Good Governance: The Panacea For Africa's Development In The 21st Century

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Abstract

Africa's crises of development up until the 21st century have been worsened by the dearth of good governance. Despite the abundant human and natural resources that abound in several parts of Africa, the continent has continued to wallow in abject poverty, malnutrition, bad governance, corruption, diseases and various forms of human degradation. Several development pathways to Africa's development have been crippled by a wide range of factors. Hence, over five decades after the political independence of most African states, the people have little or nothing to celebrate. Good governance ensures that those that carry out the objectives of the state do so in line with the established principles. The quality of governance therefore determines the level of socio-economic transformation of a state. Development is usually used to describe a holistic improvement and transformation of every segment of society irrespective of class, tribe, sex, religion and status. The paper adopted a descriptive and analytical methodology with a focus on good governance: a panacea for African's development in the 21st century. The modernization theoretical framework shall be applied in the analysis. The study reveals that good governance which is a sine qua non for development has remained illusive in several parts of Africa. The paper argues that much of the developmental strategies designed by the leadership in Africa have remained ill-conceived, elitist and unfocused. The paper recommends a paradigm shift and fundamental change in leadership orientation to make room for grassroots governance and proper harnessing of the vast resources found in Africa.

Key Words: Governance; Development; Africa; Terrorism; Poverty.

Introduction

Several years after the attainment of political independence by most African states, there has remained a parlous story of Africa's economic and social development. This is attributed to her inability to achieve an autonomous capacity for self-actuated development as well as creating the necessary conditions for national and continental modern mass production and prosperity (Ehiedu, 2017). This ugly development has been attributed to the style of governance and leadership choice to retain, maintain and expand the inherited exocentric colonial system of development incapacitation, primary commodity export, import dependency and poverty generation.

The progressive efforts made by some African leaders to create self-reliant economies were crippled by ideological inconsistency and dependency, the balance of payment crises of the 1970s and 1980s as well as the global economic recession. As observed by scholars;

> This provided the avenue for western multilateral imperialist agencies, the
> World Bank and the IMF to successfully infiltrate into Africa, re-colonize
> African states and converted them into new-colonial outposts of the so
> called new liberal consensus. This framework embodied in the structural

adjustment program (SAP) with its destructive conditionality; currency devaluation, trade liberalization, subsidy removal, deregulation and privatization re-directed the African states to focus on expanded raw materials production and exports to abandon industrialization and development capacitation (Ehiedu, 2017:72).

Despite the abundance of human, natural and mineral resources, though largely unharnessed and untapped, Africa has up till the 21st century remained one of the least developed and poverty stricken continents of the world. Africa has continued facing deepening indebtedness, serious economic crisis, de-industrialization, socio-economic decline, deepening impoverishment, political repression, intra and inter-tribal wars, terrorism, communal clashes among others. Several developmental strategies so far adopted by some of the countries have hardly taken the people from where they are supposed to be socio-economically. The search for Africa's development especially after the independence of most African countries partly contributed to the toppling of some civilian regimes by the African military with the promise of a better hope that later turned a mirage. Only a few countries, especially in the sub-Saharan Africa have had course to celebrate. The majority have continued wallowing in the ocean of political and socio-economic despondency and despair. Good governance has therefore being noted as the sine qua non to Africa's crisis of development.

Good governance describes how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources with a view to ensuring the realization of human needs and rights (World Bank, 2010). Good governance is epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy making, a bureaucracy embedded with professional ethos; an executive arm of government that is accountable for its actions; an active and strong civil society participating in public affairs, and all behaving under the rule of law (World Bank, 1994). Good governance drives development in the sense that it involves the promotion of the rule of law, tolerance of minority and opposition groups, transparent political processes, an independent judiciary, an impartial police force, a military that is strictly subject to civilian control, a free press and vibrant civil society institutions as well as peaceful conduct of elections (Collins & Udumaga, 2017). Meaningful development has continued to elude most African countries due to bad governance which manifests in corruption, economic mismanagement, embezzlement and misappropriation of funds meant for development, sit-tight syndrome, leadership insensitivity to the ruled, poor accountability among others.

Development has come to mean different things to different people. Generally, development refers to the attainment of socio-economic advancement of an individual, a community, a country or part of it at a given point in time. National development is the one that touches on every sector, strata of society or the generality of the people. The indices of measuring development include: increase in per capita income and its even distribution, availability of employment opportunities, increased supply of skilled manpower, development of infrastructural facilities, indigenization of economic activities, improved standard of living and stability in the diversification of economic activities, et cetera, (Tadoro & Smith, 2003).

