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THE STATE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE PRACTICES IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

by

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2009046265

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the Master's degree qualification in Governance and Political Transformation in the Department of Governance and Political Studies in the Faculty of the Humanities at the University of the Free State

January 2018

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ABSTRACT

Good governance has become a crucial topic for debate around the globe. Thus, there is a growing need to define the concept and the principles related to it. Africa has always been associated with negative connotations when it comes to governance, and it is characterised by words such as poverty, corruption, famine and civil war, which suggests that there is no order or equality on the continent.

The need to comprehend what African countries have achieved and what the main challenges are is critical in determining the way forward for the continent to improve on its good governance practices. Past work done on the concept has proven valuable to this study; however, there remains a gap in determining how and why the continent is battling with implementing efficient and effective measures to improve good governance. The aim of this study is to analyse Africa as a whole, using practical examples from African countries that lead in both good governance and bad governance practices.

This study first attempts to understand and define the concept of governance and aspects related to it; in addition, the elements of good governance are unpacked. Case studies that are applicable to the continent are utilised as they serve to underlie the weaknesses and strengths of governance across Africa. Renowned organisations and institutions that contribute significantly to governance practices are recognised and examined for further understanding; thus, determining the methods that could be used to measure governance. Hence, the purpose of the study is to contribute to understanding governance on the African continent; it will also make recommendations on how to improve governance practices in a manner that is suited to Africa.

Governance in Africa should be distinguished from governance around the world. The history of African countries is different when compared to Western countries. The ideal is to find solutions for Africa in an African context, without neglecting the values that are characterised as good governance practices worldwide. The study therefore assesses the theoretical perspectives of governance, as well as African countries, including South Africa, Nigeria, Botswana and Zimbabwe. The assessment recognises that Africa has the potential to achieve greater benefits from good governance practices, including investments that will significantly improve economic growth and

development. Botswana will be utilised as an example of a leader in good governance practices. The countries in Africa, which are characterised by bad governance practices, can be improved either through better leadership or by society standing up against foul practices. The latter option normally results in further destabilisation; therefore, it is recommended that enhanced leadership should be promoted through good governance practices.

DECLARATION

- (i) I, Telshia Florelda Donen, declare that the dissertation (or interrelated publishable manuscripts/published articles or mini-thesis) that I herewith submit for the Philosophiae Masters Degree, for the Programme in Governance and Political Transformation at the University of the Free State, is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.”

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January 2018

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Heavenly Father above for every blessing bestowed on me, especially for the strength and courage to complete my studies.

I am forever thankful for the role Dr Tania Coetzee played throughout my studies and especially these last few years whilst completing my Master's degree. Thank you for your words of encouragement, academic guidance, and patience with me. You have fundamentally contributed to my completion of the Master's degree programme and have stood by my side without fail. Words do not do justice as to how grateful I am for having you as my supervisor.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the Programme staff of Governance and Political Transformation at the University of the Free State.

Thank you to my loving parents, brother, sister and husband for your unconditional love, support and encouragement that never fails. To my close friends and roommate, thank you for your motivation, prayers and love that you showered on me throughout this journey.

I would like to extend my thanks to everyone else who has contributed to my work and supported me.

ACRONYMS

AFDB	-	African Development Bank
AGF	-	Africa Governance Forum
AGI	-	Africa Governance Inventory
ANC	-	African National Congress
APRM	-	African Peer Review Mechanism
APSA	-	African Peace and Security Architecture
AU	-	African Union
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOSOCC	-	Economic, Social and Cultural Council
GCO	-	Global Coalition for Africa
IIAG	-	Ibrahim Index for African Governance
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
NEPAD	-	New Economic Partnership for Africa Development
NGOs	-	Non Governmental Organizations
NPOs	-	Non Profit Organizations
OAU	-	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
SA	-	South Africa
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
SAIIA	-	South African Institute of International Affairs
UCM	-	Unobserved Components Methodology
UK	-	United Kingdom

UN	-	United Nations
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCAP	-	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
US	-	United States
USAID	-	United States Agency for International Development
WB	-	World bank
WGI	-	World Governance Indicators
WHO	-	World Health Organization
WTO	-	World Trade organization
ZANU-PF	-	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction and Motivation

Good governance is becoming a key topic for discussion globally. Governance has different meanings for different people; for example, Heywood wrote that governance refers to “the various ways through which social life is coordinated” (2007: 6). This suggests that governance is a loaded word that goes beyond government itself. Governance exists in all aspects of life, whether in society, work or school. Take for example international politics; there is no specific form of government, yet governance exists. Heywood (*ibid.*) goes further by stating, “While some associate governance with a shift away from command and control mechanisms to a reliance on consultation and bargaining; others argue that it implies a preference for ‘less government’ and the free market”. Therefore, governance does not mean that a government has to exist for it to exist; instead, government is regarded as one of the institutions involved in governance. Governance structures are put in place to manage the affairs of government.

Many elements of a good government have become an important part of good governance itself. According to the World Bank, “Good governance is epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs” (National Party, n.d.: 1). The main elements of good governance are transparency, rule of law, public participation, accountability, responsiveness, inclusiveness, and consensus. These elements are discussed in Chapter 2, where the concept of good governance is unpacked further to provide clarity on what each element entails. The former Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN), Kofi Annan, stated the following: “Good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development” (Gisselquist, 2012: n.p.). As a world organisation, the UN recognises the value of good governance on an international scale. The practice of good governance on the African continent (as anywhere else) is therefore expected from international actors, in order to end poverty and improve development. Foreign investment is attracted by factors such as good governance relating to human rights implementation and democratic societies, private ownership and free trade (Nyerere,

1998: 4-6). Thus, the message is that a country needs to have certain attributes to attract foreign investment and the elements of good governance need to be present. Nyerere (1998: 5) argues that this is a tool of neo-colonialism, meaning that colonised countries are still dependent on those countries that did the colonising for further development. However, when looking at the implications of not receiving foreign aid, the African continent is in dire need of this. On the one hand, Nyerere's argument has a factual basis considering that countries strive to be independent. When foreign aid is sought from the former colonisers, it contradicts independence. On the other hand, independence for a developing country does not necessarily mean that it is isolated from the global market, which is crucial in the functioning of any country.

The African continent is perceived as lacking good governance practices by Western countries (Thomson, 2011:7). This affects the African economy negatively and creates political instability on the continent. Good governance on the continent is of great importance in order to attract foreign investment and to improve key factors, such as poverty alleviation and policy implementation (Chigbu, 2007: 7), which will result in an improvement in economic growth and development overall.

The need for investigation of good governance in Africa goes beyond evaluating its practice. An investigation of good governance will also identify the weaknesses of governance on the continent and ways of addressing them. Each country on the African continent has its own challenges, and knowing where these challenges lie within good governance will create an awareness of finding ways of dealing with the current issues. Good governance principles can provide the African continent with a framework for what requires more emphasis. It is important to understand why certain countries on the African continent lack good governance and which methods they see as fit, rather than good, governance. In order to change the governing system, one should first be familiar with how it operates.

Firstly, the key elements of good governance need to be addressed, discussed and understood in order to move into the implementation of these elements. African countries normally have good policies to fight corruption, poverty and other challenging issues; however, the implementation has served to be one of its greatest weaknesses. Therefore, there is a need to investigate why there is such a glaring lack of implementation, and how to address the issue at hand. When one understands the

underlying elements of creating a good governance environment, then one can focus on implementing good governance.

