in Southern Africa; it was one of the forty-nine low income countries of the world and also one of the twenty-nine countries considered by the United Nations as the least developed in the world (Kurian, 1987). The Republic of Botswana emerged from 80 years of colonial rule in 1966. Foreign domination left behind an impoverished society that many observers of the time described as a 'basket case'. It lacked two main ingredients necessary to transform its

economy: educated and skilled labour and immediately exploitable natural resources. Furthermore, hostile and racist neighbours surrounded it geographically and economically. One of those neighbours, South Africa, had designs to absorb its territory. Botswana's weaknesses were many in 1966. It had a shallow financial base from which to launch a development programme. Its gross national product was 36 million rand with a per capita income estimated between R45 to R60. Botswana in 1966 was one of the poorest societies in the world. The Botswana government depended on its former colonial power's financial support to balance its annual budget. Budgetary grants accounted for about 50 per cent of public expenditures during the decade before independence. The new government of Botswana was indebted to Britain. The country's only major resource, cattle, was ravaged by the worst drought in living memory. The drought killed between 30 and 50 per cent of the national herd and impoverished the population. In fact, one out of three people depended on public rations for survival on the eve of independence (Jacqz, 1967:1).

Since independence Botswana has adopted a consistently moderate and rational policy toward race relations (Vengroff, 1976). It has not given up any part of the British legacy that seemed to promote the country's constitutional, educational, and economic progress. Relations with the United Kingdom and South Africa are generally cordial. More than a decade after independence, British civil servants continued to hold many senior administrative positions (Hartland-Thurnberg, 1978 cited in Umeh & Andranovich, 2005:13). However, Samatar argues that the pre-colonial Botswana had one of the most hierarchical social structures in the region, with kings controlling cattle herding nations through multi-tiered tributary systems. Early converts to Christianity, the chiefs employed traditional authority and links with white men to strengthen their positions in the face of the initial colonial incursion's commoditisation of

land and goods. When the British established the then Bechuanaland as a Protectorate, placing the chiefs in a subordinate position, the chiefs' powers were in certain respects enhanced as local arbiters of the rules of a foreign power. The Protectorate was always thinly administered, and the Chief Tshekedi Khama in particular, the leader of the largest nation, proved adept at fending off incursions from the expanding neighbour, South Africa (Samatar, 1999:40). Nevertheless, the story of Botswana's economic success is largely the story of Tshekedi's nephew, Seretse Khama. A leader of the political party that won Botswana's independence and the most prominent chief himself after Tshekedi's death in 1959, he succeeded in restricting the authority of chieftainships to local affairs in the new state. With his party winning 28 of 31 seats in the legislature, the new government had a particularly secure hold on power. At independence the country's major economic activity was still cattle herding, with economic status depending on the size of one's herd. Most households owned no more than a few head, and many men migrated to South Africa for part of the year to work in the mines. Thus the new government also benefited from a secure social foundation in the class of large and medium scale cattle owners (Samatar, 1999:67, 70).

5.3.2 Facts about governance in Botswana

In Botswana there has been little patrimonialism and corruption and the state has efficiently devised and implemented economic plans and policies. If there is one rational-legal state in sub-Saharan Africa, then it is in Botswana (Robinson & Parsons, 2006:104-106). Botswana has maintained one of the world's highest growth rates since its independence in 1966. Through fiscal discipline and sound management, Botswana has transformed itself from one of the poorest countries in the world to a middle-income country with a per capita GDP of \$6,600 in 2000. Diamond mining has fuelled much of Botswana's economic

expansion and currently accounts for more than one-third of GDP and for three-fourths of export earnings. Tourism, subsistence farming, and cattle-raising are other key sectors (Central Intelligence Agency, World Factbook, 2000).

A large part of government revenue in the first years of independence came from grants from the United Kingdom. In 1969 the vice-president led a team of expatriates to negotiate the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) agreement, and it subsequently became another major revenue earner. President Khama negotiated preferential access to European Economic Community for Botswana's beef exports, and net sales increased by a factor of 20 between 1970 and 1994 (not all to Europe). It was the development of a copper/nickel mining complex, however, with private firms and donor finance that served as the formative exercise in which the bureaucracy developed discipline and self-confidence. Then the discovery of diamonds and subsequent negotiations with the multinational diamond monopolist, De Beers, led to a stream of income that opened a multitude of opportunities. While Nigeria and Congo/Zaire have squandered their mineral wealth, Botswana used it to establish a diversified base in both small and large scale sectors (Clements, 2001:304).

5.3.3 Leadership and governance best practices in Botswana

Botswana's development record stands out in sharp contrast to that of most African countries. With a population of about a million people in 1960s, the country sustained an average per capita economic growth rate of 10 per cent from 1960 to 1980, exceeding that of South Korea and Hong Kong. While per capita private consumption throughout sub-Saharan Africa declined at 2.1 per cent a year from 1980 to 1997, in Botswana it increased at 2.3 per cent. Samatar (1999:8) provides a

thorough political economy account of this ‘economic miracle.’ He points out that the institutional capacity of African states in general to reverse underdevelopment has ‘vanished’ in the last 20 years, but the capacity of the public sector in Botswana has improved considerably.

Just as the academic consensus argues that Africa’s failure is a failure of governance, so it also argues that Botswana’s success is a success of governance (Colclough & McCarthy, 1980; Picard, 1987; Parson, 1988; Harvey & Lewis, 1990; Samatar, 1999; Acemoglu *et al.*, 2003; Leith, 2005). 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. What has enabled Botswana to succeed where so many other African nations have failed? Some observers point to the relative linguistic homogeneity of the country. But Somalia, which remains unstable despite a similar uniformity, shows that this factor is far from sufficient. Others point to the century – old teachings of the congregational London Missionary Society – the peaceful, pragmatic outlook that is inextricably bound up in the country's political culture. But this explanation also fails to explain why the same positive effects have not been witnessed in other countries with a history of Christian teaching, such as in neighbouring Zambia. Nor are Botswana's plentiful diamond reserves responsible: Angola, Gabon, and Nigeria all have abundant natural resources, but none has seen comparable returns for its people. It is Botswana's history of visionary leadership, especially in the years following independence that best explains its success. Sir

Seretse Khama, Botswana's founding president, came from a family of Bamangwato chiefs well regarded for their benevolence and integrity. When Khama founded the Botswana Democratic Party in 1961 and led his country to independence, he was already dedicated to the principles of deliberative democracy and market economy that would allow his young country to flourish. Modest, unostentatious as a leader, and a genuine believer in popular rule, Khama forged a participatory and law-respecting political culture that has endured under his successors, Sir Ketumile Masire and Festus Mogae (Rotberg, 2004:15).

One other important factor is that the transition to independence turned out to be amicable, with many officials in the new government paired as trainees with the Protectorate's administrative secretaries for a few years. The country was very poor, however, and at risk of domination by the racist South African regime. Samatar (1999:54-96) places great emphasis on Seretse Khama's conscious strategy of institutional strengthening and economic development. Many white administrators from the colonial government were retained, including the permanent secretary in the Office of the President and the Director of Personnel, and populist pressures to hastily Africanise the civil service were resisted. For instance, the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning became the country's central economic planning unit, a sort of economic pilot agency that Samatar compares to Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry and Taiwan's Industrial Development Bureau. Meritocratic systems of recruitment and promotion were established, and Seretse Khama protected the economic bureaucracy from personalistic [non-altruistic and ambitious] pressures from politicians. For the purpose of this study, only the above is highlighted when it comes to best practices of leadership and governance in Botswana but there are more successful stories that can be shared regarding this African miracle.

The analysis of the cases of Brazil and Botswana sufficiently demonstrates the extent to which effective leaders can positively influence the course of history in a particular country. There are a lot of lessons one can learn from these two case studies and the above experiences should inspire many of those interested in paving a way for peace, stability and development in the DRC. For instance, in the DRC independence did not occur in an amicable manner and led to many tensions between Congolese leaders and colonialists. As a result, the country faced numerous crises: political instability, civil wars, rebellions, secession, etc. Furthermore, when the DRC accessed its independence, it had only few cadres who could really understand the functioning of the state. In spite of that the transition from colonial rule to Congolese leadership was a brutal one leading to many state institutions becoming disorganised because of lack of capacity. Although Brazil and Botswana used different approaches, their respective experiences are exemplars for the DRC and the rest of Africa. In the DRC, there is a need for leaders to boldly engage in transformation as was the case in Brazil but that should be coupled with diplomacy as was the case in Botswana. In the two case studies, leaders were able to create a win-win situation as they objectively conciliated the needs for nation-building and maintained good rapport with their former colonial powers. The biggest challenge in the DRC is to create a balance between the expectations of key role-players in the country public affairs while meeting the needs and expectations of Congolese people. Botswana has demonstrated that it is possible to satisfy the needs of both citizens and foreign investors. There is a need for leaders who can change the way things have been done in the DRC.