The persistent crises of development of Africa have continued to attract scholarly attention. Some studies have traced the causal factors to colonialism, imperialism, the cold war, tribal wars and related conflicts. Scholars however, have done very little to establish a nexus between Africa's underdevelopment and good governance. This study therefore is set out to examine good governance as the panacea for Africa's development in the 21st century.

Theoretical Framework

This paper adopted the elite theoretical framework. The elite theory is considered relevant in the understanding of how the society works. Elite theory was popularized by scholars such as; Vilfred Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michaels and C. Wright Mills (Michael, 2017). The elite theory brings to the fore the pluralist view on power and its distribution in the society. The theory is based on the proposition that power is concentrated in the hands of a few privileged minority group of individuals in the society. According to Mosca (1939:50) "two classes of people appear in any given society – a class that rules and a class that is ruled". The first performs all political functions, monopolizes all power and enjoy the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first.

For Varma (1975:14) "every society is constituted of two sets of people that are broadly classified as: the selected few that have the right and capability to lead and the vast majority of people that are destined to be ruled". The society is therefore controlled and dominated by a political leadership that influences societal politics and law.
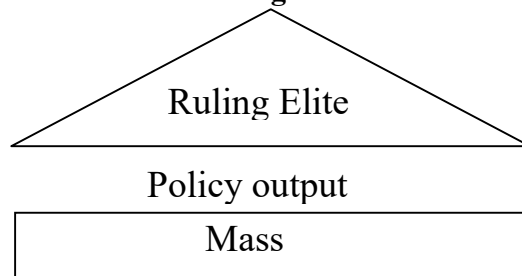
The major assumptions of the elite theory are as follows:

i.   Division of society into two unequal parts – a few who have the power and many who do not;
ii.   Only a small number of persons allocate values for society and not the masses;
iii.   The governing elites are drawn inappropriately from the upper socio-economic strata of the society and not the masses;
iv.   Non-elites movement to the elite position must be slow and continuous so as to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elites who have acquired and accepted basic elite consensus can be enlisted into governing aides;
v.   Elites share a consensus on the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system;
vi.   Public policy does not reflect demands of the masses but rather the prevailing values and references of the elite. Changes in society are usually incremental rather than revolutionary in order not to alter the status quo; and;
vii.   Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses (Dye & Zeigher, 1996:294).

Applying the elite theory to the issue of governance in Africa, it has to be noted that the masses hardly play significant role in the emergence of the elite class in Africa. There has continued to be the short changing of the masses as they hardly influence the direction or determination of state policy that even affect them. In cases where elections are held in Africa for instance, the result of such elections hardly reflect the will of the generality of the electorate or the masses. In each case, the credibility of such elections are compromised and the electorate hardly hold their leaders accountable.

According to Michael (2017:87) "while the forces (in-puts) generated in the environment affect the political system as outputs in systems perspective, public policy or policy outputs constitute the preferences and values of the ruling class in the society by the supposition of the elites' perspective". In Africa generally, the masses are seen as being largely passive, apathetic, and ill-informed. Usually, mass sentiments are more often manipulated by the elites instead of their sentiments provoking the elites' sympathy. Communication between the elites and the masses do follow a top – down approach. This is shown in figure 2.

Figure 1: The Political elite Program

Source: Henry (2002:29)

A major assumption of the elite theory is that changes and innovations in public policy aimed at driving national development has remained the functions of the elite in Africa. Almost in every African society, what prevails or obtains are the values of the elites which are imposed on the unwilling masses. The course and direction of societal development has always been determined by the elites especially for countries whose socio-political and economic ideologies are patterned towards the western liberal capitalist system. In addition, the African political elite who are found in virtually every facet of life are highly mobilized and organized. They are mainly composed of individuals with intellectual and superior personality who by virtue of their position, influence the pace of national development in Africa.

Challenges of governance and national development in Africa in the 21st Century

The following challenges that have continued to derail national development in Africa are examined by the study.

1.   **Corruption**

Corruption is a major social cankerworm that its meaning has led to divergent views among scholars. For Tadoro & Smith (2011; 546) "Corruption denotes the misappropriation of public resources for private profit and other private purposes through the use or abuse of official power of influence." Hence, corruption is the abuse of public trust and the use of one's position for private gain, it is a form of stealing. Otite (1986) defined corruption as the perversion of integrity through indulging in bribery and other illegal favors which constitute moral depravity. Similarly, Osoba (2000) sees corruption as an anti-social behavior that is inconsistent with the established legal norms and prevailing moral ethics of the land which often confer unjust or fraudulent benefits on its perpetrators. Corruption also denotes an act of omission or commission (by a public servant) that is capable of circumventing or preventing justice, fairness, integrity, morality and rule of law (Nnadozie, 2003)

According to Ikejiani – Clark (1995:142) "Corruption is not only an inducement by means of improper considerations to commit a violation of duty, but also an inducement in cash or kind to secure services or goods from public officials or agencies through illegitimate, unlawful or irregular means". For Higgnis (1958) corruption has to do with stealing of public funds, receiving bribes, unjustly seeking gifts, monies or advantages other than the lawful salary; offering gifts or advantages calculated to influence official acts which constitutes an obstacle to equitable discharge of official duties. Generally, corruption is described as a dishonest act. It involves using once position of authority to exact personal favors or inducing a public official to deviate from a lawful standard so as to secure selfish gains or advantages.