Countries that were selected for the case studies in Chapter 4, were chosen specifically due to their ranking on the Mo Ibrahim Index which measures governance in Africa. These four countries were also selected as a result of the attention they have received globally for various reasons.

Below is a brief conceptualisation of each element of good governance. These elements will be described in further detail as part of Chapter 2.

1.1.1 Key elements of good governance:

- **Accountability is described as** “the ability to account for the allocation, use and control” (Agere, 2000: 7). In other words, it is the ability to take responsibility for how funds and budgets are drawn up. Accountability is an important factor because the organs of state that decide on what has to be allocated where are expected to accept the responsibility that comes with the decisions made.
- **Public participation is defined as** “the empowerment of citizens, including women, and addressing the interplay between the broad range of civil societies, actors and actions” (Agere, 2000: 9). This means that the public’s participation should be encouraged as governing refers to doing what is right for society and serving the needs of society. Public participation is an important element and should not be overlooked. Zimbabwe is a good example of a country that has taken this right away from citizens, as the public can no longer exercise this right freely (*Sunday Times*, 29 July 2012: n.p.).
- **Transparency** “means that information should be provided in easily understandable forms and media; that it should be freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by governance policies and practices” (Governance Pro, 2010: n.p.). Hence, the public should have access to government information, as the government is there to serve the people. It is important that the public has access to information as a democratic government suggests that the public’s interests are put first. There should be not be a sense of secrecy when it comes to government information.

- **Rule of law:** The United Nations Development Plan (Schlosser, 2004: 90) states, “Laws, regulations and codes of conduct should be fair and enforced impartially, particularly the laws on human rights”. The focus is on human rights, which stands for all of humanity and not only a select group. Besides the fact that these laws are in favour of society, the enforcement and implementation should be just and fair. Laws should serve everyone and everyone should be governed under the same rules and regulations. There should not be any sense of unfairness or that people feel that the laws only serve a certain group. The rule of law should be a fixed firm foundation that stands for all of society, whether rich, poor, young or old.
- **Responsiveness:** The Higher Education Commission states that responsiveness refers to “the requirement that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe” (Khan, n.d.: 3). Governance also means responding within a given timeframe to pressing issues. It can be considered poor governance when an issue is put forward and the correct institutions do not suggest a way forward, or do not react to the situation. It is obvious that an issue cannot be solved overnight; however, there should be turnaround times in which the institutions should have come up with a solution to the issue at hand, or should have determined a way to address it. A lack of response when needed one indicates a weak institution, which cannot react soon enough or does not have the ability to ensure that correct procedures are implemented to solve the issue.
- **Equitable and inclusive:** Khan (n.d.: 10) states, “A society’s well-being depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel that they have been excluded from the mainstream of the society”. The word equitable on its own gives an indication that something is fair and just. Everyone should receive a fair chance, despite his or her gender, race, religion, etc. In order to create a society where people are for the government, the government should be able to include every individual and make everyone feel a sense of belonging, regardless of how they appear on the outside.
- **Consensus-orientated:** According to Schlosser (2004: 91), “Good governance mediates differing interests to reach a broad consensus on what is in the best interest of the group and, where possible, on policies and procedures”. This

relates to the main meaning of consensus itself, whereby differing opinions need to be taken into consideration and rather be brought together to reach an understanding that fits all. Consensus thus refers to achieving an agreement that will be fit for all and that will address the issues presented in future. It is important to take into consideration what others' opinions are, as this could help to formulate a better decision.

- **Efficiency and effectiveness:** “Processes and institutions produce results that meet needs while making the best use of resources” (Schlosser: 2004: 92). This should ensure that what needs to be done should be done by utilising resources efficiently and effectively. It is important not to waste natural resources, but instead utilise them as best as possible. Efficiency and effectiveness go hand-in-hand, as the former refers to ensuring that time management is met; while the latter refers to time management being met correctly, by using the least resources to perform optimally.

The above-mentioned elements serve as the basis for good governance and should be used as a guideline when practising good governance. These elements might not be new, but what is lacking is the implementation of these elements. Throughout the study, these elements will be referred to, and as part of the evaluation tools, they will be used as a guide. Moreover, measuring organisations make use of these elements to determine how the implementation of governance is taking place. Examples of the measuring organisations referred to are the African Peer Review Mechanism, Mo Ibrahim Index etc.

New discoveries abound and reasons are given why one should do something, buy something, or belong to a certain group. This forms part of marketing an idea. With governance being a fundamental topic of discussion, scholars keep on finding reasons to convince countries to “get on the bandwagon” of ensuring that good governance is in place. The importance of good governance should however first be established before trying to convince others of its value. According to Essoungou (2010: 3), “Human rights violations have become less common and political parties and civil society organizations are involved in daily debates on policy options” since good governance became the norm in Guinea. Good governance provides the platform for human rights to be effectively practised, and not neglected. It also provides society

with the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the policies that could possibly be implemented, therefore giving them the freedom of choice to decide which policies they prefer. The International Monetary Fund (1997: 4) states, “Good governance is important for all stages of development within a country”. This remains a key aspect for bolstering a country’s economic development and creating a sustainable system for the future. Good governance does not necessarily mean that those in power should follow the same systems as developed nations; instead, one should use what you have and make it work.

According to Fukuyama (2013: 4), China is a good example of a Communist system where good governance elements were practiced, and looking at the development rate of the country, one can say it has succeeded. Fukuyama (2013: 4) further stated that this approach would probably not work elsewhere; therefore, countries should learn to not use the same tactics as other developed nations; instead, they should try to amend the approach to fit the situation of the country in order to ensure success. All nations differ and it is those differences that characterise a country; thus, making it important to note these differences during the process of decision-making. Developed nations and world organisations reiterate that good governance is important, as it provides excellent returns, like political stability, economic development, and good human rights practices. One cannot ignore the benefits of good governance; instead, the issue is to find a way to implement good governance so that it works for a specific country.

Good governance is described as central to all successes, whether in the public sector or private sector. The private sector contributes largely to the economic status of a country. This is the main reason why companies are encouraged to act more socially responsible and practice good corporate governance. The importance of good governance for both the state, as well as the public, cannot be underestimated. Hughes (2013: n.p.) states, “It supports senior leaders in local government in making the best decisions, reduces the likelihood of things going wrong and protects them when problems do occur”. Good governance therefore results in better decisions being made, not only for the few that benefit from it, but for the larger society, as government is there to serve the people. It also provides a shield for the leaders in government as they can state that they abided by the rules and made the best decisions they could.

1.2 Problem statement

The benefits of good governance are obvious, but there is room for improvement in African countries' economic growth and development. There is a need to investigate how to get a nation to invest in this aspect, ensuring a transformation process of implementation.

Concepts such as democracy and legitimacy are related to governance, and will therefore form part of the discussion. In Chapter 2, more application and understanding of each concept of governance will be provided.

1.2.1 Democracy, human rights and the rule of law

South Africa is 23 years into a democratic system; however, democracy has not served all of society yet. The main aim of democracy is far more than having the right to vote. According to Aderinwale and Moshale (1991: 3), "Democracy in Africa, as elsewhere, must derive from a constitutional structure which guarantees fundamental freedom and rights and serves as the only basis of governance in a state of law". This ensures that no one is ever above the constitution; this, in turn, secures the rights of all citizens. However, the dilemma today is that political leaders have manipulated the constitution in order to put their interests first.