This study considers a transformational leadership approach in addressing the crisis faced by the DRC especially when it comes to issues relating to leadership. The choice for the transformational style accrues from the fact that this approach assumes that leaders have knowledge of

the value levels to which followers should be raised and what really is valuable; transformational leaders, unlike the followers they aim to transform, know the importance and value of designated outcomes. This kind of value congruence is necessary, if leaders are to be true to their better selves and to get followers to be true to their better selves as well. Based on the analysis of the cases of Brazil and Botswana, the study proposes a framework that might help with leadership development. The framework focuses on the consideration of three dimensions, 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 that will consequently assist the country in achieving economic development.

5.4 A framework for leadership development

To most people the importance of leadership is self-evident no matter what the setting. In organisations, effective leadership facilitates higher-quality production with more efficient services; it provides a sense of cohesiveness, personal development, and higher levels of satisfaction among those conducting the work; and it provides an overarching sense of direction and vision, an alignment with the environment, a healthy mechanism for innovation and creativity, and a resource for invigorating the organisational culture. This is no small order, especially in contemporary times (Van Wart, 2003:214). Leadership development has emerged as an important theoretical and practical stream of management. As an area of higher learning, leadership draws from numerous academic fields (e.g., psychology, sociology, and history) and real life sources (e.g., work, family, and social experiences) and therefore requires integration of knowledge with experience, as already intimated.

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).

Rost (1993) describes leadership as an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their shared purposes. Bass (1992) adds that inspiring leaders are often regarded as charismatic, a double-edged sword; they are perceived to have a special talent or power to attract followers and inspire them with devotion and enthusiasm. Therefore, after examining the progress in thoughts about effective leadership and after looking at the experiences of countries such as Botswana and Brazil, a pattern has emerged when one thinks of what might represent an effective leadership style in the DRC. 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 in more detail below.

5.4.1 Spirituality/vision

Spiritual intelligence (SQ) concerns understanding that human beings have an animating need for meaning, value and a sense of worth in what they seek and do. Spiritual leadership in part is what Gardner (1993) calls linguistic intelligence: the ability to think in words and use language to express and understand complex meaning. 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. Moreover, Reave (2005:663) adds that spiritual leadership has also been described as occurring when a person in a leadership position embodies spiritual values such as integrity, honesty, and humility, creating the self as an example 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.

However, 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. In other words, one can say that spiritual leadership is comprised of the values, attitudes, and behaviour that are necessary to intrinsically motivate oneself and others so that they have a sense of spiritual survival through calling and membership. Fry's model of spiritual leadership comprises 'vision', 'altruistic love' (values) and 'hope and faith' (effort or motivation). Vision, he says, provides a broad appeal to key stakeholders, defines the destination and the journey (the strategy), reflects high ideals, encourages hope and faith, and establishes a standard of excellence; altruistic love concerns the values of forgiveness, kindness, integrity,

empathy and compassion, honesty, patience, courage, trust and loyalty, and humanity; hope and faith provide endurance, perseverance, stretch goals, the desire to do what it takes, and the expectation of reward or victory.

Spiritual leadership takes followers beyond self-interest. It is associated with integrity, independence and justice. The foundation for spiritual leadership is morality, stewardship and community. Spiritual leadership is about identifying and affirming shared core values, beliefs and ethics, a shared vision and a shared purpose that have meaning for everybody, meaningful work, empowering people, and stewardship – holding the community's, and indeed the world's, resources in trust. Spiritual leadership is about creating Aristotle's *ethos* (Fairholm, 1996). An instrument designed to measure spiritual leadership represents three dimensions: a) vision, which describes an organisation's vision and identity, b) hope/faith, which reflects confidence that the vision will be realised, and c) altruistic love which results from the caring work environment (Fry, Vitucci, & Cedillo, 2005; Brown & Treviño, 2006:599-600). Bennis and Nanus (1985:46) insist that leaders acquire and wear their visions like clothes. Accordingly, they seem to enrol themselves (and then others) in the belief of their ideals as attainable, and their behaviour exemplifies the ideas in action. Similarly, Fairholm (1998:57) claims that the leader's task is to integrate behaviour with values, and Heifetz (1994:22) encourages adaptive work ... to diminish the gap between the values people stand for and the reality they face. Gardner (1990:191) stresses that the task of leadership, at all levels, is to revitalise those shared beliefs and values, and to draw on them as sources of motivation for the exertions required of the group. On each of these views, Price (2003:68) argues that leadership puts behaviour in line with values so that we might be true to ourselves. Price (2003:68) insists that the selves to which we should be true must be identified with something higher

than mere desires and preferences. In response to this challenge, advocates of transforming leadership offer a view of the self on which we might understand the distinctively moral agenda of leadership. Burns (1978:46) adds, for example, that our better selves are identified with values that lead to the satisfaction of real need, and transformational leaders work from the perspective of these values to get us to act in accord with our better selves. Or, as Bass (1985:20) puts it, they achieve the requisite transformation by raising our level of awareness, our level of consciousness about the importance and value of designated outcomes, and ways of reaching them. Furthermore, Price (2003:68) adds that when this transformation is complete, value congruence with these values. Transformed followers can now act on the values they have come collectively to accept.

Although definitions of ‘spiritual’ may vary, there is a general consensus amongst writers on how this is manifested when applied to organisations and also to leadership. Some of the major elements that are common to most are an emphasis on: vision and values, service and love for others, empowering others, courage to overcome fears, changing from within, and the role of a supernatural spirit. These elements are briefly examined below (James, 2004:12-17):

Vision and values

The importance of organisations being visionary and value-led is increasingly recognised in the management world and is seen as a key element of a ‘spiritually-based organisation’. Influential longitudinal research by Collins and Porras in 1997 on 18 visionary companies, that had been leaders in their industries for 50 years, showed that their success was due to focusing on non-economic values and an empowering culture. They actually outperformed their competitors by as much as 16:1 (Korac-Kakabadse *et al.*, 2002:165). As people are increasingly

searching for meaning from their workplace amidst a ‘cacophony of activities’, so organisational values becomes more of a driving factor (Conger *et al.*, 1994).

Harrison (1995:177) claims that strategic planning is a search for meaning rather than a search for advantage. This is consistent with the growing interest in leadership as a value-transmitting activity and a creator of meaning. According to Lebow (1997:48), the primary human motivator comes from values. Values do not have to be sold to people, because all of us already have a set of fundamental values deeply embedded. People have a yearning to be inspired with a vision. As a result, Bennis and Nanus (1985:92) stress that by focusing attention on a vision the leader operates on the emotional and spiritual resources of the organisation, on its values and commitment. Hence, John Adair (2002:306) insists that the greatest leaders have been sustained by a belief that they were in some ways instruments of destiny, that they tapped hidden resources of power that they truly lived as they tried to live in harmony with some greater, more universal purpose or intention in the world.

Service and love for others

The emphasis on service to others has underpinned many of the quality management change programmes in the last two decades. As organisations are increasingly perceived to be interconnected with stakeholders, so there has been greater attention paid to the needs of the customers and more recently to the needs of the wider community through corporate social responsibility programmes. Within the leadership field, there has been considerable emphasis on the concept of the leader as the servant of others – servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1998; Blanchard, 1999; Adair 2001). This focus on meeting the needs of others or wanting the best for other people is described by some as ‘love’. Marcic

(1997:14) relates: “In my search to understand what has been happening in organisations, I began to see that dysfunctional managers are not the causal factor as I had previously thought, but symptoms of some deeper problem. The root cause is lack of love.” She goes on to say that “spiritual power comes from one’s being and is the capacity to influence others, not by controlling them as in political power, but through love. Those who have it do not feel arrogant or self-satisfied, but rather gain a greater humility realising that the true source of power comes from a higher power, not from themselves”. This mirrors James Autry’s assertion that “Management is in fact a sacred trust in which the well-being of other people is put into your care during most of their waking hours” (Marcic, 1997:49, 95).