There has been a general contention that bad governance and corruption have remained the symptoms of institutional and leadership failure among African countries (Areo, 2014). In this vein,

Owoye & Bissessar (2010) contended that corruption has remained like an epidemic in Africa due to the long term tenure of African dictators who had either amended, rewritten or simply ignored their countries constitution for their own selfish interest. Hence, corruption persists more in those countries that experienced military dictatorship in the sense that they usually sideline the constitution and ruled by decrees and edicts. They were accountable to nobody or institution. The military dictators, therefore, institutionalized corruption in Africa. Up till the 21st century, corruption has remained unabated in Africa because of weak and failed institutions that are easily manipulated by the powers that be to the extent that they cannot control the excesses of the overbearing African leaders or dictators. Odikalu (2010) had observed that African counties collectively lose an estimated 25% of GDP or about $146 billion annually. This scenario has continued to retard sustainable development in Africa. Lumumba (2001) examined the epidemic nature of corruption in Africa by listing the fortunes of ex-African leaders in the United States as shown below:

Table 1: The fortunes of ex-African leaders in the United States, 2001

Names	Country	Fortunes in USD
General Sani Abacha	Nigeria	$20, billion
President H. Boigny	Ivory Coast	$6, billion
General Ibrahim Babangida	Nigeria	$5, billion
President Mobutu Seseseko	Zaire	$4, billion
President Monsa Toure	Mali	$2, billion
President Henri Bedie	Ivory Coast	$300, million
President Dennis Nguesso	Congo	$200, million
President Omar Bongo	Gabon	$80, million
President Paul Biya	Cameroon	$70, million
President Haile Mariam	Ethiopia	$30, million
President Hossene Habra	Chad	$3, million

Source: Transparency International Corruption Perception Index Report, 2012.

2.   **Economic mismanagement and non-diversification of the economy**
        Economic mismanagement has remained the bane of Africa's underdevelopment. The leadership has failed to come up with appropriate strategies to properly harness the abundant human and mineral resources that abound in various parts of the continent. For various reasons, square pegs have continued to be put on round holes. Little gains made over time are hardly improved upon. For instance, the former Zimbabwe's strongman and President, Robert Mugabe before his exit from office in November, 2017 was noted to have during his over three decades of ruler ship of Zimbabwe destroyed the Zimbabwean economy and reduced the once admired food basket of Southern Africa into a basket case, scattering millions across the globe and in the process broke families apart.
        Arising from the problem of economic mismanagement is the issue of poor or non-diversification of the African economy. Africa has essentially remained a commodity market of the developed countries of the world. There is little economic cooperation among the countries because of their monocultural economic nature. In other words, the economic disparity between the developed North and the underdeveloped South is very clear (Aja, 2002).
        Because of economic disparity and disadvantage, there exists more trade linkages between the South and the majority of the countries in the North. In 2007 for instance, the percentage was about 29.4%, whereas trade relations with fellow countries of the South were estimated at about only

6.2% (Aja, 2002). The implication of this is that, the South has remained economically marginalized and disadvantaged in this era of regionalization and globalization. In addition, due to technological backwardness, the South has continued to be worse off in a highly globalized economic world.

For years, a good number of the countries in the South or less developed countries (LDCS) have remained more import oriented than export as they lack the capacities to promote and export goods and services. The case of Nigeria has remained worrisome. Agriculture used to be the main stay of the country's economy, but following the discovery of oil in the late 1950s, the agriculture and solid mineral sectors declined. Up till the 21st century, there has been no sustainable industrial organization or any consistent vision of developing such. Nigeria has continued to rely on buying and selling despite all efforts made towards export promotion by the relevant councils. Thus Aja & Emeribe (2000:359) had contended that:

> There is little or no production. Nigeria basks in buying and selling. Nigeria imports virtually everything it has the capacity to produce rice, palm produce, rubber, cotton, and fish. For many, Nigeria is a very rich land with lost opportunities. Diversification of the economy for multiple sources of foreign exchange earnings is a mere rhetoric for the Nigerian leadership, unless oil disappears in the country. For Nigeria oil boom is now oil doom. Oil, which became 'Black Gold' for Nigeria in the 1970s has today turned into 'Black Glut'.

