Chapter 6
Political Leadership and Democratic Governance in Anglophone Africa

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Introduction

Democracy in Africa is intrinsically linked to leadership and the way in which the leaders of the various countries on the continent lead. The political leaders of any country play a key role in shaping its politics, and in Africa, where many countries are led by the people who were part of their liberation struggles, this is particularly the case. All of the democracies in Africa are relatively new, which means that there has not been much time for democratic norms and institutions to become entrenched. This further emphasises the key role that African leaders play when it comes to promoting or threatening democracy in African countries. This chapter will explore the notions of democracy and leadership in Africa and how they relate to one another in the context of the ten Anglophone case studies.

A large portion of scholarship assumes that democracy and leadership are Western concepts (Swart, Van Wyk and Botha 2014; Igué 2010; Lyn de Ver 2008: 11). Additionally, there is very often a distinction between leadership and the idea of 'African leadership'. However, given the vastness of the continent and the diversity of countries, the concept of African leadership is a misnomer (Bolden and Kirk 2009: 76). The term has racist and discriminatory undertones and is evidence of a Westernised perception of Africa. Leadership means the same thing everywhere and there should not be a separate category for the African continent. While leadership issues are naturally complex, they are more so in Africa given the colonial past that so many countries have had to endure. Additionally, many African countries continue to suffer under neo-colonialism (a contemporary manifestation of colonialism). There is massive inequality perpetrated by the neo-colonial status quo, and many African countries, and their people, continue to be exploited by the West. This in

turn effects the leadership dynamic:

'Several contradictory influences on African political decision makers. Among these we could mention the persistent hegemony of the major powers and the economic stakes that Africa represents because of its main natural resources: oil, gold, diamonds, uranium, coltan, timber and so on. Serious socio-cultural factors must also be taken into consideration' (Igue 2010: 115).

This chapter will explore the complexities related to leadership in African countries which are still trying to recover from colonialism and continue to struggle with neo-colonialism. This is particularly pertinent as leadership can also serve as an indicator of the health of democracy in a country. Elected officials are the channels through which African citizens expect the dividends of democracy in form of service delivery. This can manifest in many ways — as an improved standard of living, development, choice, justice, inclusion, and freedom. These dividends are not merely theoretical but also practical, as democracy was initially seen as the panacea to problems of dictatorship, autocracy, underdevelopment, and poverty (Afolabi 2017a). This raises the question: to what extent have leaders in Anglophone Africa, responded to the needs of their people? This motivates the analysis in this chapter as it is important to determine the relationship that leadership has to democracy in Anglophone Africa.

To answer this question, this chapter discusses the conceptual clarifications of the two key concepts of leadership and democracy. After clarifying these concepts, the framework for analysis is illustrated through an exploration of democracy as a continuum, and political leadership. Thereafter, the chapter explores the relationship between leadership and democracy to understand how good leadership and good governance are correlated. There is an examination of leaders in Anglophone countries, with a distinction between democratic leaders and undemocratic leaders. Additionally, there is a discussion of the obstacles to leadership. The chapter concludes by briefly outlining what needs to happen to promote strong leadership and democracy in Anglophone Africa.

Conceptual Clarifications: Democracy and Leadership

Democracy

Democracy is not a simple term to define as there has been broad scholarship on the matter, with no clear overarching definition that scholars can agree upon. One of the first clear definitions of democracy came from Schumpeter. The Schumpeterian definition denotes that, 'the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the

common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will' (Schumpeter 1942). Therefore, within the bounds of this description, the democratic method is the institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. This is the working definition of democracy applied in this chapter.

Within this framework democracy can be seen as the system in which people determine who rules over them. In this sense, those who vote and those who abstain, even though they are eligible, determine who occupy governmental positions. It is logical, indeed crucial, that there exists a connection between the leaders and citizens in a democracy as this linkage satisfies the democratic aspirations and expectations of the people. It is also a framework that allows leaders to distribute public and private goods. While elections serve as the medium through which the leaders are chosen (Afolabi 2019), democracy encompasses other elements. Such elements include democratic institutions, democratic values, and rights. Some of these rights include the freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, the right to vote, the right to equality before the law, and protection against discrimination based on gender, disability and race among others – all of these factors are critical indicators of democracy.[1]

When it comes to identifying democracy, further distinctions can be made between the types of democracies that exist. Once again, this is a particularly contended area of democratic scholarship with some scholars denoting subcategories of democracy and others arguing that a country is either a democracy or not. This chapter tends to agree with the former group of scholars and views democracy as a continuum. There is no binary of democracy, but instead there are nuanced differences that can distinguish subtypes of democracy.[2]

This chapter will also refer to Schedler's four categories namely, authoritarian regimes, electoral democracy, liberal democracy, and advanced democracy (Schedler 1998: 94) by categorising ten case studies in terms of these four concepts.