The meaning of democracy derives from the Ancient Greeks, and means, "rule by the people" (Heywood, 2007: 72). However, Heywood (2007: 72) acknowledges that this does not provide enough understanding or a clear fixed meaning. The word democracy can relate to many different ideas, and just like good governance, democracy is interpreted differently by different individuals. By referring to the complexity of democracy as a theory, many theorists dispute the aspect of power abuses in government (Terchek and Conte, 2001: 9). This relates to the issue that theorists do not agree on what democracy truly means. This is a complex, but normal, issue as different views can be justified and understood, although it becomes problematic when a decision has to be made. However, the extent to how far a country implements democracy is merely dependent on the history of that country, and how good its democratic foundation was laid. The African continent does not lack knowledge on the subject of democracy, but merely the implementation and the understanding of how important democracy is to the continent. Nyerere (1998: 3)

stated the following: “An essential ingredient in democracy is that it is based on the equality of all the people within a nation's boundary and that all the laws of the land apply to all adults without exception”. This is true, yet it hardly applies on the African continent, as leaders tend to manipulate the law to suit themselves.

The manipulation of the elections in Sudan in 2010 was a clear indication of denying the people of Sudan their democratic right to choose a government of their own choice (Young, 2012:135). Democracy is lacking, not because the concept is misunderstood, but rather because those who should be implementing it, only do so to the extent where they can benefit from it. Sudan is a good example of the lack of effective democracy measures; however, most, if not all, of the African continent to some extent suffers from this. Therefore, it is important to examine why good governance is lacking in many parts of Africa.

There is no denying that democracy goes hand-in-hand with good governance practices (although some may dispute this); however, if the foundations are neglected then it results in a total lack of the true meaning of a democratic system. The reason for the African continent lacking democracy can be found in the historical context of colonialism and slavery; due to this, immense social damage was inflicted, which will take long to heal. This is why the African continent also battles with the effective implementation of democracy, as dealing with all-consuming issues like poverty and unemployment take up immense amounts of time, money and energy. Aderinwale and Moshu (1991: 7) mentioned that these “disabilities cannot exist side by side with democracy”. Therefore, in order to ensure that democracy is implemented effectively, one should start by addressing the ills of the past.

Human rights has an integral role to play in a democratic society, and with good governance practices, this role is enhanced. On the African continent, the fight for human rights has been a long and hard one – in other words, the battle for equal rights for every individual, despite their race, culture, religion or gender. The right to participate in an election can be described as one of the key outcomes of a democratic society that practices good governance. However, when there is a lack of good government practices, it means that there might also be a lack of fair and equal human rights practices. It has been said that “[t]he struggle for liberation was never just for

state power and the guarantee of sovereignty, but first and foremost about restoring human dignity” (Akokpari and Zimbler, 2008: 91). Human dignity relates to all human beings having equal rights, as stated in South Africa’s Bill of Rights. According to Nelson Mandela, “I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination” (Akokpari and Zimbler, 2008: 135). Those who persevered through the struggle for freedom did so with the intention that one day every person will be able to practice their human rights. Instead, what happened in many African countries after independence was the result of quasi democracy. Although human rights is included in most countries’ constitutions, it does not mean that it is practiced.

Human rights also refer to equality and fairness; however, this is not always the case. Most African countries’ bureaucratic system are not always fair as those in positions of power are not necessarily qualified for these positions, yet they are placed in them due to connections within government or because of family relations. According to Fukuyama (2013: 10), "To say that a bureaucrat is selected on the basis of ‘merit’ does not define merit, nor does it explain whether the official's skills will be renewed in light of changing conditions or technology”. With that being said, one can say that a lack of the required skills can also be one of the reasons for the absence of good governance, as not having the right people in power makes it harder to make good decisions and find solutions for the challenges faced. This therefore also has a negative effect on the implementation of human rights. Human rights and democracy are linked; therefore, if one is lacking it could result in a deficit in the other. Take for example South Africa. Due to corruption and nepotism, some skilled South Africans are unemployed and those in positions of power do not have the ability to make sound decisions for the country (Pillay, 2004: 5). This, in turn, has made South Africans lose trust in the government and has created political instability in the country.

The rule of law is an important element in good governance, as it has to do with implementing a country’s rules and regulations fairly and in a just manner for all citizens. According to Neda (2013: 211), “The framework of the rule of law serves as the foundation for a democratic society”. Therefore, implementing the rule of law effectively could in turn not only mean enhancing good governance, but also enhance the democracy of the country. The rule of law can be viewed as a cornerstone, the other aspects being the public sector, education, and crucial issues such as

eradicating poverty (Neda, 2013: 211). The rule of law should be valued equally all over the world, whether it is a developed or developing country, as developing countries should work at achieving the effective implementation of the rule of law to improve their political stability and economy. Sadly, the UN Security Council has had little success in achieving the aforementioned message as developing countries rather view the importance of the rule of law as a Western initiative (Hurwitz, n.d.: 1). This is one of the main reasons why African countries lack good governance, as they view it as a Western way of thinking. This is a misunderstanding because good governance is a universal requirement that applies to every country to ensure development.

All the issues that lead to a democratic society losing its core values are surrounded by the lack of good governance practices. The African continent lacks a democratic character because there is a lack of good governance practices. When one looks at the lack of good governance then one needs to identify where good governance does not exist on the African continent, and what the possible reasons could be. This study makes reference to the reasons for poor governance as perceived by citizens in the four countries analysed.

The next part of this chapter is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, where a case study will be presented for each of the four countries analysed.

1.3 Examples of African countries lacking good governance

1.3.1 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe became independent in 1980. Since then, Zanu-PF has been in power (Olaleye, 2004: 2). According to Olaleye (*ibid.*), “Democratic governance in Zimbabwe would be impossible in the absence of competitive political parties. However, the contribution of parties to democratic development remains somewhat unqualified in practice”. This statement indicates that democratic governance is non-existent in Zimbabwe. This makes it a dictatorship, where one party has complete authority; this thus implies bad governance practices.

Elements of good governance also appear to be absent in the governing processes of the country; for example, public participation does not inform public policies (Sachikonye, 2007: 67). This indicates that there is no consultation with the public on the policies developed, creating a gap between what policies are developed for and what the needs of the citizens are. “A combination of repressive legislation and government’s heavy handedness in dealing with dissenting voices has been inimical to citizens’ abilities to express themselves freely” (Sachikonye, 2007: 68). This indicates another factor that contributes to poor governance in Zimbabwe. The issue is that citizens are robbed of their right of freedom of expression, which is substantiated by legislation. Zimbabwe’s weak economy and regression in development is suggested to be caused by the practice of poor governance

1.3.2 Nigeria

Nigeria is a country blessed with an abundance of natural resources. According to Burleigh (2013: n.p.), Nigeria sits “on enough crude oil reserves to fuel the entire world for more than a year and seemingly manage to pay legislators the highest salaries in the world”. Thus, Nigeria does not lack resources for growth or is not in need of financial aid; the main challenge points to the skills of its leaders. Corruption has become a norm in the country and only those in power benefit financially as their only interest is personal enrichment. Dike (2007: n.p.) describes Nigeria’s leaders as “bad parents that have failed in their responsibility to lead by good example”. This means that either those in power are not aware of what their responsibilities are, or they do not know how to execute them effectively to benefit the public. Dike (2007: n.p.) goes further to state that most of “the political leaders of Nigeria lack the vision, the passion, and the character to effectively govern the state and deal with the crumbling economy”. Hence, the public suffers and those in power live the good life. The lack of vision and character within leadership makes it impossible for them to lead effectively. Another reason for the extreme crisis in Nigeria is highlighted as the “appointment into public service is based on ascription rather than merit” (Abdullahi, 2012: 37). This means that those appointed for public service are appointed through nepotism and to enrich themselves and their “patronage network, rather than deliver a service to the overall Nigerian polity” (Abdullahi, 2012: 37). The result of this once again is that the public

suffers and only those in power benefit. The lack of good governance is a serious issue in Nigeria and needs to be addressed in order to change things for the better.