The monocultural nature of the economies of majority of the countries of Africa and their dependence on virtually primary products is illustrated in table 2.

Table 2: The main export of majority of the countries of Africa (one product).

The Main Export of These Countries Is One Product

Africa	The Gambia	Rwanda	Papua New	Grenada	Middle East
Algeria	*Groundnuts*	*Coffee*	Guinea	*Spices*	and
Petroleum	Ghana	Seychelles	*Copper*	Guatemala	Mediterranean
Angola	*Cocoa*	*Copra*	Concentrate	*Coffee*	Baharain
Petroleum	Guinea	Somalia	Western Samoa	Jamaica	*Petroleum*
Botswana	*Bauxite*	*Live animals*	*Coconut oil*	*Alumina*	Cyprus
Diamonds	Lesotho	Togo		Netherlands	*Citrus fruit*
Burkina Faso	*Diamonds*	*Phosphates*	Europe	Antillies (Neth)	Iran
Cotton	Liberia	Uganda	Finland	*Petrolieum*	*Petroleum*
Burundi	*Iron ore*	*Coffee*	*Wood and pa-*	*Products*	Iraq
Coffee	Libya	Zaire	*Per products*	St. Kitts and	*Petroleum*
Central African	*Petroleum*	*Copper*	Iceland	Nevis	Kuwait
Republic	Malawi	Zambia	*Fish and fish*	*Sugar*	*Petroleum*
Diamonds	*Tobacco*	*Copper*	*Products*	St. Lucia	Oman
Comoros	Mali			*Bananas*	*Petroleum*
Cloves	*Groundnuts*	Asia/Pacific	Latin American	Suriname	Qatar
Congo	Mauritania	Brunei	and Caribbean	*Alumina*	*Petroleum*
Petroleum	*Iron ore*	*Petroleum*	The Bahamas	Venezuela	Saudi Arabia
Djibouti	Mauritius	Fiji	*Petroleum*	*Petroleum*	*Petroleum*
Petroleum	*Sugar*	*Sugar*	*Products*		Syria
Ethiopia	Niger	Indonesia	Chile		*Petroleum*
Coffee	*Uranium*	*Petroleum*	*Copper*		United Arab
Gabon	Nigeria	Myanmar	El Salvador		Emirates
Petroleum	*Petroleum*	(Burma)	*Coffee*		*Petroleum*
		Teak			Yemen
					Petroleum

Source: IMF Report (1990)

As shown in table 2, over 50% of the less developed countries (LDCs) are export dependent on a single product. Their over dependence on primary products decreases their effectiveness in world trade and creation of national wealth. For obvious reasons, it is becoming increasingly difficult for economically weak and dependent countries to acquire the needed manufactured or finished products for a meaningful technological take-off. This is attributed to the fact that it takes more of a given unit to buy a unit of a manufactured product (Aja, 2002). Given the rate of globalization and high technological development in the 21st century, the trade gap between the rich and poor countries in the economic system has continued to live the majority of African countries in socio – economic and even political dilemma.

3. **Emergence of class identity**

Exclusive form of leadership or what has been described as class identity has become a threat to development in Africa. In most African states, what has become fashionable in the 21st century has been the emergence of class identity of a few cabals who constitute themselves either as the ruling or the governing class. According to Aja (1998:37) "class defines an identity of status or consciousness in society." Marx (1970:55) contended that:

> Classes are large groups of people who differ by their status in the historical
> system of social production, by their role in the social organization of labour,
> by the ways in which they receive their part of social wealth and by the sizes
> of it.

Unlike the case during the colonial era where by nationalist leaders went to the grassroots, canvassed for support and identified with the ordinary peasants and workers, the trend has automatically changed as the then harmonious social identity has now been replaced with a "us" versus "them" mentality. "Us", represents the privileged ruling political class and "them" being the ordinary citizens. The programme or policies enunciated by these elites only serve their interest and hardly make any impact on the socio-economic realities of the ordinary citizens.

Apart from the late South African statesman and legendary leader, (Nelson Mandela) and a few other selfless leaders and patriots, Thomas Sankara was one of Africa's greatest sons who demonstrated to Africa what could be achieved when a cohesive national identity is created. United as a country, Burkina Faso succeeded in fighting corruption, disease and poverty. During the four years of his reign (1983 – 1987) literacy levels improved from 13% to 73% (John, 2002). Land was redistributed from the feudal landlords directly to the peasants, which made the country self sufficient within three years. He reduced the salary of all public servants including his own, he also sold the Government's fleet of Mercedes Benz and made Renault 5 the official Government car. Women were appointed to higher government positions and the use of first class airline tickets was forbidden. Railway lines were built and general improvements were made on general infrastructure without the financial support from Multinational institutions. All these were achieved because of a genuine commitment on good governance and desire to create a cohesive national identity.