Empowering others

Closely linked with the notion of service, is the concept of empowering others. As organisations are perceived to be more about relationships and interconnections, so there is an emphasis within ‘spiritually-based organisations’ on empowering others – making people free to take decisions, to develop their potential and work creatively with others. Dotlich (1998:xi) puts it powerfully when he notes: “Show me a leader who is decisive, fiercely independent, dominant and in control and I’ll show you someone who doesn’t have a clue about how to lead in today’s organisations.” John Buchan (cited in Adair, 2002:256) points out that the task of leadership is not to put greatness into humanity, but to elicit it, for the greatness is already there.

Courage to overcome fears

The desire to control usually is rooted in fear. Fear is one of the greatest diseases of mankind and it is rampant in organisations and group decision-making processes (Marcic, 1997:110). In the turbulence of today’s world, such efforts to control are proving counter-productive, so

spiritually-based firms emphasise the importance of courage in overcoming fears. Parker Palmer observes that “All the great spiritual traditions at their core say one single thing: be not afraid”. His advice to leaders is, “Do not be your fears; lead from an inner place of trust and hope thus creating a world that is more trusting and hopeful” (Conger *et al.*, 1994:40).

Changing from within

Spiritually-based organisations and leaders believe that we are part of an interconnected whole. If we want to change that whole, we must change ourselves. Margaret Wheatley (1996:100) points out that the source of change and growth for an organisation or an individual is to develop increased awareness of who it is, now. If we take time to reflect together on who we are and who we could choose to become, we will be led into the territory where change originates. For an individual or an organisation to be open to such change, they need to be very self-aware, without being self-centred. As a result, effective leaders are highly self-aware, as leaders with self-awareness are more likely to move quickly and confidently and in different directions, without needing to be consistently right and in control (Kakabadse, 1999; Quinn, 2000; Adair, 2002). For instance, Larry Bossidy, Jack Welch’s deputy at GM said (MSR Newslettter, 2003:6): “I can only change this company as quickly as I can change myself.” Such honesty with oneself is part of humility.

Covey (1994:3) argues that humility is the mother of all virtues and by implication pride is the mother of all problems. In fact, it was pride that was identified by executives at a NASDAC conference, as the major cause of leadership failure. Delbecq (1999:348) insists that pride is so damaging, because it leads to impatience, an unwillingness to build consensus, inability to receive criticism and unwillingness to endure periods of trial and uncertainty. According to Carr (1998:28), Roman

generals had an understanding of the destructive potential of pride, for when they were being carried on chariots in triumphal processions, they had a slave constantly whispering in their ear, “Remember you are only human”.

In summation, the ‘spiritual’ elements outlined above are generally accepted as current good organisational practice even by those who profess no spiritual belief (except perhaps in the power of the human spirit). Some question whether the current emphasis on a spiritual dimension in organisations adds anything new to accepted humanistic good practice. Some would answer this by saying that this good practice today is actually based on centuries-old spiritual principles, and that underlying spiritual laws are the foundation for good practice (Marcic, 1997; Milliman *et al.*, 2003). 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. In this context, the framework that is proposed in this study has given pre-eminence to spirituality, because one believes 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. This is demonstrated in the cases of Brazil and Botswana outlined in the previous sections. Considering the historical background of the DRC and many 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 focus on national interests and mobilise the nation in order to reverse the patterns that have hindered the DRC’s development.

5.4.2 Emotional intelligence

From a theoretical viewpoint, there are many reasons to believe that intelligence is related to leadership. On the basis of a comprehensive review, Schmidt and Hunter (1998:51) report 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. Locke (1991:46) argues that cognitive ability is an asset to leaders because, leaders must gather, integrate, and interpret enormous amounts of information. For instance, leaders are responsible for such tasks as developing strategies, solving problems, motivating employees, and monitoring the environment. Fiedler and Garcia (1987:43) note that these are intellectual functions, and many are similar or identical to those we find on typical intelligence tests.

Creativity is another mechanism linking intelligence to leadership (Jung, 2001). Not only may leaders generate creative solutions of their own, but they may stimulate follower creativity through follower intrinsic motivation and higher quality leader-member exchange (Tierney, Farmer & Graen, 1999). Researchers have long analysed the relationship between creativity and intelligence (Guilford, 1950) and have concluded that the two are distinct but related constructs (Rushton, 1990). Thus, 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. Rubin *et al.* (2002:106) note that individuals seem to share a common understanding about the traits that leaders

possess and these traits are used as benchmarks for deciding emergent leadership. Though we have further comment on the implicit theory of leadership, it is possible that intelligence is related to leadership perceptions not solely because intelligent leaders are effective but instead (or in addition) because individuals infer that intelligence is an exemplary characteristic of leaders.

Fiedler (2002:91) states that 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 judgments, solve problems and make decisions. Indeed, Judge, Colbert and Ilies (2004) found a significant but moderate association between intelligence and leadership. These abilities are necessary for creating vision, mission, shared values and strategies for pursuing the vision and mission that 'win' people's minds.

However, one variable that has recently gained much popularity as a potential underlying attribute of effective leadership is the construct of emotional intelligence (EI) (Sosik & Megerian, 1999). EI is described as a set of abilities that refer in part to how effectively one deals with emotions both within oneself and others (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). It has been proposed that in leadership, dealing effectively with emotions may contribute to how one handles the needs of individuals, how one effectively motivates employees, and makes them 'feel' at work (Goleman, 1998). As already noted, it was Daniel Goleman (2004:1) who first brought the term 'emotional intelligence' to a wide audience with his 1995 book of that name, and it was Goleman who first applied the concept to business with his 1998 HBR article. In his research, Goleman 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, 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. While emotional intelligence’s relevance to business has continued to spark debate, Goleman’s article remains the definitive reference on the subject, with a description of each component of emotional intelligence and a detailed discussion of how to recognise it in potential leaders, how and why it connects to performance, and how it can be learned. Today’s effective leadership skills have been described to depend, in part, on the understanding of emotions and the abilities associated with EI (Cooper & Sawaf, 1997; Goleman, 1998; Rayback, 1998). Consequently, emotional intelligence has become increasingly popular as a measure for identifying potentially effective leaders, and as a tool for developing effective leadership skills (Palmer *et al.*, 2001:5). Pescosolido (2002) argues that leaders increase group solidarity and morale by creating shared emotional experiences. Humphrey (2002) insists that the ability of leaders to influence the emotional climate can strongly influence performance. Therefore, EI is a key factor in an individual’s ability to be socially effective (George, 2000; Mayer *et al.*, 2000) and is viewed in leadership literature as a key determinant of effective leadership. Emotionally intelligent leaders can promote effectiveness at all levels in organisations. The EI of the leader plays an important role in the quality and effectiveness of social interactions with other individuals (House & Aditya, 1996; Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000; Boal & Hooijberg, 2000; George, 2000).

Bennis (1994) argues that emotional intelligence is much more powerful than IQ in determining who emerges as a leader. IQ is a threshold competence. You need it, but it does not make you a star. Emotional intelligence can. Intellect-verbal, numerical and thinking skills – is

necessary for effective leadership. However, it is not sufficient: emotional intelligence is an essential requirement for success. Gill (2006:79-80) insists that the emotional intelligence and interpersonal dimension of leadership concerns values, strategy, empowerment, and inspiration and motivation. The leader's self-concept and emotional intelligence are key. Feelings are the manifestation of both motivation and the frustration and satisfaction of needs. Emotion is a powerful moderator of intellectual understanding and reasoning and behaviour, in both leader and follower. Inspiration is the ultimate 'level' of motivation. Communicating the vision, values and strategy, empowering people, and inspiring and motivating them are both emotional and behavioural processes and require considerable interpersonal skills.