1.4 Examples of African countries progressing in good governance

1.4.1 South Africa

South Africa is a country filled with natural resources and known for its diversity. It has however faced many challenges, and overcome many of them - from the discriminatory system of apartheid to a democratic country where all individuals are equal at least according to the Constitution of South Africa. The current South African government faces serious issues relating to corruption. Despite this, the country has grown nationally and internationally and hopefully will continue to grow by implementing better governing structures.

For any government to be successful it needs a good foundation. One of South Africa's main tools for promoting good governance is the Constitution of 1996, which also addresses the issue of corruption (Pillay, 2004: 591). This is a solid foundation for South Africa and promotes good governance strategies; however, without sound implementation, the Constitution means nothing.

According to Pillay (2004:591), the Batho Pele policy introduced in 1997 also serves as a good mechanism for good governance in South Africa. The policy states the "government's intention to adopt a citizen-oriented approach to service delivery", and should be used as a measure to see whether government is living up to its promises.

Good governance has become essential not only for countries, but for organisations as well. According to the Department of Social Development (2009: 26), "Good governance theories and practices are becoming increasingly necessary for the development, legitimacy and sustainability of NPOs in any country". This means that NPOs strive to achieve good governance, and that the issue of good governance is a global one. NPOs address issues that hinder progress in countries; therefore, good governance practices form part of the mission and vision of such organisations.

South Africa has faced several challenges regarding good governance in recent times; this is evident in the increasing number of service delivery protests countrywide. One cannot ignore the fact that the country has improved immensely compared to what it used to be; however, this does not mean that leaders should relax and only satisfy their own needs. There is much to be done; poverty, corruption and crime are still present, and while they remain, the government should not stop working for a better future.

1.4.2 Botswana

Botswana is another African country that has made progress in good governance. One of the reasons for this is the constant leadership that has maintained the standards of good governance, especially elements like transparency, and the understanding of government having to serve the people and promote development (Lewin, n.d.: 82). This foundation makes it easier for leadership to stay on track with their actions. However, if there is no understanding of what government ought to do, then the citizens are the ones who suffer. Botswana invested its time in building a solid foundation for its government and because of the common understanding and goal of leading the country towards political stability and economic growth, made it an achievable task. Although the country is progressing in good governance, this does not mean that there are not areas for improvement; however, there has been economic growth. The government faced many challenges, especially regarding leadership, considering the temptations of using one's political power for personal growth in a democracy (Lee, 2011: n.p.). This is an issue found worldwide, facing every country and every organisation.

One of Botswana's tactics for implementing good governance was the actual implementation of good policies, which in turn provided the country with growth, a low inflation rate and financial savings (Lewin, n.d.: 85). The policies that were implemented ended up producing greater results. In contrast to Botswana, many African countries do not experience these gains because of the lack of policy implementation. Thus, these countries' development regresses, instead of moving

forward. Botswana adopted a good point of departure, which in turn resulted in positive results for the economy and political stability. Botswana is a good example of a growing country, which is steadily improving, and going from strength to strength.

1.5 Measuring good governance

Norris (2011: 181) states that there are three ways for evaluating good governance and democracy, namely validity, reliability and legitimacy. The actions of leadership should be valid and necessary, they should be reliable and dependable, and they should be legitimate, which makes them just and fair. When something is legitimate, it makes it acceptable and credible; therefore, the public will support it (Concidine and Afzal, 2011: 370). This is important, especially as government information should be available to the public, so that they are able to approve of the actions and decisions taken by the government in order to make it a legitimate government. A democratic country is mainly characterised by the fact that the public has access to information and that it plays a role in the decisions made; therefore, a legitimate government would be one that involves the public and requests the approval of the public, when needed.

Denters (2011: 315) states that a democratic society would, in turn, provide “policymakers with extensive information that makes it easier to better gear local policies and services to the preferences of citizens”. Leadership sometimes view public participation as a threat when, in fact, they should see it as an opportunity to involve the public and identify what the needs of the public really are. Leaders, whose intentions are to provide a service to the public, will involve the public as much as possible and encourage participation. This should be seen as an important way of becoming familiar with the views of society and then educating society in turn regarding the operations and decision-making processes of the government system.

1.6 The aim of the study

The aim of the study is to analyse and evaluate the status of good governance in Africa as a continent in order to understand it. The African continent has been characterised

as one that lacks good governance; therefore, it has become of even more relevance and importance to evaluate this situation. It is important to understand why there is a lack of good governance; then, one can look at addressing the situation. The following objectives are set for the investigation:

- I. The first point of departure will be to provide a theoretical perspective for the study in order to use it as a foundation for understanding the concept and gaining more knowledge on the concept. The theoretical understanding will incorporate different views that all draw to the conclusion of what defines and describes good governance worldwide. The elements of good governance will also be identified and discussed in depth.
- II. An analysis will be done on the international contributions to good governance and what is seen in practice as important to good governance. Organisations such as the African Union, the United Nations, the African Peer Review Mechanism, and the Mo Ibrahim Index will come under the spotlight.
- III. Two countries will be identified where good governance is lacking on the African continent. This will include extensive information regarding the reasons for the lack of good governance and the possibilities for future practices of good governance in these countries. Moreover, the focus will be on how the lack of good governance affects the economy and political status of these countries, and what the results are of the lack of good governance.
- IV. Two countries will be identified where good governance is progressing. The ways in which these countries are progressing and the measures used to determine this progression will also be discussed. A determination will be made on how the implementation of good governance has improved the economic and political status of the countries and what the reason for the change of attitude was.
- V. The measures for assessing good governance will be identified with the purpose of determining criteria for these measurements. The criteria will assist in indicating when a country lacks good governance practices and in which areas.
- VI. The summary and overview will include the conclusion of the findings. Recommendations will be included.

1.7 Methodology

The methodology for collecting information for the research will be by utilising books, the political policies of the relevant countries, journal articles, and other articles by scholars in the field of study. This is a social science study; therefore, the phenomenological tradition will be used, and it will be based on qualitative research. The choice of qualitative research is because the topic relates to studying the behaviour of the human mind, and how the mind operates. In addition, case studies will be done on four African countries - South Africa, Botswana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe. This will offer an understanding of their status regarding good governance implementation. The reason for utilising case studies is to make a comparison between good and bad governance; the case studies will also provide results as to what happens when there is a lack of good governance. Comparative methods also help to identify fixed patterns or results; this in turn can provide solutions to certain common challenges faced in Africa (Callan and Harrison, 2013: 17). Theories on good governance and democracy will be used in order to find a point of departure for the study. These theories can provide critical analysis on the subject matter of good governance in democratic countries.

The approach for evaluating the information will be rational and objective, providing clear and impartial research (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 10). Therefore, the study will not be subjective or biased, but instead focus on all aspects of good governance on the African continent, as well as the opposite, relating to bad governance. Moreover, comparisons will be made as to how governments operate and the political dynamics that come with governance. Hague and Harrop (2004: 6) state, "Governance refers to what governments do and how well they do it". The issue of governance will be unpacked to reflect on how good or bad a government is implementing governance.