4. **Leadership bereft of ideas**

Ubeghe (1999:282) defined leadership "as the process of creating the subordinates' identification with the group's mission and creating their desires to achieve the group's goal." According to Graig (2005:132) "leadership denotes a social influence process in which the leader seeks the voluntary participation of subordinates in an effort to reach organizational goals." Despite over five decades of the political independence of most African states, Africa's aspiration and hopes of sustainable development has almost remained a mirage. The leadership question has largely remained unresolved. As Seteolu (2004:70) contended;

> The governing class has been the target of pillory, vilification condemnation and disdain in view of the pervasive socio – economic and political crisis… The economic domain has been characterized by huge external debt overhang, net capital flights, disinvestments, collapse of social infrastructure, food crisis and insecurity, over devalued national currency, pervasive poverty, unpopular, repressive and alienating economic policies. It was recognized that Africa's failure has come about largely due to inadequate preparation of the leadership that assumed the responsibility to govern their countries.

According to Afegbua & Adejuwon (2012:143), "African leaders have frequently come to their positions with limited experience." Even in the 21st century, some leaders emerge in Africa to lead their people unprepared. Unfortunately, there are no genuine institutions in Africa devoted to preparing potential leaders with a global outlook. Political leadership has therefore remained problematic in Africa. Failures in certain domains have been traceable to political leadership deficiencies. Seteolu (2004:74) summarizes the Nigerian experience thus;

> The political elite is not a productive class, but rely on the control of the state structures to access economic rewards. The over politicization of the Nigerian state is also understood in the context of the unmediated struggle for power, influence and patronage. The nature of politics ensured the emergence of a local governing class without ideological commitment. Rather than pursue political contests within ideological framework, politics became a contested terrain for shallow, self centered political gain.

Seteolu (2004) and Obi (2000) have argued that the de-ideologization of African politics implies that aspirant political leaders hardly see any pressing need to state their macro vision for the continent. The explicit formulation of lasting and enduring values among African political aspirants has almost remained a mirage. In Nigeria for instance, the nature of the state has led to the emergence of a predatory political elite that is concerned merely with power struggle, consolidation, alignment and realignment in the context of hegemonic control. This is not unconnected with the lack of ideology in the political space, monetization of the political process, expanding of the basis of political participation as well as the canvassing of alternative policy agenda. This ugly development led Ake & Onoge (1995:53) to contend that:

> Political leadership is parochial rather than national; and corruptly converts national resources into its project of primitive accumulation. Ethnic diversity is manipulated to stay afloat to the detriment of national cohesion. There is an embarrassing lack of national heroes. The failure was usually explained either by the easy manipulability of the cultural pluralist background, or by the two publics antagonism.

According to Hyden (1992:23) " the personalized nature of rule in so many African countries meant not only that public policy making lack the logic and empirical content that typically characterizes such an activity in other contexts but also that governance structures are largely informal and subject to arbitrary change". Hitherto, Africans suffered so much following widespread abuses of their civil and political rights by such rulers as Idi Amin, Emperor Bokassa and Macias Nguema in the late 1970s. Later decades also saw the emergence of later dictators especially during military regimes in Africa. It was later that African governments discovered that it could not at will invoke the demand for national unity by violating the civil, social and political rights of their citizens (Afegbua & Adejuwon, 2012). Since the political independence of most countries in Africa, the

leadership has virtually failed to come up with definite values and lasting legacies and ideologies that the system could build upon. Agbaje & Roberts (2009:154) aptly captured this, thus;

> Post-independence leaders in Africa not only personalize power but also privatize the state for the purpose of primitive accumulation, clientelism, repression and all forms of opposition. Instead of using the state for initiating development, African leaders utilized it as a vehicle for terrorizing the citizenry, thereby leading to the discouragement of the populace from the public realm.

Arising from the above, African leaders and their cohorts up till the 21st century have simply privatized the state for their interest. Leadership in Africa has continued to be characterized by primordial, parochial, personalized and selfish tendencies. Others notable setbacks are; political brigandage, ethnic rivalry and cleavages. Clientelism and privatized state apparatuses (Adeola, 2007). Therefore, quality leadership or lack of it has remained a major bane of Africa. Average Africans have agreed that the fundamental problem militating against development in Africa is the poverty of leadership, (Afegbua & Adejuwon, 2012).