Within this understanding of democracy, the concept of leadership has become a key feature in both Western literature on democracy, and in studies of African democracies. Part of the problem with contemporary democracy is the disconnect between the political elite and the citizenry. This

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1 The existence of these rights in each of the ten countries are further explored in the chapter on Lawfare and Accountability.

2 It is notable that there is extensive literature on the differences between different subtypes such as Collier and Levitsky's work on Sartori's 'ladder of generality'. However, for the purposes of this chapter the discussion of types of democracy is not the focus and will not be explored beyond a passing mention.

aspect of democracy is practised in Africa where leaders can be selected through elections that might or might not be credible and from among a group of elites from several different political parties (Van de Walle 2007; World Bank 1991). These leaders are often out of touch with their voters and this can give rise to unrest and frustration from within the societies. The notions of leadership within countries in Africa needs to be further explored by determining where on the spectrum each of the case studies fall, which allows for the exploration of how well leaders in Africa have played the roles expected of them. But before doing so it is necessary to further clarify the notion of leadership.

Leadership

Leadership is another complex term to define and for the focus of this discussion, leadership is seen as the ability to obtain non-coerced, voluntary compliance to enable followers to attain goals which they share with the leader (Cartwright 1983: 19, 21). Cartwright expands this definition into the realm of governance by asserting that leadership, as in state governance, should be defined as government by persuasion rather than by force (Cartwright 1983: 285–97). In other words, leadership in State government should be democratic and not authoritarian.

The question of leadership as a driver of democracies in Anglophone Africa has raised several issues and have led people to question the competence of these leaders to rule effectively and to rule in response to the needs of the people through accountability, inclusion, and development. As already mentioned, terms such as 'African leadership' carry pejorative connotations (Swart, Van Wyk and Botha 2014). Within the context of this discussion, African leadership simply refers to the various manifestations of leadership on the African continent, and not to an erroneously generalised misconception of 'African leadership'.

Much of the literature has shown that traditionally leadership in Africa has been democratic and participatory. It was entrenched and practiced for many generations (Nkomo 2006; Sarbah 1968). But leadership in Africa has changed over the period of colonization, and since independence. The change can be traced to inherited corrupt practices from colonial authorities and weak economic structures that predispose the leaders to corrupt practices and dependency (Ogbeidi 2012; van de Walle 2007). Certain convoluted leadership has emerged in post-independence Anglophone Africa and was derived from the authoritarian nature of colonial rule and relies on the structure of international relations that privileges democratic rule in Africa irrespective of its imperfections (Moyo 2010). This issue needs to be addressed to better understand the impact that leadership has on democracy in Anglophone Africa.

Framework for Analysis: The Democratic Continuum and Political Leadership

In most nations democratic rule has become *the* acceptable way to govern. In this sense, democracy, whether imposed or home grown, has become the preferred platform. While some countries have embraced the 'Westminster model' typical of the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia; the Nordic countries such as Denmark and Sweden typify a 'social democracy'. The corporatist version of democracy as practiced in Luxembourg, Netherlands and Germany is also worth mentioning. References to African democracy, however, assume a decidedly negative connotation, which has spurred the ongoing debate about the nature and character of democracy in Africa. For this chapter, the above conceptions are not used, instead Schedler's four categories on the continuum of democracy are applied. Before determining under which category each of the ten case studies fall, it is apt to further define the four categories.

Understanding Democracy on a Continuum

The first category that Schedler defines is liberal democracy and Robert Dahl proposes the following required characteristics for such a brand of democracy 'civil and political rights plus fair, competitive, and inclusive elections' (Schedler 1998: 92). Schedler, however, considers Dahl's characteristics to apply more accurately to a 'polyarchy', not to liberal democracies (Schedler 1998: 92).

The second category that Schedler defines is electoral democracy, which is often viewed as a borderline case for democracy. Without the essential features of a liberal democracy, electoral democracy can be placed somewhere in between authoritarianism and democracy. Schedler notes that, 'this term is now generally used to describe a specific type of semi democracy – one that manages to hold (more or less) inclusive, clean, and competitive elections, but fails to uphold the political and civil freedoms essential for liberal democracy' (Schedler 1998: 92-93).