As mentioned, the research will be qualitative, of which the primary goal is "describing and understanding, rather than explaining human behaviour" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 270). This method of research will be applied, as the aim of the study is to rather understand the challenges of implementing good governance, instead of explaining what is occurring.

1.8 Design layout

The investigation will be divided into six chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This includes the motivation for the study, the problem statement, the aim and objectives, the research method used, and the design layout.

Chapter 2: The theoretical perspective

This chapter will include the various theories of governance, and theories of other relating concepts, like participation, democracy and legitimacy. It will include a core discussion on the elements of good governance, namely, accountability, rule of law, effectiveness, transparency, responsiveness, and consensus-orientated. In addition, the criteria will be discussed against which good governance will be measured.

Chapter 3: International perspective on good governance

This chapter will identify different organisations and their views on good governance and the implementation of it. The organisations will include the African Union, the United Nations, the African Peer Review Mechanism, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.

Chapter 4: Successes and failures of good governance in Africa

Two countries will be identified that have progressed with the implementation of good governance. In addition, they will be discussed and evaluated regarding the areas they are succeeding in. Two other countries will be identified that are lacking in the implementation of good governance. They will also be evaluated as to find the reasons for the absence of good governance and to evaluate the consequences for these countries.

Chapter 5: Measurement indicators used for good governance, and evaluation and analysis

This chapter will determine the measurement indicators for good governance. It will also analyse and evaluate the findings regarding the case studies of the different countries. Similarities, challenges, failures and successes will be identified.

Chapter 6: Summary, findings and conclusion

This is the final chapter. It will summarise the findings and offer a brief overview of good governance in Africa. It will also make recommendations as to how to improve governance in those countries that lack good governance.

CHAPTER 2: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON GOVERNANCE

2.1 Introduction

Good governance will be analysed theoretically in this chapter. The theoretical framework will provide a broad foundation of what good governance is defined as globally.

Good governance may differ from country to country or even from one continent to another, and that is what this chapter aims to explore. The saying goes, “Different strokes for different folks”, which also applies to good governance. Asian countries have a different view on good governance; however, their way may work for them and not for another country. That is the power of different views, methods and processes. The aim may stay constant, but the method can differ. That is why there is a need to understand the different concepts of good governance first because each concept has its unique method of working within a certain jurisdiction. In a world where information is limitless, there are many theories on how to do something; it is crucial to understand the basis of such thinking before criticising the method.

The theoretical framework of good governance will expand on the concepts that are related to it, and how these concepts manifest and enhance it. Concepts like democracy, Pluralism, governance, and the elements of good governance will be unpacked and the relationship between the concept and governance will be identified.

The first part of this chapter will define governance in its broadest sense, and the elements of good governance. Then, the relation of governance to concepts such as Pluralism, Marxism, Liberalism, democracy and legitimacy will be explained.

2.2 Defining governance

Governance has become such a common word, yet it remains a loaded term worldwide due to its complexities and the misunderstandings related to it. Although governance may be related to different concepts, the ultimate result of governance has remained the same, and that is for good management approaches to be implemented ensuring the successful functioning of an organisation, entity or government. The World Bank describes good governance as being “epitomized by predictable, open and enlightened policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with a

professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs” (National Party, n.d.: 1). This description is detailed, and gives a clear indication of what good governance entails.

In the past, governance was understood as relating directly to government, where political leaders exercised their powers. However, during the 1980s governance re-emerged with a new meaning (Kjaer, 2004: 1). Government may be identified as one of the crucial role players in public governance today, but this does not mean that it is the only role player.

The study of governance has been around for quite some time now. One of the key identifications of governance was made when Gerry Stoker wrote a paper on governance as theory. According to Gerry Stoker (1998: 19) governance is “a complex set of institutions and actors that are drawn from but also beyond government”. This perspective of governance forms part of various service delivery agencies, including the private and voluntary sectors, and the responsibility of implementing governance now falls beyond just being the government’s responsibility. Given the above observation made by Stoker in 1998, today governance involves different types of actors, and the implementation of governance does not solely lie with government. Thus, one can say Stoker was accurate when making this observation.

According to Heywood (2007:06), governance refers “to the various ways through which social life is coordinated... the term reflects a blurring of the state/society distinction, resulting from changes such as the development of new forms of public management, the growth of public-private partnerships”. The repetitiveness of the development of governance is seen throughout studies on the subject matter. Governance has become broader than what was anticipated. The King Code III, known as a crucial document for governance in South Africa, makes mention of an important factor of governance when it states, “Good governance is not something that exists separately from the law and it is entirely inappropriate to unhinge governance from the law” (Institute of Directors in Southern Africa, 2009: 6). The statement specifically refers to certain laws that actually enforce good governance practices, whether in the private or public sector. Compliance and governance have since become interlinked.

Kjaer states the following: “Governance refers to self-organising, inter-organisational networks characterised by interdependence, resource-exchange, rules of the game, and significant autonomy from the state” (2004: 7). This definition was broadly based on the functioning of local government, independent of national government. This identifies the flaws in the interpretation of governance. With public policy, governance is described more in regards to the domestic terms of a country; however, the importance of government in the decision-making process cannot be ignored. The definition above may only describe a small portion of governance, which does not provide justification for the greater significance of governance on a global scale. According to Kjaer (2004: 3), “Global governance is conceived to include systems of rule at all levels of human activity in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions”. Politics has always involved a power struggle, and that is precisely what is suggested in the aforementioned statement. A lack of good governance is likely to occur given that any state would first try to optimise a situation, which would be beneficial to the state, before it seeks to provide a helping hand to another state.

Organisations like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) are independent organisations that provide for the regulatory guidance and assurance of good governance practices of the global economy among all the countries interacting with one another (Heywood, 2007: 157). The World Bank has dedicated itself to improving global governance by “embedding governance dimensions into global programs” (The World Bank Groups, 2012: 2). The World Bank deals with countries, organisations and financial institutions at a global level; therefore, its practices tend to affect a large number of actors. With the World Bank dedicating itself to the improvement of good governance, different types of actors will be obligated to abide by certain governance principles, in turn resulting in the implementation of good governance.

The African Development Bank (AFDB) defines governance as “a process referring to the way in which power is exercised in the management affairs of a nation” (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 1999: 5). Another study by the United Nations Development Programme undertaken by Rachel Gisselquist (2012: 3) identifies three common elements to definitions provided by various organisations, indicating the minimal understanding of governance, as “(1) the process through which

(2) power or authority is exercised (3) to manage the collective affairs of a community (country, society or a nation)". These three elements are found across several other definitions and the above observation will be accepted by this study as the common elements used to describe governance. The concept of governance has however been defined in various forms, giving an indication of how complex and abstract the concept is. The elements of the definition of governance identified above provide a form of "safety" for defining governance.

When referring to governance, it generally creates the impression of it being good governance; however, bad governance also exists. Theorists and multilaterals have managed to identify a selected number of good governance characteristics and/or elements that enhance governance and provide for the healthy practice of governance. The next section of this chapter will highlight these characteristics and provide a synopsis of each characteristic/element.

2.2.1 Elements of good governance

The United Nations Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific refers to eight elements and/or characteristics of good governance, namely, participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable, inclusive, and the rule of law (Gisselquist, 2012: 11). Each of the elements are elaborated on below.