5.   **Persistent cases of intra and inter-state conflicts**

The persistence of intra and inter-state conflicts or wars has continued to frustrate developmental efforts in Africa. Although some of these conflicts arose before or just after the political independence of some of the African states, lasting solutions are yet to be found to these conflicts. Consequently, uncountable losses in both human lives and property have continued to be recorded from these conflicts. These conflicts ranges from border disputes, sectarian crisis, farmers vs herdsmen clashes, political disagreements among others. Prominent examples of countries where these conflicts (intra) have persisted include; Liberia, Sierra Leone, Burundi, Rwanda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo (DR), Cote D'Voire, et cetera (Ntalaja, 2001).

Intra and inter-state conflicts in Africa have created untold hardship and suffering for the human populace, leading to catastrophic implications for the continent (Ugwu, 2014). Besides, these incessant conflicts in Africa have led to the militarization of the society. For one thing, military expenditure which has become a social burden has consequently been greater than social expenditure (Rimmer, 1995). Africa has virtually become a dumping ground for arms and ammunition as well as a ready market for the sale of military weapons. This has further led to the proliferation of illegal weapons across the continent, with the major consequence being the rise of terrorist and militant activities in various parts of the continent.

As the records show, while Britain was reported to be exporting $600 million (about ₦78 billion) worth of arms to Africa every year, the United States, the leading arms trader exported more than $14 million (N1, 870 billion) worth of military equipment to developing countries (Daily Trust, June 23, 2002:1). In several regions in Africa where conflicts have persisted, the state has been compelled to be spending more on military equipment and arsenals than on social services. The impact of conflict in Africa has manifested in other related areas such as the productive sector, human lives, refugee cases and displaced persons (Ugwu, 2014). As at about 1997, 1.06% of the total African population were either refugees worldwide or internally displaced (Oche, 2000). Worse cases were recorded in Rwanda and Burundi. For instance, between 1963 – 64, 3,000 – 10,000 Tutsi became refugees in a localized massacre. In 1972, 80,000 – 200,000 Hutu were killed in Marangara and Ntega, with about 50,000 becoming refugees. In 1994, 500,000 – 800,000 Tutsi were killed nationally and about 105,000 Tutsi turning refugees.

Between December, 2017 and February 2018, Cameroon gendarmes resumed their attacks along Nigeria border communities with Cameroon leading to the loss of several lives (AIT News 8/1/2018, 8:00pm). Also, following the Cameroonian intra state dispute in Southern Cameroon, many have been displaced with over 10,000 rushing into Nigeria as refugees (AIT News 17/1/2018, 8:00pm). For a couple of years, South Africa has continued her Xenophobic attacks against some non-nationals (especially Nigerians) that are either doing business, working or domiciled in certain areas in the country. Some lives have been lost and millions of property belonging to non-nationals have been destroyed. For a long time, internal wars have plagued Africa with West Africa being the most volatile. According to Nnoli (2006: 59):

> Between 1960 and 1990, 35 out of the 72 successful coups in Africa occurred in this region. Fifteen of the states of ECOWAS are among the poorest in the world. And in the 1990s, conflicts rocked Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Cassamance in Senegal, Guinea Conakry, Nigeria (Communal Violence) and Cote D'Ivoire, the situation deteriorated seriously in 2002.

Among the factors responsible for the conflicts rocking Africa are the proliferation of small arms and light weapons as well as the use of child soldiers. Over "seven million weapons have been in circulation in West Africa" (IPA, 2002:12). Thus, there has been the escalation and prolonging of conflicts, making them more deadly and entrenched; thereby creating a culture of violence and lawlessness in Africa.

In Central Africa for instance, the Great Lakes region for long remained a war zone as countries such as Rwanda, Uganda, Congo (DRC) and Congo Brazzaville were ravaged by internal conflict of various dimensions and shifting epicenter, from Burundi in 1993 to Rwanda in 1994 back to Burundi, 1996 and to Congo (DRC) in 1998 (Nnoli, 2002: 59). Over 3.7 million people lost their lives in the conflict (IPA, 2002). It was really described as Africa's world war as it attracted arms, merchants, rogue diamonds dealers as well as mercenaries. Over time, violent internal conflicts have persisted in the Horn of Africa. Quality of life in the region deteriorated consequent upon super power rivalry, proliferation of small arms and light weapons as well as forced migration. It was because of this development that Somalia was labeled a failed state. About six million registered African refugees and internally displaced persons were recorded which was the highest worldwide. Writing on the consequences of the violent conflicts in Africa, Nnoli (2002:58) submitted that:

> Such conflicts caused havoc to political and economic activities. It turned people's attention from creative production to creative destruction. Bridges are blown up, and railways destroyed, airports and seaports immobilized and business enterprises, as well as schools and hospitals destroyed or forced to operate below full capacity… such violence has wasted human lives, generated refugees and other displaced persons, led to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and caused the spread of a culture of violence, such as war consciousness and militarism among the population.