The third category that Schedler refers to on his democratic continuum is advanced democracy. He explains that while electoral democracies are those which fall short of some of the criteria of a liberal democracy, advanced democracies are those who go beyond the bare minimum for a liberal democracy. He notes that advanced democracies, 'possess some positive traits over and above the minimal defining criteria of liberal democracy, and therefore rank higher in terms of democratic quality than many new democracies' (Schedler 1998: 93). This distinction is important
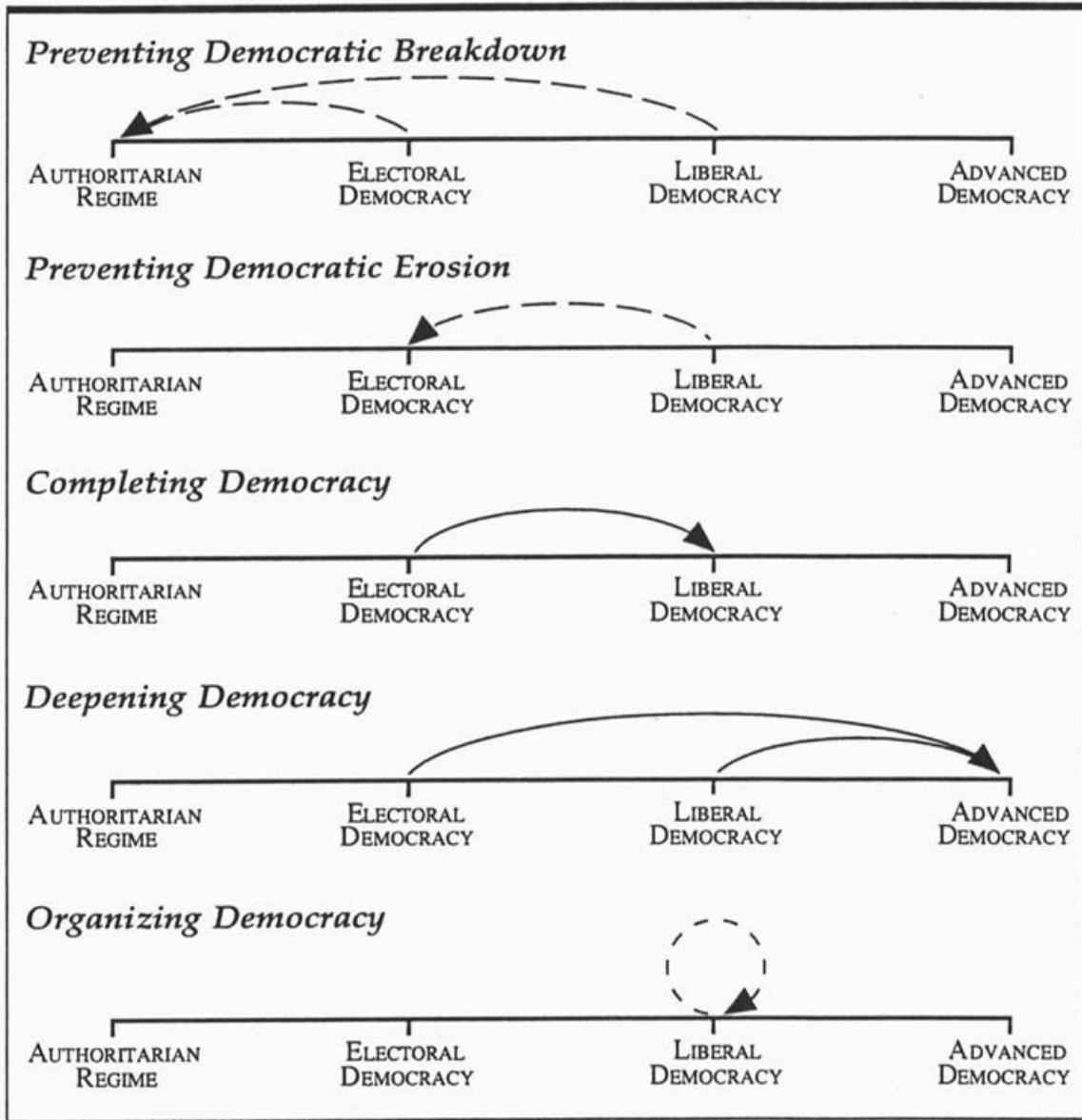
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Figure 1.
Concepts of Democratic Consolidation

Source Schedler 1998: 93-94

Referring to this figure, Schedler explains that on this continuum, 'authoritarianism forms the outer negative horizon that democrats in both these [electoral and liberal] kinds of regimes try to avoid, and advanced democracy forms the outer positive horizon that they try to approach (Schedler 1998: 93-94). In addition to this, he explains the relationship between electoral democracy and liberal democracy as relating to one another in that, while a liberal democracy will strive to avoid electoral democracy, an electoral democracy will strive to attain liberal democracy. The same goes for the relationships between electoral democracy and authoritarianism, and liberal democracy and advanced democracy, respectively.