However, George (2000:1027-1030) suggests that feelings (moods and emotions) play a central role in the leadership process. More specifically, it is proposed that emotional intelligence, the ability to understand and manage moods and emotions in the self and others, contributes to effective leadership in organisations. Furthermore, George adds that a growing body of literature suggests that moods and emotions play a central role in cognitive processes and behaviour. What distinguishes moods and emotions is their intensity. Moods are pervasive and generalised feeling states that are not tied to the events or circumstances which may have caused the mood in the first place (Morris, 1989). Moods are relatively low intensity feelings which do not interrupt ongoing activities (Forgas, 1992). Emotions are high intensity feelings that are triggered by specific stimuli (either internal or external to the individual), demand attention, and interrupt cognitive processes and behaviours. Emotions tend to be more fleeting than moods because of their intensity. Emotions often feed into moods so that, once the intensity of an emotion subsides, because the individual has cognitively or behaviourally dealt with its cause, the emotion lingers on in the form of a less intense feeling

or mood. Hence, for example, the intense anger that a leader might experience upon learning that he or she was deceived by a follower resulting in a lost opportunity subsides once the leader has recovered from the shock and decides how to deal with the situation. However, the anger lives on for the rest of the day in the form of a negative mood which colours the leader's interactions and thought processes (Simon, 1982; Morris, 1989; and Forgas, 1992). Nevertheless, feelings have been shown to influence the judgments that people make, material recalled from memory, attributions for success and failure, creativity, and inductive and deductive reasoning. When people are in positive moods, for example, their perceptions and evaluations are likely to be more favourable, they are more prone to remember positive information, they are more self-assured, they are likely to take credit for successes and avoid blame for failures, and they are more helpful to others. Positive moods have been found to enhance flexibility on categorisation tasks and facilitate creativity and inductive reasoning (Isen *et al.*, 1985; 1987). Conversely, negative moods may foster deductive reasoning and more critical and comprehensive evaluations (Salovey *et al.*, 1993; George, 2000:1030).

Emotional intelligence comprises five self-management and relationship skills. Self-management skills include (Goleman, 2004:4): 1. Self-awareness: knowing your strengths, weaknesses, drives, values and emotions and their impact on others; 2. Self-regulation: controlling disruptive impulses and channelling negative emotions for good purpose; 3. Motivation: having a passion for achievement for its own sake and for constant improvement. Relationship skills include among other things empathy (understanding others' emotional makeup), and social skill (building rapport with others to move them in desired directions). With practice and feedback, you can boost all five EI skills. What distinguishes great leaders from merely good ones? It is not IQ or technical skills, says

Daniel Goleman (2004:4). It is emotional intelligence, a group of five skills that enable the best leaders to maximise their own and their followers' performance. George (2000:1033) adds that emotional intelligence essentially describes the ability to effectively join emotions and reasoning, using emotions to facilitate reasoning and reasoning intelligently about emotions (Mayer & Salovey, 1997). In other words, emotional intelligence taps into the extent to which people's cognitive capabilities are informed by emotions and the extent to which emotions are cognitively managed. In addition, it should be pointed out that emotional intelligence is distinct from predispositions to experience certain kinds of emotions captured by the personality traits of positive and negative affectivity (Tellegen, 1985). While emotional intelligence can lead to enhanced functioning in a variety of aspects of life such as achievement and close relationships, George (2000:1039) proposes that it may play a particularly important role in leadership effectiveness. To clarify this role, George stresses how the four aspects of emotional intelligence – appraisal and expression of emotion, use of emotion to enhance cognitive processing and decision-making, knowledge about emotions, and management of emotions – contribute to effective leadership.

In order to explore the implications of emotional intelligence for effective leadership, it is necessary to identify the fundamental nature of effective leadership. This is no easy task given the plethora of leadership theories, approaches, and empirical findings. Fortunately, several recent syntheses of the leadership literature have been offered which are consistent in terms of their descriptions of effective leadership. Based on the syntheses of Locke (1991), Conger and Kanungo (1998), and Yulk (1998), as well as the larger literature, specific elements of leadership effectiveness can be identified. It is important to note that, while no specific theory of leadership is entailed in these elements, the elements

themselves have roots in a variety of theoretical traditions. As described by these authors (i.e. Locke, 1991; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Yulk, 1998), effective leadership includes the following essential elements: development of a collective sense of goals and objectives and how to go about achieving them; instilling in others knowledge and appreciation of the importance of work activities and behaviours; generating and maintaining excitement, enthusiasm, confidence, and optimism in an organisation as well as cooperation and trust; encouraging flexibility in decision-making and change; establishing and maintaining a meaningful identity for an organisation. As a result, emotionally intelligent leaders mix and match emotional intelligence skills as circumstances dictate. This reconfiguring creates six leadership styles (Goleman, 2000:15):

1. The coercive style (demand immediate compliance). This 'Do what I say' approach can be very effective in a turnaround situation, a natural disaster, or when working with problem employees. But in most situations, coercive leadership inhibits the organisation's flexibility and dampens employees' motivation.

2. The authoritative style (mobilise people toward a vision). An authoritative leader takes a 'Come with me' approach: he or she states the overall goal but gives people the freedom to choose their own means of achieving it. This style works especially well when a business is adrift. It is less effective when the leader is working with a team of experts who are more experienced than he or she is.

3. The affiliative style (create emotional bonds and harmony). The hallmark of the affiliative leader is a 'People come first' attitude. This style is particularly useful for building team harmony or increasing morale. But its exclusive focus on praise can allow poor performance to

go uncorrected. Also, affiliative leaders rarely offer advice, which often leaves employees in a quandary.

4. The democratic style (build consensus through participation). This style's impact on organisational climate is not as high as you might imagine. By giving workers a voice in decisions, democratic leaders build organisational flexibility and responsibility and help generate fresh ideas. But sometimes the price is endless meetings and confused employees who feel leaderless.

5. The pacesetter style (expect excellence and self-direction). A leader who sets high performance standards and exemplifies them himself has a very positive impact on employees who are self-motivated and highly competent. But other employees tend to feel overwhelmed by such a leader's demands for excellence and to resent his/her tendency to take over a situation.

6. The coaching style (develop people for the future). This style focuses more on personal development than on immediate work-related tasks. It works well when employees are already aware of their weaknesses and want to improve, but not when they are resistant to changing their ways.

The more styles a leader has mastered, the better. In particular, being able to switch among the authoritative, affiliative, democratic, and coaching styles as conditions create the best organisational climate and optimises business performance. Considering the need for leaders which prevails in the dire situation of the DRC, one may insist that emotional intelligence should be one of the prerequisites for leadership development. EI has the ability to assist leaders develop a leadership style that is best suited to the circumstances of the country. Nevertheless, emotional intelligence can work better in leadership development process only if

spirituality is also outlined as one of the characteristics. Spirituality assists leaders to have a purpose, something they live for, and something that inspires their endeavour in organisation or society. Spirituality and emotional intelligence are not sufficient, leaders will also have to be trained in order to exhibit a moral standard that respects and promotes societal values at all times.

5.4.3 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.

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 (Rest, 1979). Recently, moral reasoning has garnered interest among organisational researchers because of renewed emphasis on ethical leadership (Howell & Avolio, 1992; Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996). Data do indeed support the argument that transformational leadership should be empirically related to moral reasoning because of shared emphasis on making good judgments about moral or value related issues (Atwater *et al.*, 1999). Thus, emotional intelligence and moral reasoning are conceptually and empirically linked to transformational leadership behaviour. Examination of both simultaneously is timely and allows assessment of the relative contributions of each to leadership style (Sivanathan & Fekken, 2002:199). However, Kohlberg (1969, 1976) initially proposed a stage theory of cognitive moral development to explain how people think (or reason) about interacting with their social environment. He argued that people's present moral capacity incorporates problem-solving strategies learned at earlier stages and that a gradually larger repertoire of perspectives and social options is available to people as they develop. As people age, become educated, and gain life experience, their principles are shaped by the communities in which they live and work, such that

they progress through these reasoning stages at different rates and to different degrees (Kohlberg, 1976; Treviño, 1986). Each level describes a qualitative progression in this capability and represents a particular approach to thinking about human interaction. To be more specific, people with ‘pre-conventional’ moral reasoning emphasise obedience, strive to escape from punishment, and are generally self-interested. ‘Conventional’ moral reasoners use laws and rules as a way of guiding their behaviour and see interaction with others in a fundamentally instrumental way. ‘Post-conventionalists’ think less instrumentally than conventionalists and use more universal principles of reasoning in making life’s decisions. Since Kohlberg’s groundwork, extensive research support exists for a cognitive base to moral judgment, diverse modes of reasoning between levels, progression over the life span, and people’s preference for using the highest stage available to them (Treviño, 1992). Rest (1979, 1994) later interpreted Kohlberg’s model as a sequence ranging from simpler to more complex moral reasoning, focusing on the progressively greater degrees of voluntary interpersonal cooperation inherent in each of the stages.