Rule of law:

The first good governance principle to be addressed is the rule of law. The meaning of this principle is "fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially" (Sheng, 2009: 2). The rule of law may be seen as the first basic step in ensuring that citizens' rights are protected. The impartiality of an independent judiciary system is crucial for the fairness of governance (Sheng, 2009: 2). Take for example safety and security. This is an integral role of a government to ensure that all citizens are protected; the rule of law provides for the understanding of the concept. The rule of law also functions as an assurance mechanism to society that the legislature should be accountable for its actions (Chirwa and Nijzink, 2012: 6). The rule of law forms the cornerstone of what the state will do when governing society. It helps the public to understand the responsibility of government, as well as what the governing laws for society, is. The

constitution of a country can be viewed as the basis for the rule of law, as it distinguishes the rights of the state versus those of the individual. However, just because a state has a constitution, does not imply that the state implements the rule of law (Khartoum, 2006: 17). It however, eases the public's mind knowing that the state can be held accountable for failure of implementation of the rule of law. If the rule of law lacks application, but exists in a state, then it may be regarded as bad governance. The importance of the rule of law is therefore to give governance a foundation of the laws and regulations that bind the government to serve society. Governance cannot exist without compliance; the rule of law provides the compliance requirement for the implementation of governance.

Transparency:

Transparency can be defined as meaning that “decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decision and their enforcement” (Sheng, 2009: 2). The principle of transparency and the rule of law are interlinked in the sense that the rule of law provides the foundation of how transparency will be implemented. These two elements follow on one another; the rule of law provides a guideline on the implementation of transparency. A transparent government readily provides information to the public, which displays confidence and accountability to a nation. The importance of transparency in governance is that it is a sign of openness. It is the reflection of the actions taken in order to reveal the decisions to those being governed.

Wouters and Ryngaert (2004: 33) wrote that the United Nations requested that the WTO enhance its transparency by proposing “open meetings of all substantive panels”. Since then, international organisations have improved the enforcement of transparency and governance. This statement is to acknowledge how transparency has been evolving and is required by international organisations, giving an indication of the vitality of the matter. Glancing at what has been said about transparency, one can already identify the lack of its implementation by several states. However, Wouters and Ryngaert (2004: 35) state the following: “A fair observer should not turn a blind eye to the efforts towards participatory and transparent governance”. They (*ibid.*) conclude that although the progress of transparency and governance has been slow

in general, it should still be recognised. International organisations have in turn started establishing key requirements to improve the implementation of governance principles by member states. Take, for example, the International Monetary Fund that emphasises the importance of good governance within economic success: “The International Monetary Fund encourages member countries to improve accountability by enhancing transparency in the disclosure of documents, in line with its transparency policy” (International Monetary Fund, 2015: 2). This is just one requirement of many, such as the standards of transparency and a code of transparency principles, which the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other organisations established for the improvement of the principle of transparency (International Monetary Fund, 2015: 2). These international organisations have started grasping the concepts relating to good governance, which then creates these principles and requirements. It also then forces member countries to comply with certain good governance principles, which then improves the member countries’ good governance practices. The importance of the right to information is not only limited to international bodies. International financial institutions as well as regional bodies should be more open and make information more readily available for the same reasons indicated for international bodies and states (Banisar, 2015: 26). Transparency is required by all organisations and states because of the requirement of allowing access to information that is critical for societies, nations and members of organisations.

Accountability:

Danwood and Nijzink (2012: 5) suggest that the definition of accountability relates to three major elements. Firstly, “it denotes the responsibility of the power holder to answer for the exercise of his or her powers. Secondly, accountability requires public authorities to act in a manner that responds adequately to the needs and expectations of the public. Third, accountability entails the imposition of some form of sanction if the power holder fails to answer for the exercise of his or her powers or if he or she is unresponsive in the manner described above” (Danwood and Nijzink, 2012: 5). The first element relates to the power holder being transparent in his/her actions and being able to explain the reasons for taking decisions by justifying them accurately. The second element refers to how the power holder should act in an acceptable manner towards the public, relating to the application of the rule of law and the power holder’s responds to the public when using its power. The last element relates to how the power

holder can be held accountable for his/her actions if the actions are not in line with the regulations and laws, by using some form of sanction as a discipline mechanism.

According to Sheng (2009: 3), "Accountability is a key requirement, not only to governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organisations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders". Accountability has also been identified as a crucial element. It is described as "focusing on the ability to account for the allocation, use and control of public assets in accordance with legally accepted standards" (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 1999: 5). The above explanations of what accountability refers to provide the foundation, like all the other principles mentioned before, that accountability is required by any organisation and state. There is no limitation to the implementation of accountability to a certain group of people. Sheng (2009: 3) further states that accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law. Every individual is already accountable for their own actions, so in essence every organisation and state should be held accountable for their decisions. The measurement of accountability can however only be done if transparency and the rule of law are enforced because these two elements provide for the availability of information to measure accountability, as well as the laws that are required for compliance. Financial accountability is one of the most essential elements because someone should be held accountable for the spending of public funds or an organisation's funds; this should not be overlooked for any organisation or state (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 1999: 3).

This principle reflects and relates to several other principles within good governance, like responsiveness and transparency. Although the principles seem to relate to one another in certain ways, it is important to understand what each principle separately means and what is required for that principle's implementation. An observation was made by the African Union says that "many public office-holders and civil servants are corrupt, inefficient and unaccountable" (Mangu, 2014: 67). This is an indication of the bad governance practices of certain African countries.

Public Participation:

According to Sheng (2009: 2), "Public Participation refers to participation by both men and women as a key cornerstone of good governance". Participation should thus not

be discriminatory in any manner. Good governance in this sense allows the freedom to participate in all forms of politics, whether policy development or decisions that are being made. This, in turn, gives the institution the ability to be informed on how the public views certain situations. The public also gives their input, showing that the institution cares for the people. This principle also relates to the transparency of public officials, as the public has to be informed of decisions taken in order to participate in the public affairs of the state. When good governance is practised, especially principles like public participation, then it “inspires confidence in the public that the best decisions are being taken for the right reasons, that the quality of service is protected and that public money is being wisely spent” (Hughes, 2013: n.p.). When the public is informed and can contribute to government’s services, then it creates a foundation of loyalty for those in power. The International Development Association (1999: 3) states, “Good governance requires that civil society has the opportunity to participate... that directly affected communities and groups should be able to participate in the design and implementation of programmes and projects”. Any government should therefore embrace public participation as it creates the ideal image of inclusiveness and collective decision-making. Sheng (2009:2) states: “It is important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision making”. Therefore, the practice of democracy - majority rules - does not necessarily mean that the needs of the most vulnerable within that society are met. In that sense, just because it appears as if the masses participate in politics, it cannot be concluded that government is providing for the needs of those who suffer the most.

The World Bank speaks about empowerment, referring to “focusing on the good governance principles of democracy: the right to take part in the government through free and regular election” (Wouters and Ryngaert, 2004: 12). Firstly, participating in elections does not necessarily mean that democracy is truly implemented; democracy refers to more than that. In fact, public participation refers to more - the public should be the first priority of the state as it is the public who gives government the power to rule. This may be one of the reasons for the weak application of good governance, where states think that allowing the public to participate in elections essentially covers the application of its democratic practices. This may be one of the major reasons why countries fail to improve their good governance practices overall.