In addition to Schedler's continuum, V-Dem classifies countries on a similar four category continuum consisting of Liberal Democracy; Electoral Democracy; Electoral Autocracy; and Closed Autocracy. These four categories are similar to Schedler's but the difference is that there is no category for advanced democracy and there are two subcategories for autocracy. Despite this, there is still a relationship that can be drawn between these terms. By combining these two concepts the following continuum is possible:

Figure 2.
Combined Schedler and V-Dem Democracy Continuum.

Closed autocracy and electoral autocracy can be the same as Schedler's 'authoritarian regime', but as two subcategories. In terms of this, an electoral autocracy can be distinguished from an electoral democracy in that an electoral autocracy has all the trimmings of an autocracy, but for whatever reason holds elections (often as window-dressing for the international community). A prime example of this is Uganda:

'Uganda is ruled by a hegemonic party — one political party remaining continuously in power while holding regular multiparty elections — and is considered a "hybrid" or electoral authoritarian regime . . . The lines between party and government are blurred and people widely perceive the bureaucracy as being controlled by the ruling party' (Raffler 2019: 7).

According to the V-Dem classifications and the combined continuum, the ten case studies can be categorised as follows:

Table 1 V-Dem Democracy Classification

Country	V-Dem Classification	Corresponding Schedler Category
Botswana	Liberal Democracy	Liberal Democracy
Ghana	Liberal Democracy	Liberal Democracy
Kenya	Electoral Autocracy	Authoritarian Regime
Malawi	Electoral Autocracy/Electoral Democracy	Authoritarian Regime/Electoral Democracy
Nigeria	Electoral Autocracy/Electoral Democracy	Authoritarian Regime/Electoral Democracy
South Africa	Electoral Democracy	Electoral Democracy
Tanzania	Electoral Autocracy	Authoritarian Regime
Uganda	Electoral Autocracy	Authoritarian Regime
Zambia	Electoral Autocracy	Authoritarian Regime
Zimbabwe	Electoral Autocracy	Authoritarian Regime

Source: V-Dem, 2019

From the above it is evident that many of the case studies fall very much on the authoritarian side of the continuum. Only Botswana, Ghana, and South Africa fall within the democratic categories of the continuum. Both Malawi and Nigeria fall in between the electoral autocracy and electoral democracy categories, and Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are all electoral autocracies. Two positives can be taken from these categorisations. With countries like Malawi and Nigeria being on the brink of two categories, it is possible for these countries to move towards democratisation more easily. And even though five of the countries are authoritarian, none of them are closed autocracies. It is particularly significant that none of these countries are advanced democracies.

This analysis makes one thing abundantly clear: these Anglophone African countries can all work toward moving further towards democracy on the spectrum. Botswana and Ghana can shift towards advanced democracy. South Africa can shift towards liberal or advanced democracy. Malawi and Nigeria can solidify themselves as electoral democracies and the remaining five countries can also shift towards electoral democracy. None of these shifts will come easily but as will be explained in the following section, leadership will play a crucial role in strengthening their democracies.

Political Leadership

Within our working conceptual clarification the role and place of leadership in democracy cannot be over-emphasised. Leaders provide the vision, the drive and the example required to embody the collective needs of their citizenry, and ethical leadership is central to stimulating and fostering the growth and development of a political system.

While entrenching strong democratic norms and values are easily achieved in advanced democracies, they are largely absent in democracies in Africa for a number of reasons, including a failure of leadership. Other reasons are the complexities of power relations inherited from colonialism, poor standards of living in the aftermath of colonialism, and the economic realities that exist in developing countries. These challenges to democratisation and development play out in dichotomies between the rich and the poor, and the public sector driven economy versus private sector driven economy. Equally important are questions of good governance, functional institutions of the state, and the space for credible electoral processes. These signify the important differences that exist among African countries striving to strengthen democracy.