Turner and Barling (2002:305) insist that the possibility of empirical link between moral development and leadership was first suggested by Harkness, Edwards and Super (1981), who assessed the moral reasoning of elders in a small Kipsigis community in Kenya. The researchers found that the community nominated leaders who displayed more complex moral reasoning than non-leaders by exhibiting greater interpersonal consideration for stakeholders in hypothetical dilemmas. A comparable study by Tietjen and Walker (1985) produced similar results with a group of Malsin men in Papua New Guinea. However, 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. Compiling lists of the prerequisite traits is a compulsory exercise for leadership theorists. Recent nominations for such traits include humility, credibility (Kouzes & Posner, 2002), and modesty (Badarocco, 2002) all reflecting the current reaction against the cult of charisma. Therefore, effective leadership behaviour requires character, creativity, and compassion, core qualities or traits that cannot be acquired cognitively. Character is the foundation for ethical leadership behaviour. It includes dimensions of integrity, courage, honesty, and the will to do well. Most developmental psychologists assert that character forms as a result of early training and exposure to appropriate role models. Moral training later in life (during leadership programmes) has limited impact on innate moral bias. Sermons on morality may remind the congregation not to sin, but they typically have little impact on venality, greed, and corruption (Allio, 2005:1073).

In terms of leadership development (Goleman *et al.*, 2002), creativity is the primary source of the leader's ability to envision inspiring futures, to adapt to change, and to devise new paradigms to replace outdated old models. Leaders think laterally, express passion, initiate change, and encourage diversity. Managers think linearly; they favour reason, stability, and consensus. Managers are needed to oversee repetitive tasks, activities that can be catalogued in policy manuals and organised in guides to procedures. But when new challenges arise, we need individuals who can invent new approaches to resolving these challenges. We need men and women who can see patterns and create a context that leads to foresight. Such inventors for the most part are not the honour-roll graduates of business schools or leadership training programmes: they are iconoclasts, innovators, and creative dynamos. Compassion is the quality that leaders need in order to empathise with followers and ultimately to build a benevolent community in which men and women align themselves with the purpose of the enterprise. After all, it is the

allegiance of followers that gives a leader the power to carry out his or her agenda. Can compassion be taught in a leadership programme? Awareness may be raised, but no leadership programme even attempts to engender compassion on the part of its students, to infuse them with ‘emotional intelligence’, a concept that has been actively promoted in recent leadership initiatives.

Table 5.1: Combination of dimensions for leadership development

Leadership Development	Spirituality (vision - charisma)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Vision ▪ Will ▪ Self-belief ▪ Loyalty ▪ Respect ▪ Agreeableness ▪ Conscientiousness
	Emotional Intelligence (Intellectual stimulation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Competence ▪ Creativity ▪ Objectivity ▪ Empathy ▪ Engagement ▪ Development ▪ Mentoring ▪ Coaching ▪ Character
	Morality (Individualised consideration)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ethics ▪ Integrity ▪ Mutual respect ▪ Self-esteem ▪ Honesty

Source: Tshiyoyo, 2012

For one to be or become an effective leader, it is essential to have a mixture of the above-mentioned dimensions. In other words, a good leader must have a combination of spirituality, emotional intelligence and morality. This is because change is a process that is driven by multiple forces. One needs to realise that if we seek lasting change, it has

to be from within. Externally influenced, of course, but rooted within and shared by individuals, organisations and societies. But what is it, really, that make change happen? Most of the conventional Western discourse ignores or dismisses the spiritual, moral and cultural dimensions of human well-being as irrelevant to development practice. And yet for most parts of the world, innermost attitudes and behaviour towards change are not motivated by economic or political interests. Rather, many people are moved by deep underlying moral and spiritual assumptions that reflect and explain reality and that support the values guiding their decisions about whether to change or not to change. These values include such things as: love of other, one's commitment and responsibility to family, clan and community; self-worth; one's sense of dignity, honour and respect; relationships, etc. These values can allow leaders to be the prime mover of events and assist the change they want to see within the society.

To this end, one insists that the combination of the above-mentioned dimensions can 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 faced by the country in terms of governance. Finally, morality is paramount as leaders are also expected to abide to principles of good governance and lead by example. Given the state of collapse of the DRC, the country needs leaders who possess these three dimensions simultaneously.

5.5 Conclusion

It was said in this chapter that in spite of all the negative scores recorded in the developing world, there are currently some countries that are making a difference in terms of leadership and governance. There are many examples that can be acknowledged but for the purpose of this study only two cases (Brazil and Botswana) are outlined. The outstanding results recorded by Brazil and Botswana can be shared with many other countries that are still battling to establish systems that promote good governance.

This chapter attempts therefore to highlight the experiences encountered by the two above-mentioned countries and to also demonstrate how they can serve as an example to other countries, particularly the DRC. These case studies are outlined in order to support the view that effective leadership can lead to good governance which, in turn, should put countries on the path of development. The experiences of these two countries can be shared, adopted and/or adapted to fit the development needs of the DRC. In this study there is, however, no intention to affirm that Brazil and Botswana have “arrived” but the study acknowledges the apparent positive results that have made these countries rank among the emerging countries in their respective regions. After outlining the profiles of both countries and highlighting their historical emergence, the chapter examined the facts about governance as well as the best practices in terms of leadership and governance. The case studies have demonstrated the extent to which a leadership characterised by a strong political will can change the features of a country. This sustains the assumptions made in this study when one says that with a good leadership peace and stability can be restored in the DRC and in turn, put the country on the path of development and prosperity. After the analysis of the cases, the

study proposed a framework for leadership development. The framework is inspired by the best practices established in the countries that were examined in the study. The three dimensions for leadership development consist of: spirituality, emotional intelligence and morality. It is believed that such a perspective on leadership development can assist in producing leaders the DRC needs in order to meet the imperatives of public administration and governance. The next chapter summarises the themes of the study and concludes before it suggests some recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This study intended to provide an overview of leadership and governance issues and to demonstrate the extent to which those issues have influenced development in the DRC. The country has been and still going through a profound leadership crisis that have led to many other crises, specifically the collapse of the state's apparatus and the shrinking of the country's prospects for economic development. The study attempted therefore to ask and answer a few pertinent questions: 1. Can leadership make a difference in the DRC's situation? 2. To what extent can public office-bearers provide leadership in meeting governance imperatives for the development in the DRC? and 3. What would be the best approach for leadership development? These are derived from the central research question: "To what extent can public office-bearers provide leadership in meeting governance imperatives for the development of the Democratic Republic of the Congo?" In the attempt to answer the above questions and meet the objectives of the study, the study was divided into six chapters. The main and sub-themes for each chapter were thoroughly examined and the synopsis thereof is provided below.

6.2 Synopsis of chapters

The first chapter provides the general overview of the study. It introduces the study by providing a background of what happened in the DRC before and after independence. The historical background outlined the various eras the country has been through and it also demonstrated how those eras have influenced and are still influencing public affairs in the DRC. In the first chapter, a particular emphasis has been placed on

the impact politics has had on the functioning of the civil service in the country. In summation, the first chapter has laid a foundation for understanding the interrelatedness of issues addressed in the study.

The second chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the research methodology of the study. After the introduction, the chapter examines the scientific research methods from which the researcher was able to choose the approach that could be suitably applied in the study. Thereafter, the objectives are outlined before the chapter emphasises the significance of the study. The chapter also outlines the statement of the problem which encapsulates the research question that has guided the study. This paved a way for the chapter to outline the research design. Data collection techniques are also highlighted before the chapter could examine some of the limitations and clarify the delimitation or framework of the study. Finally, the chapter concludes with a highlight of how the study has respected the principles of ethics, reliability and validity in a qualitative research such as this.

The third chapter presents the review of the literature. The chapter contextualises leadership and governance from a Public Administration's perspective. Following the introduction, the chapter provides a conceptual framework focusing on the nature and scope of Public Administration, the development of Public Administration throughout the years, the study of Public Administration and the theories of Public Administration. This enabled the chapter to look at the management functions in order to demonstrate why the subject of discourse in this study fits into the field of Public Administration. Thereafter, the chapter examines the theories of leadership, it enumerates some of the leadership functions and characteristics before analysing the concept of leadership in the public sector. It has been imperative for the chapter to look at the concept of governance in the context of Public Administration

and to examine the global experience of leadership. Hence it has been possible for the chapter to focus on leadership and governance based on the African context. This enabled **chapter four** to look at the issues pertaining to leadership and governance in the DRC, which is the main case study in this research project.