Julia Joiner, the Commissioner for Political Affairs in the African Union Commission, said the following: “Today more Africans live under democratic rule compared to the situation in the early 1980s when only a handful of African countries were considered democratic” (African Union Commission, 2011: 21). The concern with this statement is that African countries, at a glance, still lack good governance despite these countries being democratic states. Can one then truly measure good governance through democracy, if even democracy has its weak links? (This will be elaborated on in the discussion on democracy and governance). However, as indicated above, democracy does not refer to fair and equal public participation or the responsiveness of government to the needs of society. Public participation should be seen as a strategising session with the public to obtain views and create a line of communication and understanding regarding related matters.

Responsiveness:

The concept of responsiveness relating to good governance requires “that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe” (Sheng, 2009: 2). Besides the issue of service delivery, which finds itself a central factor across African states or developing countries, the real monster that needs to be faced is that of responding to the stakeholders. Although governments and institutions are liable for reporting to the public within a reasonable turnaround time this rarely happens. The fact that government structures, especially in developing countries, tend to lack service delivery and responsiveness is already an obstacle for achieving good governance. This problem has however not received much attention, despite its importance. The concept of responsiveness should be investigated further to determine whether it is due to the lack of ability to perform from government’s side, or is it due to the lack of a conducive and accountable environment.

Once a government is responsive and accountable, it “engages the people in the processes of decision and policymaking, implementation, monitoring and evaluation” (United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, 2015: 10). If a government manages to be responsive to the challenges faced by the public, it will be able to align its strategies to addressing its weaknesses and will be informed constantly of the areas that should receive more attention. The responsive element links closely with accountability and public participation, and allows for the involvement of society. The UN says the

following: “Responsiveness and accountability draw attention to the centrality of the social contract between the state and citizens” (United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, 2015: 11). Government is given power by the citizens, firstly, and the citizens provide government with this power in the hope that it will address their challenges. Thus, a government is legally bound to serve the society, according to its best practice. Responsiveness should not be neglected or be undervalued. The practice of this element is the essence of service delivery and the free flow of information.

Effectiveness and efficiency:

Effectiveness and efficiency are concepts that are used on a daily basis, as these terms describe the right skills and abilities to complete a task and the latter refers to the orderliness and productivity of performing a task, and may relate to the time effectiveness of completing the task (Gisselquist, 2012: 23). Both terms relate to one another and work hand-in-hand. A good description of these terms for good governance refers to “producing results that meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal” (Sheng, 2009: 3). The importance of using resources as effectively as possible and producing outcomes in an efficient timeframe for society should be any state’s priority, especially, considering climate change and the lack of resources. Governments should invest in these two elements for the sustainable use of natural resources, and to improve economic growth.

The African Development Bank describes effectiveness and efficiency in public management as a means of “combating corruption” (Gisselquist, 2012: 23). Once a government acts in an efficient and effective manner, it should also eliminate bad governance practices that result in corruption and ineffective management. However, it has been noted by the African Peer Review Mechanism that despite progress being made in good governance on the African continent, “many public office-holders and civil servants are corrupt, inefficient, and unaccountable” (Mangu, 2014: 67). The African continent is still characterised as a continent of bad governance because of certain weaknesses that reflect negatively on the whole continent. Thus, there is a need for a shift in the thinking of governments in Africa because the same patterns seem to be apparent throughout African countries, and the lessons of previous failures appear to be ignored.

Consensus-orientated:

According to Sheng (2009: 3), “Good governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved”. A consensus-orientated government will therefore be one that allows for public participation and draws from that which is the general agreement amongst society. Being consensus-orientated will benefit a government because it gives the citizens a chance to voice their opinions and for the government to deliver services accordingly. Due to the nature of being consensus-orientated, a government could experience delays in the implementation of specific projects because of the time mediation consumes. However, the views of the public are essential to determine a country’s long-term goals because it can give an indication of what needs to be done and how. Consensus-orientated governance refers to taking decisions in which all stakeholders reach common agreement or understanding on the subject matter (Zafar, 2014: 22). The lack of practicing consensus indicates a weakness in governance because agreement and mediation are central to any organisation or government’s decision-making process.

Another element that needs to be considered is how social media has completely changed the platform of interacting, and governments and organisations are now being forced to account because of social media (Zafar, 2014: 23). “Participation, transparency, responsiveness and the consensus-oriented characteristics of good governance could not be as possible as with the use of social media” (Zafar, 2014: 23). Social media has given citizens the power of sharing information across the globe, and discussions that take place on social media platforms include political perspectives and daily conversations. Information is made available immediately, despite one’s location, which supports the thought of the world being a global village. The free flow of information has given the public an opportunity to engage in conversations, and analyse information and the decisions taken; thus, governments and organisations are constantly under the spotlight. Governments and organisations should therefore ensure that they apply good governance when taking decisions as their decisions can and will be discussed worldwide, thanks to social media.

Equity and Inclusiveness:

According to the UN (Sheng, 2009: 3), “A society’s wellbeing depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, have opportunities to improve or maintain their wellbeing”. The equity of a state should be reflected in how it operates; no one should be excluded from decisions that affect the nation. Equity could also be referred to as “all men and women having equal opportunity to maintain or improve their well-being” (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 1999: 6). Equality is so significant on the African continent because the history of the continent is a reflection of inequality.

Equity and inclusiveness are aligned to all the aforementioned principles of good governance, as they intend to eliminate the discrimination that is the result of bad governance. If one looks at the principle of participation, then it becomes more evident why equity and inclusiveness are central in any society. As indicated in the discussion on public participation, representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the most vulnerable people’s needs are being met (Sheng, 2009: 2). That is where equity and inclusiveness step in, as these two elements emphasise the inclusion of everyone in society, and not only the majority.

Good governance reflects on an institution’s response to the people, how decisions are made and carried through. All the above mentioned definitions of governance are relevant and provide influence in the evaluation of good governance. Therefore, it would be foolish to exclude or label any of them as irrelevant or insignificant. The aim of this discussion is not to single out and identify the best appropriate definition of governance, but rather to explore the different elements of governance and to identify the performance of good governance on the African continent. The elements of good governance, as identified above, could be seen as tools for implementing good governance, as well as a method of measuring good governance implementation and effectiveness. The next part of this chapter will explore other concepts and their relation to governance.

2.3 Theoretical perspectives

2.3.1 Pluralism

According to Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009: 35), pluralism refers to “the belief in many ways of life, many approaches to knowledge and many centres of power in society”. The word pluralism describes multiple or numerous in its own origin. This means that this type of theory is more inviting to different views and new ideas in establishing ways to manage different subject matter. This theory also has a normative and explanatory side, namely, that “as a normative theory, pluralism stresses the beneficial consequences of social and cultural diversity of having many different institutions, values, groups and ways of life; the explanatory theory of pluralism shows how policy gets made in interactions across diverse actors and institutions” (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 35). This indicates that the pluralist theory could be appealing to society as it has no boundaries regarding race, gender or age, which is one of the essentials for good governance. When referring to the different institutions and actors involved, it gives this theory an advantage for the democratic state that aims to liberalise society.

Heywood (2007: 93) states, “The neutrality of the state reflects the fact that the state acts in the interest of all citizens, and therefore represents the common good or public interest”. The way the state is portrayed is that of the role of a “referee”, ensuring that no citizen’s rights are encroached on by any other citizen. This may have a positive and negative impact on how society views the role of the state. As for Hay (2006: 21), he states that pluralism can come across as confusing as “there is no agreement on what constitutes pluralism and because pluralism is conceptualized in numerous ways across the fields of political science, international relations and political theory”. Hay may have a point, as the pluralist theory does refer to numerous beliefs, views, values and approaches. As to the role of government regarding the pluralist theory, “Officials and departments do not exercise decisive or autonomous authority in public policy, instead public policy was seen as resultant of the forces applied to government, pulling it in different directions” (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 49). This means that those organisations involved in a specific policy, would all push for their own interests, which leads to a government having a limited amount of interaction and contribution to that

public policy. Although the state and government sector plays an integral role in pluralism, what stands out is the significance of pluralism in governance.