Those post-independence African leaders who have attempted to create, manage, and sustain democracy, have had to contend with the complex political, social, and economic realities within their countries. While they pursue democracy, there exists a distinct possibility of a state sliding back into an authoritarian regime. Additionally, a cohort of other leaders have made no attempt to democratize and in fact often subvert any such attempts by the people or by their opposition, and only entrench their autocratic stances. As the categorisation on the democratic continuum indicates, these pose a risk to different manifestations in each of the countries and need to be further explored in relation to the political leadership in the country and what role it can play in either deepening or eroding democracy.

To proceed with this analysis, it is necessary to better understand what political leadership entails. When looking at the mechanics of political leadership it is possible to identify different leaders within a state. In discussing the relationship between leadership and government, Chiamogu explains that:

'[P]eople who hold decision-making positions in government whether by means of election, appointment, electoral fraud, conquest, right of inheritance or other means constitute political leadership. It thus presupposes that political leadership goes beyond the ruling elites that directly manage the affairs of a territory; it embraces the totality of the political class that has the capacity to manipulate the machineries of government even from behind the scene' (Chiamogu 2017: 4).

The description and classification of political leadership is important since leadership is not restricted to the office of the president alone but includes all those elected at various levels of the government. All elected officials determine the success and failure of their state and the welfare of their citizens. Rotberg speaks to this by explaining that 'political leadership is a 'social construction" that acts within a particular historical and social context as a multidimensional activation that is a peculiar mixture of contingent situation and personal intervention, and as the impact of individual style and creativity on political challenges and opportunities' (Rotberg 2014: 242). This shows that political leadership is very often contingent on each country's specific context as well as the leaders who are in power, and the form of governance in the country.

The Relationship Between Good Leadership and Good Governance

Cartwright (1978) explains that the relationship between leadership and governance, more specifically political leadership, and good governance cannot be overemphasized. This nexus between democracy and leadership is quintessential for facilitating a just and progressive society. Following this line of reasoning, Chiamogu points to the clear intersection between good governance and political leadership and explains that strong political leadership can bring about good governance. But it is also true that entrenched good governance creates a system that gives rise to strong political leadership (Chiamogu 2017: 2). However, Chiamogu also notes that this relationship can also be correlated negatively where bad governance leads to bad political leadership and vice versa (Chiamogu 2017: 2).

Chiamogu gives an example of how governance, leadership, and democracy interact in Africa:

'If governance and leadership were to be improved in Africa, infant mortality and maternal morbidity rates would fall, the struggle to contain malaria, typhoid and other curable diseases would be more effective, civil strife would prove less damaging and democratic transitions would be much smoother' (Chiamogu 2017: 7).

He goes on to note that, regrettably, an assessment of leadership in the African context only leaves a sour taste in the mouth (Chiamogu 2017: 2). Although the complex and tumultuous history of colonialism in Africa does play a large role in this, it does not absolve African leaders of responsibility. Chiamogu holds that one should recognise, 'the responsibility of African leaders even if emphasis was still placed on the legacies of colonialism: "post-colonial Africa inherited weak

states and dysfunctional economies, which were further aggravated by poor leadership, corruption and bad governance in many countries"' (Chiamogu 2017: 3). Another analyst, Ake (2000) agrees and contends that despite Africa's difficult experience with colonialism, the performances of its post-colonial leaders have only made matters worse. For Ake (2000), and Yagboyaju (2011), the majority of African leaders have become corrupt, socially disorganised, politically disorientated, have overseen mass political apathy, and the demise of development projects. This has effectively led to a diminishing of democracy across the continent, but Africa should not be generalised, and each country has a different context.

In Anglophone Africa, the actions of many political leaders display a lack of respect for their people while accumulating considerable and questionable personal fortunes at the expense of good governance. Colonial structures such as neoliberal economies, discriminatory laws, and the exploitation of Africans bifurcated societies rife with poverty and inequality. Colonial structures were also the foundations for post-colonial institutions that have allowed leaders to be unresponsive to the needs and aspiration of their people. However, as discussed previously, Anglophone African leaders are themselves not without fault, and 'the greatest problem in Africa is the provision of effective, progressive leadership which seeks not to be served but to serve –– a leadership that goes beyond verbal declarations to action' (Chiamogu 2017: 4-5).