Chapter five examines some of the best practices in terms of leadership and governance in developing countries. The chapter presents the cases of effective leadership and good governance based on the examples of two countries, namely, Brazil and Botswana. This was done with the aim of supporting the view that good governance is possible especially when a country disposes of ineffective leadership. The two countries are said to be good examples of emerging economies for the respective regions, namely: Latin America and Southern Africa regions. Botswana and Brazil's experiences can be shared with many other developing countries and it is up to leaders of a country such as the DRC to look into the possibility of either adopting and/or adapting those experiences in order to respond to the development needs in the country. Following the analysis of the above-mentioned cases, the study proposes a framework for leadership development before it concludes.

Chapter six summarises the themes of the study in order to find a way of concluding the study and suggesting some recommendations.

6.3 Findings and recommendations

Based on what has been discussed in this study, some of the findings as well as the recommendations follow:

Finding 1

The introductory chapter stresses that, for an average Congolese, the country bears the curse for its abundant natural resources and that the DRC has not been able to find the path of development partly because of the interference from the Western powers who are trying at all costs to scramble resources in Africa and particularly in the DRC. The most important damage caused by colonisation to the Congo is not the looting of its resources but the distortion of the people's mental abilities, the diminishing of the people's self-image and their confidence owing to the residual trauma accruing from colonial atrocities. Colonisers denied African and Congolese people particularly the opportunity to demonstrate what they are capable of and forced them to believe that they cannot lead their country. This was characterised by the many atrocities committed to the people (e.g. human rights abuse, forced labour, lack of education, corporal punishments) that humiliated and made people to believe they were good for nothing. This created a mental picture that dictate and still dictates the behaviour of many Congolese even today. Although many have gone to the best universities, training institutes and academies around the globe, Congolese elites are not able to produce a substantial system for the development of their country. Few of those Congolese who access power behave like colonisers as they follow the patterns used during colonisation to oppress the people and even when they have amassed wealth, the first place they think of for investment is the West, as testified by Swiss bank accounts, leaving the DRC with nothing to sustain its own economy. Another example is of the civil-military dictatorship that ruled the country for more than three decades. The study has however found that the above assumption constitutes a myth that haunts leaders and citizens in the DRC. Furthermore, the study has found that the claim that the interference in the DRC's public affairs has hindered its development is true but beyond

that affirmation the study argues that the interference would have not played a significant role if the country had disposed of self-seeking and ineffective leaders. Greed and misrule that characterise Congolese leaders have also played a major role in opening doors for the scramble of the country's resources and the atrocities committed to the Congolese people by external and internal forces in the last five decades. This finding is supported by the analysis of two cases, namely, Botswana and Brazil. Owing to enlightened leadership, Botswana and Brazil have been able to create a win-win situation whereby the two countries have been able to welcome Foreign Direct Investments but, at the same time, not forgetting or neglecting to adopt policies that promote the betterment of the living conditions of their respective populations. As stated previously, the author has no intention of affirming that Botswana and Brazil have arrived when it comes to economic development. The two countries are still faced with challenges that hinder their economic growth and development. In this study, the author intends to insist on the fact that there are successful experiences from Botswana and Brazil which can be beneficial for other developing countries. For examples, the two countries have held free and fair elections which led to the peaceful rotation or change of leadership. As a result, the countries have enjoyed a peaceful and stable socio-political environment that attracts numerous investments. To this end, one can assert that the myth that exists in the DRC is not a reality. Now how can this myth be tackled in the context of the DRC?

Recommendation 1

In order to clear the myth surrounding the development of the DRC, the study proposes that renewing the mindset is the starting point in the long struggle for the DRC's development. The government must work toward enhancing a sense of pride in one's nation and raise the sense of

responsibility through civic education which will allow citizens to become responsible citizens and offer their best to their country.

In most developing countries many policies are very good only on paper. In the DRC, the government must not only adopt policies but must also strive to create an environment that promotes their implementation. In other words, the government must identify the most important rules and develop the appropriate governance capabilities for enforcing these rules. This will require addressing the structural challenges faced by the country and it will also require the revitalisation of the integrity of the civil service which is almost inexistent in the country. The DRC is conveniently located on the African continent and it is endowed with abundant resources. The government can maximise this potential in order for the DRC to be able to play its meaningful role in Africa's development. Creating an environment that is conducive for development in the Congo will mean putting in a place a strategic plan for the reconstruction of the country. This requires leaders to have a clear vision of where they want to take the country in a short term and also in the long run. In this context, it will be essential for leaders to reverse the patterns that have hampered the country's development. For instance, one cannot expect Foreign Direct Investments to flow when peace and stability are lacking. Stability is important because it opens a way for economic development. It is time for Africans and Congolese particularly to change their way of doing things. One cannot want something and its opposite at the same time. Only visionary leaders possessing of a strong sense of patriotism will be able to create an environment that is safe for conducting business in the DRC.

Finding 2

The study has found that leadership crises have led to the failure of the state apparatus in the DRC. Considering the historical background of the DRC and the context in which leadership evolved and continues to evolve, four main factors have been found to hamper the rise of an effective leadership, namely, the environment, leadership, perceptions and life experience. First, the environment represents the setting in which many Congolese people live. In most cases those who hold public offices did not acquire a proper training in the management of public affairs. Secondly, the leadership that replaced the colonisers did not do much to transform the people's mindset as was the case in countries such as Botswana and Brazil. For example, the leaders of the second republic quickly followed the patterns established by the colonisers. Colonisers (Belgians) supplied their country with the necessary resources it needed for to sustain its development and growth but it becomes difficult for one to understand why African leaders are not refraining from looting their respective countries and end up feeding Western banks coffers. The DRC has been the most cited example of kleptocracy on the continent especially during the second republic.

Recommendation 2

There is a need for a leadership that is transformational in nature, if the DRC is to address its political and economic dilemmas. Transformational leaders have the ability to tackle the problem from its roots. The DRC should seek a leadership that is characterised by a clear vision and emotional intelligence to deal with the challenges the country is faced with. Vision, coupled with adequate emotional intelligence, will allow leaders to become role-models and abide by the principles of morality in dealing with public affairs. It is only then that one will be able to think of

restoring the basic values (responsibility, accountability, responsiveness, transparency and openness) which constitute the foundation of good governance and represent a solid rock of a civilised state.

Finding 3

The study has found that there is a prevalence of governance by predation in the DRC. The predatory behaviour of rulers has made it difficult for the enforcement of the rule of law as there is neither consideration nor respect for the institutions of the state. As a result, the relationship between rulers-citizens has been damaged as citizens no longer have confidence in their rulers. This has tarnished the image of the public service, which is also incapable of delivering the basic public services to the citizens.

Recommendation 3

Considering the historical background of the DRC and particularly the fact that the country endured predation in the governance approach before and after independence, the study recommends the promotion of a servant leadership approach as the country needs political and administrative leaders who will be able to engage in real reforms in order to rebuild and revitalise the structures that will promote the proper functioning of the state in the DRC. Considering the atrocities committed by external forces and Congolese leaders themselves, the country needs leaders who will be able to launch a process of genuine transformation in the DRC, leaders who will be willing to make a choice for service over self-interest, and leaders who will be able to be accountable and take responsibility for their actions. This implies that the country is in need of leaders who will take pride in serving citizens and putting national interests above their own. This will have to be accompanied by a certain

prestige that allows leaders to strive to have significance in the eyes of the community and who will ensure that they assemble the necessary efforts in improving the living conditions of the population and creating something for which they will be remembered. This is possible in the DRC, because people of countries such as Botswana and Brazilian are respectively grateful for the servant-leaders they have had and whose actions have facilitated the establishment of systems that have led their countries on the path of peace, stability and prosperity. Nonetheless, without an adequate and responsive administrative machine the implementation of public policies will always remain problematic no matter how well they are drafted.

Finding 4

The DRC has numerous associations that operate under the umbrella of the civil society which militates for the promotion of good governance and the respect of human rights in the country. But in reality the actions of the civil society do not yield positive results due to the lack of balance of power between the legislative, executive and judiciary powers. This lack has created a situation where there is no clear distinction between the three authorities making it difficult for the state apparatus to enforce the rule of law and promote democracy. In this context, the actions of the civil of society are undermined while corruption and impunity become more and more rampant. For example, the civil society played a critical role in challenging the results of the 2011 elections but its actions were heavily repressed by the police and the army, activists were arrested and assassinated.