6.   Menace of global terrorism

The continued upsurge of terrorism and its intensification in the 21st century has remained a national, regional, continental and global challenge. Some states such as the United States, Britain and Israel have relatively contained the violent activities of terrorist groups. On the contrary, given the poor intelligence gathering network, weak economy, ineffective border surveillance among others, majority of the countries in Africa have virtually become a safe haven for terrorist operations.

Generally, terrorism is described as an act of violence against humanity (Adedoyin, 2015). Terrorism also denotes the use of coercive means with the intent of destroying a certain population in order to actualize a political or religious domination, ethnic chauvinism or other aims. Terrorism is often executed through guerrilla warfare, economic sabotage, political warfare, assassination, coup d'état and indiscriminate detonating of bombs. For Hanson (1998) terrorism is a systematic violence adopted in the furtherance of political aims especially by small guerilla groups.

Similarly, Rosenfeld & Geller (1993) defined terrorism as the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends. Terrorists usually target innocent civilians, young children, travelers in an airplane (soft targets), motor parks, public gatherings and government institutions for unleashing their mayhem. Terrorism takes many forms. For most parts of human history, state sponsored terrorism was used by the state to threaten supposed enemies of the state. This was popular in France, Soviet Union, Libya and Iraq.

Globally, one of the most dreaded terrorist organizations is the Al Qaeda which carried out the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the world trade center in the United States which led to the loss of thousands of lives with millions worth of property destroyed.
In the 21st century, Al Qaeda through its affiliates has been influencing and sponsoring the springing up of other terrorist groups in different parts of the world including Africa. For over a decade, the Islamic State and its Levant (ISIL) are known as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham (ISIS). The group has come up to be an Islamic extremist in Syria, Iraq and Libya (Adedoyin, 2014). This terrorist group apart from launching various acts of terrorism across Africa and beyond has been working assiduously to establish Islamic States in Syria, Iraq and Libya. Similarly, Boko Haram terrorist sect in Nigeria has extended its violent activities, abduction and suicide bombings across Nigeria's neighboring countries. The group has also contributed to the emergence of the Islamic State of West Africa (ISWA). Boko Haram has been working to violently establish an Islamic caliphate in Northern Nigeria. The activities of the insurgents got radicalized in North East, Nigeria and its environs in 2002 following the extra-judicial killing of its founder, Mohammed Yusuf by the Nigeria security forces.

Up till 2018, Boko Haram has not relented in carrying out coordinated attacks, often times through suicide bombings against the Nigerian state and her neighboring countries, public or military establishments, parks and persons which have resulted to incalculable loss of lives, property and cases of internally displacement (John, 2014). Despite the huge resources the African state has been spending to curtail the menace of terrorism in Africa, its menace has remained unabated.

7.   **The 'Sit tight Syndrome' in Africa's leadership**:
The sit tight syndrome has remained a negative omen that has continued to affect good governance and development in Africa. For years, a bad culture has been institutionalized in Africa whereby most African leaders hardly relinquish power willingly after serving out their tenure. These group of rulers amend their countries constitutions to enable them rule for life and others perpetually rig elections to keep themselves in power for as long as they wish" (Ugwu 2014: 239). Nwabueze (2002) has contended that with the backing of constitutionally, ordained eligibility for re-election indefinitely, ruler ship in Africa has virtually become a permanent appointment in the same way as in the civil service. In his further observation, Nwabueze (2002:22) insisted that:

> Felix Houpheuet Boigny of Cote D'Ivoire died in office after 34 years as President, William Tubman of Liberia after 24 years, Sekoh Toure of Guinea after 26 years, Abdel Gamel Nasser of Egypt after 16 years, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Sir Seretse Khama of Botsawan after 15 years, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, Sir Dauda Jawara of the Gambia, Lebua

Jonathan of Lesotho, Hamani Diori of Niger and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana were in office for 32, 29, 20, 14 and 10 years, respectively, before being over-thrown in military coups or armed revolts. Also, Kamauzu Banda of Malawi and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia were in office for 29 and 27 years before they were voted out in a free multi-party democratic election.

The incidence of sit tight syndrome has continued in parts of Africa. Up till the 20th and even the 21st century for instance, Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia was dismissed after 32 years in office on the ground of senility certified by a team of medical doctors. For Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, he voluntarily retired from office after 27 years, in office as did Leopold Senghor of Senegal after 21 years. Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, Omar Bongo of Gabon, Muammar Gadaffi of Libya and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe remained in office close to 4 or 3 decades respectively. The Arab Spring led to the exit of Gaddafi. Robert Mugabe was only removed from office after 37 years in November 2017 by a combined team of the Zimbabwean military that later handed over power to his Vice when he had almost concluded plans to hand over power to his wife by the next election. Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and Emperor Jean – Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic had already proclaimed themselves as life Presidents before their removal from office.