One of the major trends among African leaders is an unwillingness to give up power. Lodge writes of African leadership and democracy in the two-turnover test and the change of power in African countries. He describes a number of categories which are applied to the ten cases relevant to this discussion:

The first applicable category is, 'Orderly succession of presidents with different party affiliations and between political parties following founding election (the two-turnover test)' – Ghana falls into this category in 2000 and 2009 (Lodge 2013: 25).

The second applicable category is, 'One orderly succession since founding election' – Malawi in 2004 and Zambia in 2011 fall into this category (Lodge 2013: 25).

An 'Orderly succession between parties and presidents with different affiliations at time of founding election' and Nigeria and South Africa fall into this category (Lodge 2013: 25) constitutes the third category.

The fourth category is, 'No change: old sole party retains power in successive elections' – Tanzania and Uganda fall into this category (Lodge 2013: 25).

The fifth category is where, 'Incumbents successfully resist alternation despite losing election' – Kenya in 2007 and Zimbabwe in 2008 fall into this category (Lodge 2013: 25).

The final category is, 'Multi-party elections since independence' – Botswana falls into this

category having had no alternation (Lodge 2013: 25).

These categorisations of each country on the democratic continuum show that the manner in which a country has a power shift does correlate with the strength of its democracy. While it is definitely not the only determining factor, one can deduce a relationship from the two sets of data.

Botswana and Ghana, the only two liberal democracies, are also the two countries who are in their own categories, with Botswana's multi-party elections since independence and Ghana passing the two-turnover test. South Africa and Nigeria fall into the same orderly succession of parties and candidates at the founding elections. Despite them falling into different categories on the continuum, South Africa is considered an electoral democracy and Nigeria on the brink of electoral democracy. Malawi, which is also on the brink of electoral democracy is categorised as having had one orderly succession since its founding election.

On the other end of the spectrum are Tanzania and Uganda each having a sole party retaining power, and Kenya and Zimbabwe, having had incumbents successfully resist alternation despite losing an election. All four of these align with their continuum categorisations of being electoral autocracies. The only exception to these correlations is Zambia which had one orderly succession since its founding election yet is categorised as an electoral autocracy.

A preliminary conclusion that to be drawn from the correlation between the continuum data and the succession data is that democracy is more likely where there is the possibility of change of power. With the exception of Zambia, the countries that are the most authoritarian are also the ones which have not had successions of power, or whose incumbent has resisted alternation of power when they lost. This is further evidence of the positive and negative correlations between good governance and good leadership that Chiamogu conceptualised. Given this, it is clear that while many of the institutional arrangements and inherited colonial structures are difficult to change in these countries, good leadership good governance can be possible. The discussion now turns to the role of the leaders in these ten countries and how they promote good governance.

The Leaders of Anglophone Africa

According to Rotberg, 'Africa has long been saddled with poor, even malevolent, leadership; predatory kleptocrats, military-installed autocrats, economic illiterates, and puffed-up posturers' (Rotberg 2004: 14). However, one should not simply assume that there is poor leadership in Africa. There is an abundance of both good and bad leadership. The broad assumption of bad leadership across Africa must be qualified and it is instead imperative to explore the leadership

dynamics in the ten countries that are under discussion before judging. For the purposes of this chapter, two broad categories of leaders are discussed – the leaders who are described as 'bad leaders', and the leaders are described as 'good leaders'. Using these two terms could be viewed as an oversimplification and binary conception of leadership, but this is not the goal here. The labels of 'bad' and 'good' are too broad. Therefore, in this chapter these leaders are referred to as undemocratic and democratic leaders, respectively. The term 'undemocratic leaders'[3] refers to those leaders who actively undermine democracy, promote autocratic practices, and are focused on personal gain and power. The term 'democratic leaders' refers to those leaders who are democratic in nature, lead to serve their people, and promote democracy within their countries.

Undemocratic Leaders

Several leaders in Anglophone Africa see public office as a means to accumulate wealth and use their power for self-adulation rather than for public good. Rotberg was emphatic that 'one result, after almost five decades of African independence, is a paucity of good governance and an abundance of deficient leadership' (Rotberg 2006: 2). There are many examples of such leaders including Robert Mugabe, who was a dictator in Zimbabwe for almost 40 years, and Jacob Zuma, who while president of South Africa was involved in numerous corruption scandals and since stepping down has been charged by the state for corruption.