Recommendation 4

The DRC should truly become a democratic state. This will require a proper separation of powers between legislative, executive and judiciary authorities. Strong associations exist in the DRC but what is needed at this moment is the establishment of structures and mechanisms that could enhance checks-and-balances and promotion good governance. This will also require the restoration of the integrity of the civil service in the DRC. As stated previously, numerous challenges hinder a proper functioning of the civil service in the DRC. If these challenges are not addressed holistically even the best policies drafted for the reconstruction of the country and the promotion of good governance will not bear positive results in their implementation phase. In the current setting of the DRC, restoring the integrity of the civil service is vital.

In the last decade, the DRC has been able to hold two elections. Elections are a means to the end of misrule but not an end of it. Elections should lead to a peaceful rotation and change of leadership without hampering social peace and stability. Given the atrocities committed against human rights during and after the 2011 elections, it is essential that the international community assists leaders and citizens in the DRC in order for them to participate actively in the governance process and to promote and respect the values that keep a nation together and united. This requires a renewed mindset as proposed in Recommendation 1 and it will also require a proper education and awareness in order to transform the Congolese society which has suffered a certain decay of moral values. In this context, a particular emphasis should be on civic education as this will help instilling altruism and a sense of patriotism in rulers and citizens from a young age.

Finding 5

The above-mentioned findings become apparent as they prove that the state has failed given the virtual non-existence of public institutions in the DRC. The state has failed in the DRC as a consequence of the lack strategic direction from the government and the absence of cooperation and collaboration among the various stakeholders. Successive governments have failed to provide clear guidance about where the country is heading in the near and distant future. The performance of various governments in meeting governance imperatives has also diminished because of the poor performance of public institutions in service delivering.

Recommendation 5

Given the state of failure that characterises the functioning of the state in the DRC, the government should work on restoring the values that hold a republic together. The term ‘state’ means an association for securing common interests and promoting the common purposes of the individuals who are its members. In the process of restoring the government’s image in the DRC, the study recommends the following:

Recommendation 5.1

The greatest challenge faced by any country on the African continent is the creation of a stable, viable, durable nation-state. Without a nation-state there can be no meaningful talk about governance. Striving to create a strong nation should be considered a priority especially given the state’s failure in the DRC. The creation of a nation-state will require the government to work toward maintaining peace, law and order; defending and enhancing individual liberties; maintaining checks and

balances; and fostering economic development. This will furthermore require sound and effective leadership characterised by skilled and devoted leaders who will endeavour to achieve better results for the betterment of the society.

Recommendation 5.2

In the DRC, the government is called upon to play an important role in becoming a protector of citizens especially looking at the human rights abuses and atrocities occurring in the eastern part of the country. The government must also become a defender of the role of the state especially as a regulator of the economic activities. The role of the state should be one of protector and regulator. This implies that the state should empower itself to do the job that it is supposed to do. This will stop the “survival” mode that is influencing most activities in the DRC, be it social, economic or political.

Recommendation 5.3

In order to allow the government to play its role as prescribed above, government authority must derive from the will of the people as expressed in genuine, free and fair elections held at regular intervals on the basis of universal suffrage. In order to avoid the turmoil that took place in November 2011, it is essential for the government to take the necessary legislative steps and other measures, in accordance with the constitutional processes, to guarantee citizens’ rights and an institutional framework for periodic and genuine, free and fair elections, in accordance with their obligations under international law. In addition, the government should also take the necessary policy and institutional steps to ensure the progressive achievement and consolidation of democratic goals through the establishment of a neutral, impartial or

balanced mechanism for the management of elections. Finally, the government should respect and ensure the human rights of all individuals. Nevertheless, it is essential that the electoral process should inspire a renewed effort to militate the integration of different stakeholders and forming a government of national unity which will mobilise the country towards the path of stability and development. What happens often, is that elections are used by African leaders as means to hold onto power even when governments have not been able to implement a single policy towards enhancing the living conditions of citizens. This is particularly critical in the case of the DRC.

Recommendation 5.4

In the DRC, the state and its institutions are almost non-existent and this is demonstrated by the fact that the thrust that connects rulers and the governed has long been broken because of governance by predation that persists in the country since its access to independence. Currently, the country operates in a survival mode whereby rulers come into public offices to enrich themselves while the people try to do all that is possible to endure the costs of life. As a result, corruption and unethical behaviour have become an accepted way of living for both officials and citizens. In this context, the government should restore law-and-order by enforcing the idea that nobody is above the rule of law. It is also essential that pre-eminence be given to institutions not personalities. There is therefore a need for the revitalisation of the public service.

Recommendation 5.5

Public administration is the motor of the state apparatus, because it shapes and also plays a critical role in the implementation of public policies. This study stresses that the time has come for the Congolese

government to value the significance of a well-functioning public service. In the DRC, past and present governments have always neglected the public service. In order to revitalise the functioning of the public service, civil service reforms should go beyond the introduction and implementation of basic administrative systems, rules and procedures to include the following measures: professionalisation of civil servants; increasing their salaries and benefits; a census of the workforce to eliminate ghost employees; and revitalising the *Ecole Nationale de Droit et d'Administration* - ENDA (a civil service institute in the DRC).

Finding 6

As stated previously, the state administration has retreated from much of the public domain in the DRC. The Congolese government has particularly retreated from the education sector. The study has found that leadership development programmes have been hampered as there has been a disregard for the general education system in the DRC. It is believed that training can speed up the learning process and provide a cognitive, emotional and skills framework and sense of meaning and value that eases and enables the learning process. Unfortunately, in the DRC the overall education is abandoned and particularly the *Ecole Nationale de Droit et d'Administration* (ENDA), which has the mandate of training Congolese administrative and legal cadres. ENDA is not in good shape and is not well-functioning.

Recommendation 6

The DRC is in need of leaders and cadres who will be able to engage the country on the path to reconstruction and lead the transformation process. The study suggests that the government should revitalise training institutes and academies, particularly ENDA. ENDA should be

revitalised and given the stature it deserves (status, structures and resources needed for its proper functioning). In the past, this institute played a significant role in the provision of training to individuals who became prominent political and administrative leaders during the first years of the second republic.

In the DRC, there is no need to reinvent the wheel. The government should view the revitalisation of ENDA as one of its priorities and allow this institute to operate effectively and achieve its meaningful missions in the Congolese society. Restoring ENDA will require two things: a pronounced political will that will make reforming and restructuring ENDA a governmental priority; and the government should invest resources (e.g. finance, human resources, logistics and infrastructures) in order to give the necessary support to this institution that has a noble and prestigious mission for the public service.

Finding 7

The study has found that in the DRC there is a lack of collaboration and cooperation between various stakeholders as well as with external partners. Given the fact that the state has failed for many decades, collaboration and cooperation may have the ability to grant to the DRC the boost it needs to regain its strengths in order to tackle developmental challenges.

Recommendation 7

The government should reconsider its interaction with internal and external role-players. Much can be learned from the examples of Botswana and Brazil, countries that have managed to handle this issue effectively. Botswana had a smooth transition during its access to

independence, whereas Brazil went through almost the same trajectory as the DRC. Botswana, Brazil and the DRC share one common past that of being under a civil-military rule at a given time. However, from independence until today, Botswana has maintained healthy rapports with Britain, its previous colonial master. Botswana is a country that had nothing when it accessed independence but it currently ranks among the emerging countries in Africa. For instance, Botswana has been stable politically and economically since the access to its independence. This enabled the country to enjoy peace and stability which led economic development. In contrast, Brazil faced various atrocities during and after colonisation and its relationship with the colonial power was not a healthy one. It took Brazilian leaders to build a united front by gathering Brazilian people around national interests. Hence, throughout a strong leadership that evolved from within, Brazil managed to curb the distress caused by Portugal's interference in its affairs. Today, the rapport between Brazil and Portugal is that of collaboration and cooperation.