In Cameroun, Paul Biya became the country's President in 1982 after Ahmadu Ahidjo, the country's first President resigned. Since then, he has refused to quick power. He has succeeded in manipulating multi-party democracy in Cameroun through his one party. Yoweri Museveni of Uganda came to power in 1986 through a military coup, he later civilianized and has held on to power since then. The failure of former President Obasanjo of Nigeria to amend the constitution for a third term in office led to a bitter feud between him and some key political figures during his administration (1999-2007) especially his vice, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar. Late General Sani Abacha of Nigeria also failed in his dubious ambition to either perpetuate himself in power as a military Head of State or to civilianize and rule indefinitely. Similar cases of sit tight syndrome have also been the experience in countries such as Burundi (Pierre Nkurunziza), Swaziland (King Mswati III), among others.

Sit tight syndrome in Africa's leadership has deepened the developmental crisis in Africa as most of the leaders have converted the national treasury to their family estate. As Ogwu (2002:18) submitted:

> Africa is really in a deep crisis of development. As the United Nations conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)'s "Least Developed Countries 2002" report has shown, the proportion of people in 29 countries living below $2 per day increased from 82% in the late 1960s. For those in extreme poverty (under $1 per day), the increase was from 55.8% to 64.9%. In absolute figure, the number of Africans living in extreme poverty rose from 89.6 million to 233.5 million over the same period. Also, of the 49 countries classified as least developed countries, 33 of them are in sub-Saharan Africa.

Conclusion

This paper has examined good governance as a panacea for Africa's development in the 21st century. The study has revealed that there is nothing wrong with the Africa's climate, environment, and rich human and natural endowments, rather the poor nature of governance in Africa has significantly contributed to the persistent developmental crisis in Africa. This sad development has led to the poor harnessing and exploitation of the vast human and natural resources that abound in several parts of Africa. The strong relationship between good governance and development has led Chazan (1992; 122) to insist that;

> Governance is the capacity to establish and sustain workable relations between individual actors in order to promote collective goals or as a process of organizing and managing legitimate power structures, entrusted by the people, to provide law and order, protect fundamental human rights, ensure the rule of law and due process of law, provide for their happiness or the capacity of entrenched authority of the central state and to regularize its relations with society.

To fast track sustainable development in Africa in the 21st century, the leadership must go back and address the myriads of challenges that have continued to mar Africa's development over the years. A total re-orientation and a new mindset that is committed to good governance must be built among the leadership and the led. Africa's problems must be addressed by Africans themselves. As a philosopher rightly stated; "The problem is not our stars but ourselves." The destiny of Africa should not continue to be placed in the hands of incompetent, unenlightened, visionless, corrupt and unqualified persons who are only interested in fathering their own nest and leaving majority of the people frustrated, malnourished and hopeless.

Recommendations

It has been shown through this study that the absence of good governance has derailed the path of development in Africa. As a way out, this study hereby recommend as follows:

i   **Institution of visionary and purposeful leadership**: Good governance hardly takes place where the leadership is defective. Every effort should therefore be made to improve the quality of leadership in Africa since it is leadership that drives governance.

ii   **Making political offices less financially and materially attractive**: The enormous privileges (material and non-material) that holders of political offices enjoy in Africa have continued to make political context in Africa a do or die affair. This has also encouraged the "sit tight syndrome" in Africa's political leadership. Consequent upon this therefore, necessary reforms should be put in place to de-monetize both political offices and the overall electoral process.

iii **Leadership based on equity, transparency and accountability**: In order to concretely address the developmental challenges of Africa, concerted efforts must be made to ensure that Africa's leadership and governance is based on the above lasting and enduring values.

iv   **Genuine commitmenttowards technological and industrial development**: Over the years, the nature of the African economy especially its poor diversification has made her to remain a dumping ground for the economies of the developed countries. This ugly trend should change through the revitalization of ailing industries and genuine commitment towards technological and industrial development.

v   **Addressing human rights and gender issues in Africa**: Africa has continued to record incessant cases of human rights abuse, series of intra and inter-state conflicts, extra-judicial

killings, communal and religious conflicts among others. Besides, little efforts have been made to recognize and utilize the potentials of the African woman. This has resulted to a high level of alienation among the women folk that constitute a major percentage of the African population. Arising from this, genuine efforts should be made in order to improve issues about human rights and gender equity in Africa.

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