Another example of an undemocratic leader is Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. He has been blamed for the impunity with which he led. He was embroiled in endemic corruption, tribal loyalty/animosity, and was desperate to cling to power. In referring to Jomo Kenyatta, Muigai notes that, 'to contain the sub-nationalism of the other communities and provide legitimacy for his regime, Kenyatta set up an elaborate patron-client system, with himself as the chief patron' (Muigai 2004: 12). Other leaders in Kenya have not fared much better. Daniel Moi emulated Kenyatta. Muigai explains that, 'Moi's avowed "philosophy" became one of *Nyayo* (torturing of detractors) . . . Moi had his own plans on how to put in place a new ethnic configuration' (Muigai 2004: 15).

Yoweri Museveni of Uganda is another example of an undemocratic leader. He used the country's democratic aspirations to gloss over the high levels of poverty, unemployment, corruption, and the

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3 The definition of leadership adopted in the first section contradicts this notion of undemocratic leaders. However, it is still applicable to refer to such rulers as leaders, noting that they do not conform to the above notion of leadership.

growing intolerance of dissenting voices. His involvement in other atrocities and undemocratic actions has placed Uganda at the lower end of the democratic continuum. Such actions range from participating in the Democratic Republic of Congo's civil war, contributing to the Great Lake Region conflicts, being involved in the controversial killings of the members of the Lord Resistance Army, and the ongoing brutal suppression of those opposed to him, especially those of political opposition. Museveni has also desecrated the country's constitution by enacting a series of constitutional amendments to scrap presidential term limits in 2015 and remove the presidential age limit in 2017 (Onyango 2004).

In Nigeria there have been a number of different political leaders who have been largely unable to foster the economic, political, and societal goals of the Nigerian polity. Despite the wealth of resources, the country's leaders have failed to use them to create employment and mitigate rising poverty. The Goodluck Jonathan administration was often criticised for this. Even the current president, Mohammad Buhari, is regarded as a problematic leader. He has, amongst other criticisms, been accused 'of using corruption investigations as a blunt instrument to neutralise his political opponents' (BBC 2019). These undemocratic leaders are only some who exhibit deficient leadership in Anglophone Africa — and their practices do not bode well for democracy in their respective countries.

Democratic Leaders

Still, not all political leaders in Anglophone Africa lack the capacity to deliver quality governance. As mentioned earlier, Anglophone Africa has been blessed with dynamic and authentic leaders like Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. Despite often being idolised beyond fault and himself having many shortcomings, Nelson Mandela can be seen as one of the most iconic 'good leaders' in recent African history. Despite his royal lineage he focused more on bettering his people's wellbeing. In spite of his imprisonment and subsequent election to President of post-apartheid South Africa, Mandela used his office and popularity to serve his people, both supporters and tormentors, with grace and magnanimity (Swart, Van Wyk and Botha 2014; Vries 2005). It is important that leadership, especially democratic leadership, is often brought up and shaped by presence of strong institutions, informed citizenry, societal acceptance of and adherence to legal norms, values and ethics and demand/expected accountability leadership post occupied. These listed factors conform to democratic notions and leadership practice most of which are evidently absent in many countries under consideration. The

absence of benevolent factors has engendered undemocratic leaders as there are no institutions, values and citizens to hold them responsive and accountable to their citizenry. The occasional appearance of democratic leaders in select Anglophone countries could be traced to subjective values of personality, religion and morality. Reliance on these subjective values, experience has shown, has produced more undemocratic leaders than democratic ones. The preponderance of undemocratic leaders is majorly responsible for the rampant incidences of corruption across the continent (Afolabi 2019).

Obstacles to Democratic Leadership

The success of a select group of post-independence democratic Anglophone African leaders prompts the question as to why so many are unable (or perhaps unwilling) to emulate and sustain the good leadership ethos of their counterparts? While there is no straightforward answer, a combination of factors might shed some light.

There are many different obstacles to democratic leadership, among them are: the absence of institutions of governance, a particularly weak structure of bureaucracy, the personification and commodification of the state and its resources, the limited autonomy of the post-colonial state, and the high level of state fragility of these countries. This creates countries where authority, legitimacy, and capacity are non-existent or have little import. A look at colonial legacies and corruption might provide some understanding.

Colonial Legacies

To some extent, leaders have failed because of the carry-over of colonial structures and orientations, especially in how its prescripts alienated the state and its leaders from the people (Afolabi 2018a). This disconnect was designed to keep the colonial leaders removed from the people's needs and expectations – a tradition that has been difficult to dislodge (Afolabi 2019). Anglophone countries have been incorporated, subserviently, into the structure of international political and economic systems. This has also contributed to the distinct leadership deficit. The nature of globalisation has eradicated traditional leadership qualities while the various international socio-cultural associations, like the Commonwealth of Nations, has cast these countries and their leaders as beggars dependent on aid (Moyo 2010). In many cases, this can hamper leaders in delivering democratic dividends to their citizens.