The DRC can learn from the above-mentioned experience. Currently, the relationship between Belgium and the DRC is paternalistic in nature. However, the DRC also suffers various weaknesses such as factionalism, regionalism and tribalism that are dividing the country and giving room for foreign manipulation leading to wars and the inherent instability the country has always been faced with. This creates a social order that hinders the rise of effective leadership. Many of the crises experienced in the DRC are a consequence of a lack of a proper understanding and handling of the key role-players in the country's public affairs. In the absence of proper collaboration and cooperation, the country has incurred a lot of pain accruing from external interference and the use of informal channels in accessing the country's resources and wealth. In order to create an environment that promotes a healthy interaction

between the DRC and the key role-players in its public affairs, the study suggests that the Congolese people and particularly leaders can learn from the successful experience of Botswana and Brazil. In whatever dealings engaging national interests, Congolese leaders must portray patriotism and altruism that will allow them to refrain from not protecting the country's interests although they must meantime open doors for investors and other entities interested in the country's wealth. This implies that the government should adopt a stand that creates a win-win situation whereby foreign investors win in terms of profit and Congolese people also benefit by enjoying improved living conditions produced by their country's wealth. This is, for example, the case in Botswana considering the 50-50 share between the government of Botswana and the giant De Beers. To achieve this kind of deals, the leaders of the Congolese government should have a good mixture of the following three aspects: a vision of where they would purposefully want to lead their country; morality which implies the disposal of values such as integrity, honesty, loyalty, commitment to what they are supposed to do for their country; and emotional intelligence which will assist leaders to properly handle issues and sign good deals that benefit their country. In this context, it will be possible to explode the myth that Congolese people believe that their country is a victim of the abundance of natural and mineral resources.

To this end, one can stress that the DRC is not the only country that enjoys abundant natural and mineral resources. A good example in this study is that of Botswana and Brazil. Currently, Brazil has created a win-win situation since Brazilians people benefit from their wealth as FDIs are consistently flowing in the country. For the DRC to follow this path, Congolese leaders should believe in themselves and develop negotiation skills that will help them sign good deals in the interest of the Congolese people. This requires the building of a united front as far as

national interests are concerned. Government leaders should refrain from putting their selfish interests above those of the state. However, the 2006 elections brought hope as they represented a means to an end. These elections had the purpose of putting in place democratic institutions which were there after intended to revitalise state institutions and set the country on the path of development. But because of lack of a pronounced political will towards restoring and revitalising public sector institutions, the country is not being rebuilt. In addition, the 2011 elections have even worsened the conditions. In this context, strong leadership and good political will are required in order to promote the establishment of a system that promotes good governance in the country. Without adequate public institutions, especially a proper administrative system, it will be difficult for the DRC to implement the policies which are drafted to promote the reconstruction process.

6.4 Conclusion

The subject of discourse in this study has been *'leadership and governance imperatives for development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo'*. It has, however, been stressed that the DRC is potentially Africa's richest country and one of the world's richest countries. The country is endowed with abundant natural resources and it counts a huge deposit of various natural and mineral resources. Yet, the DRC is a country that lies bare in ruins and poverty. Compared to many countries in the developing world, the DRC had a minimum number of structures and infrastructures that could have promoted growth and economic development especially when the country accessed its independence in June 1960. The study has attempted to provide an understanding of the historical background of leadership and governance in the DRC. This has been done with the aim of demonstrating how this context created the

challenges the country is currently faced with. The study has also striven to outline the current bottlenecks to the rise of effective leadership in the country and it has explained the extent to which the leadership crisis has influenced the state failure. The analysis of global leadership and governance trends, with a focus on the developments taking place in developing countries, has assisted in arriving at recommendations that would assist one gain insights into the magnitude of efforts required for meeting of governance imperatives in DRC.

However, the study insists that the main challenge the country is faced with was and remains about acquiring an effective leadership. With good leadership the country would have been able to reverse the patterns that presented a huge bottleneck to its development. The legacy of colonisation coupled with the misrule by Congolese cadres has made it difficult for the DRC to institute a system that could promote good governance and create conditions for economic development. The study has assumed that effective leadership can strengthen and improve the functioning of the state's institutions. Furthermore, the study has stressed that good leadership might create an environment that is conducive for the promotion of good governance and, consequently, facilitate the economic development and prosperity of the DRC. Without a strong and effective leadership, it is difficult for the country to also develop an adequate and responsive public service. Currently, the DRC yearns for responsible and purposeful leaders who will be able to strengthen state institutions and establish a system of governance that will be able to put the country on the path of development and prosperity. This represents the dilemma the country is currently faced with. To acquire an effective leadership will mean that Congolese people in general and leaders specifically will have to focus on addressing the challenges related to the legacy of colonisation and strive to promote the values and principles that lead to good governance. Although the

leadership crisis faced by the DRC seems deep and dire, it is important to stress that there is a room for hope especially when one considers what certain developing countries have had an exemplary experience. For example, countries such Botswana and Brazil are currently moving in the right direction when it comes to economic development.

Considering the crises the DRC endured throughout the years, one can assert that the role of leadership is of great significance as leaders have the ability to transform the adverse circumstances that Congolese people have faced since independence. This will be possible if leaders can inspire hope and empower the people to strive for the betterment of living conditions of all. It is in this instance that the framework proposed in Chapter Five becomes more relevant as it proposes a means for leadership development. In this study, there is no intention of arguing that leadership can by itself change the patterns that have hampered the development of the country. There are two significant factors that one can consider as prerequisites for effective leadership, namely, social order and political settlement. In other words, the success of any leadership style is inevitably influenced by the kind of access orders (open or limited access orders) that prevails in a particular country and also on the type of the political arrangement adopted in the country. In the DRC's context an effective leadership will be the one that promotes genuine political and administrative reforms and enhances conditions for a successful implementation of adopted policies for the betterment of all. As already stated, in the current situation of the DRC, without an adequate and responsive administrative machine the implementation of public policies will remain problematic no matter how well they are drafted.

Although the social and institutional situation in the DRC portrays a negative image of the country, one should stress that this state of affairs

has helped Congolese people to be aware of whom they are and that there is a Congolese nation that needs to be promoted and cherished. The sentiment of pride in being Congolese can be transformed into the energy needed to reinvent state and society as was the case in Brazil. A prerequisite for this reinvention is to be concerned with promoting an adequate civic education and above all, revitalising the administrative system. The most significant contribution leaders make is not simply to today's bottom line; it is to the long-term development of people and institutions so they can adapt, change, prosper, and grow. This is critical when one looks at the current situation of the DRC. It is for this reason that the study came up with the recommendations mentioned above.

In conclusion, one needs to acknowledge the fact that the world is globalising rapidly and as a result, Africa, particularly the sub-Saharan Africa, is increasingly being marginalised. This situation is a result of the fact that many African leaders do not grasp the role Africa can and has to play in the global economy. The continent represents the world's future but currently there are no prospects that would allow the continent to benefit from its strategic conditions. This will become an advantage only if leaders would strive to maximise the potential available on the continent and in individual states. Therefore, a new breed of leaders is needed; Africa needs leaders who will be able to break with the patterns established by colonisation and reverse the patterns that have hampered the continent's development. However, the Congolese people deserve a civilised nation and a group of capable leaders who can maximise the country's abundant resources so that citizens can benefit from the country's wealth. As soon as the DRC finds the path to prosperity and development, it will be possible for the country to also positively impact its neighbouring countries why not the African continent as a whole. The DRC enjoys many comparative advantages such as rare minerals (e.g. coltan, water, forest, etc), trained cadres and

other resources that if well capitalised, can boost the whole continent's development.

6.5 Future research

The phenomena of leadership and governance are becoming critical to all emerging democracies and developing states. The thesis makes a major contribution to knowledge creation and practice in the area of governance and leadership not only in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but also in other countries facing similar challenges. Some of the concepts introduced in this thesis will require further development and extension. The author suggests the following topics for further research and he believes that they could enhance the bodies of knowledge in regard to leadership and governance issues:

- Comparative public administration in developing countries: Botswana, Brazil and the DRC;
- Comparing the models of leadership development in the DRC, Botswana and Brazil: Contrasting the models and the reality;
- Leadership and opportunities blindness in Africa: Case of the DRC;
- The impact of cultural background on leadership styles in developing countries: Case of SADC countries;
- Effective leadership as a means to dealing with the after effects of colonisation in Africa;
- Leaders' role in nation-building in war torn countries: Case of the DRC;
- Contrasting Politics/Administration interface in the DRC, Botswana and Brazil;
- The relationship between leadership and corruption in the DRC, Botswana and Brazil;

- Military rule and the legacy of ineffective leadership and bad governance in developing countries: Cases of Brazil and the DRC;
- Leadership and the persistence of civil war in the Eastern region of the DRC; and
- Contrasting governance challenges in urban and rural DRC and in parts of the DRC affected by civil war.

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