As has been evidenced throughout this chapter, the impact of colonialism and its legacies on Africa have been dire. There is no easy way to overcome these legacies and African leaders need to dismantle colonial institutions within their countries and resist the neocolonial powers of the world. But this is no small feat and may take many generations of leaders to overcome.

Corruption

Corruption is one of the most endemic challenges to democratic leadership. When assessing how often members of the executive (the head of state, the head of government, and cabinet ministers) or their agents steal, embezzle, or misappropriate public funds or other state resources for personal or family use, empirical survey data showed a high level of these ethically questionable traits (Coppedge et al. 2017).

Jurgens notes that:

‘Post-colonial African governments’ evident disdain for their constituencies, except at election time, expresses a fairly common pattern, too, across the Sub-Saharan region. Between elections, governments appear to govern mainly by various strategies of rent extraction, supported by tactics of containing their citizens and distracting critics’ (Jurgens 2019).

The high level of disconnect between the leadership and the people in Anglophone African countries reflects the increasing level of public theft engaged in by the leaders (Coppedge et al. 2017). As the data shows, there is not much difference between non-democratic and democratic periods as the same mentality of stealing public funds remained at the same levels for virtually all ten countries. Illegal appropriation and embezzling of state resources betrays the trust of the people who voted and elected these leaders into office. It also shows that the leaders continue to engage in public looting, corruption, and state capture, passing off some as politics of democracy (Afolabi 2019; Afolabi and Agunyai 2018b; Bhorat 2017; Report of the Public Protector 2016; Wilson 2001). The cumulative effect of these acts of stealing, misuse of public funds and unresponsiveness to the people have gravely undermined citizens' trust in leaders and government (Orock 2012; Orock and Mbuagbo 2012).

There is nothing surprising or unique about having corrupt leaders in Anglophone Africa. However, if it is to be mitigated in these countries, citizens are going to have to hold leaders

accountable and leaders need to commit to eradicating corruption. If this is not done, then corruption will continue to erode democracy in these countries and result in more undemocratic leaders gaining power.

Conclusion: Looking to the Future of Democracy in Anglophone Africa

Swart et al. hold that Africa needs 'a new generation of democratic and corruption-free political leaders. Therefore, future studies on African political leadership should focus on democratising Africa's political institutions to sustain democracy and remain intolerant to corruption, nepotism, and minimizing the role of the military' (Swart, Van Wyk and Botha 2014: 667). From the analysis in this chapter it is clear that Africa needs strong democratic leaders to help promote and strengthen democracy in their respective countries.

The quality of leadership is a key measure of the development of any democracy. Having clarified the conceptions of democracy and leadership, this chapter analysed the relationship between the two concepts and it became evident that democracy is not simple to define and that it should be viewed on a continuum. The categorisation of the Anglophone countries on the combined continuum showed that most of the countries can be classified as authoritarian, or on the brink of authoritarianism. This was then linked to the discussion of political leadership which showed that this involves the elite political class and how they rule. Going forward, it is going to be necessary for leaders in Africa to consolidate political leadership in democratic practices if they want to better their country's position on the democratic continuum.

This study also revealed that there is a strong positive, and negative, correlation between leadership and governance. By looking at the succession categorisations of the ten case studies, with the exception of Zambia, a link could be drawn between the change of power and democracy in all of the countries. This means that if leaders in these countries are to hope for improved democratisation, there will have to be the succession of governments, or at least a willingness to succeed.

This brings the discussion to the leaders themselves. There is a clear distinction between undemocratic and democratic leaders. There have been many of both of these types of leaders in the ten case studies. The leadership examples, both good and bad, further confirm the strong correlation between good leadership and good governance. Moreover, while it is clear that good leaders bring about good governance and bad leaders bring about bad governance, it is important

to remember that governance and institutions also have an effect on leaders.

All ten countries have had to grapple with obstacles to democratic leadership. None of them can escape their colonial legacies –– something they will have to overcome in order to strengthen their democracies. Additionally, they will have to battle corruption as it can taint them, their administrations, and their successors. Except where there are structural, institutional, and attitudinal changes, these countries will witness leadership failures. Therefore, if these ten countries are to promote and strengthen democracy then the leaders, their institutions, and their citizens need to work to address these obstacles.

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