A further analysis of pluralism in global terms refers to experimentalist governance. It is known for “describing practices that operate within a broadly pluralist structure of politics and law consistent with the broad framework of complex interdependence” (Burce, Keohane and Sabel, 2013: 3-4). Experimentalist governance is practiced in the United States, and the above statement refers to a study on how experimentalist governance explains pluralism in depth, especially global pluralism. As indicated at the beginning of the discussion on this topic, the concept of pluralism is often viewed as complex and because it is so broad, it could create confusion. However, politics on a global scale in itself is confusing due to the lack of an overarching constitution. Global pluralism may be presented as a more suitable theory for global governance because it is not limited and does not restrict new ideas and interests (Burce, Keohane and Sabel, 2013: 4).

The pluralist structure of the United States has been described as one that “asserts that the American power structure is made up of many competing elites, not just one” (Manley, 2010: 368). The pluralist theory is therefore broad and complex and has several angles linked to it. Krisch (2009: 2) states that what is happening in global governance is the “pluralist order in which the different parts, of domestic, regional, and global origin are not linked by overarching legal rules, but interact in a largely political fashion”. Pluralism finds its relation to governance in the fact that it is more open to new ideas than any other state theory.

Pluralism was introduced to the African continent as a result of colonialism. Mostert and Bennet (2011: 36) state that the “current understandings of the legally plural land laws of Africa are still structured by a scheme of thought developed in Europe under political influences which were especially powerful in a certain period of history, which was transferred to Africa to meet the requirements of colonial regimes”. Therefore, pluralism is not an African concept, although it has been imprinted on Africa through colonialism. The complexity of the pluralist theory, according to Max Weber and Gerald Gauss, is that “political theorizing in the modern world takes place within a radically new intellectual environment” (Lassman, 2011:19). The modern intellectual has become more complex as to information being more readily available and with the

combination of different theories in different settings; one could find, for example, a pluralist theory with liberal characteristics. What Weber and Gauss tried to put forward through their works is that “there is a generally pessimistic vision of ‘polytheistic pluralism’ that is represented in a strong form... described as the ‘war of the gods’” (Lassman, 2011: 19). This “war of the gods” highlights the idea that the liberalist view of pluralism is not that straightforward, as the subject is more difficult to comprehend than just the reasoning put forward; therefore, one needs to evaluate the radical thinking of the concept of pluralism. The radical thinking makes the concept more complex and therefore liberalism could have trouble with the pluralist way of thinking. However, this is a topic on its own, which this study will not be discussing; instead, it merely emphasises the fact that pluralism may be more complex, as there are no grounding characteristics. Thus, the concept is much larger than viewed through liberal thinking.

The importance of pluralism lies in the fact that the concept is broad and more inviting towards new ways of thinking and new approaches; this is the optimistic view of pluralism. As stated in the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights discussion on good governance, “Vibrant political parties and pluralism are essential for good governance and effective representation of citizens in the political process” (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 2011: 1). In essence, pluralism could make an everlasting contribution to good governance and the positivity of achieving good governance; however, one should not ignore the complexities that come with this concept.

2.3.2 Marxism

The next theory under discussion is Marxism. Karl Marx is considered the father of Marxism. Eighty years after Marx’s death in 1883, his work became famous when Russia, China, Yugoslavia, Cuba and Vietnam launched successful revolutions by implementing this type of state theory (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 80). The Marxist theory was formulated to oppose the capitalist theory, which refers to “serving the interests of the dominant class within the economic system” (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 79). The idea behind Marxism was to appeal to the larger society who was suffering deeply the inequities of capitalism; therefore, it refers to a Communist or Socialist party that distributes wealth amongst all, instead of only to a certain group.

Marx wrote in 1872: "Someday the worker must seize political power in order to build up the new organization of labour; he must overthrow the old politics which sustain the old institutions" (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 86). Marxism refers to an equal system where a class society will cease to exist. The Marxist theory further states, "Government policy-making should never be analysed in isolation from the dialectical processes and class conflicts that are basic to economic and so to political life" (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 93). In addition, Marxism aims to change the way society accepts the norms and standards set by the capitalist theory and believes in a social class where no preference is given to those who are wealthy, but instead focuses on enabling those who are regarded as poor to stand up against such class restrictions. Hay (2006: 61) refers to the Marxist state by describing the capitalist state as "the instrumental exercise of power by people in strategic positions, either directly through the manipulation of state policies or indirectly through the exercise of pressure on the state". This guarantees that the ruling class keeps the capitalist system stable for its own benefit. Therefore, "Classes with conflicting economic interests, shall not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle; it became necessary to have a power seemingly standing above society that would moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of order, and this power arisen out of society, but placing itself above it and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state" (Hay, 2006: 62). This means that the state should be above all and should maintain the balance in society by ensuring that the benefits of the state are not provided, depending on class, but are distributed fairly amongst all.

As mentioned in the discussion on the pluralist theory, modern intellectuals have seemingly combined theories and arrived at semi-theories, which could mean that a theory could possibly have certain traits of another theory. Marxism in the North is seen as a theory that could not work for governance, as this theory would disadvantage the rich. However, in Africa, Marxism may be more relevant and could possibly work better for developing African countries. In a meeting held in 1998 by the Global Coalition for Africa (GCO), Julius Nyerere stated that Northern countries said that in order to provide aid to African countries they should have good governance as a criteria measurement to be aided by the North. According to Nyerere (1988), it would also mean that the state should be weakened in order to identify it as a sign of good governance. Nyerere disagreed with this view from the North as he said that African

countries' governments were already weak; thus, the only way to improve governance would be to ensure that the system of government was strengthened, which in turn would lead to governments fulfilling their governing role better (Nyerere, 1998). What Nyerere meant is that the government will not be a dictator, but rather govern by the people for the people.

The relation of Marxism and governance on the African continent cannot be viewed as similar to governing in the Northern countries, as Africa has its own origins and the characteristics that define Africa are much different from the North. Marxism could be considered a suitable concept for improving governance in Africa; however, it may have consequences as many African countries are labelled as corrupt due to governments' ill intentions when they come into power.

2.3.3 Liberalism

Liberalism is one of the most common state theories. It is described by Heywood (2007: 45) as a "meta-ideology that is capable of embracing a broad range of rival values and beliefs". There are different types of liberalism, including classical liberalism and social liberalism. Market liberalism is also known as classical liberalism. According to Dryzek and Dunleavy (2009:100), liberalism refers to "the reform of government in the belief that capitalism is the optimal system for discovering and using knowledge, for securing prosperity, and for promoting economic and political freedom". Capitalism ultimately relates to private ownership and the state having little influence on it; while liberalism refers to being an idealist, so one could be a socialist idealist or an economist idealist; either way, it provides room for individual thinking. Marx saw market liberalism as "an instrument through which the economically dominant class (by then the proletariat) could repress and subdue other classes" (Heywood, 2007: 95). This creates the opposition on which Marxism is based.

The liberal theory was first described in the book by Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, in 1776. Liberalism has also been characterised as "the cornerstone of the mainstream (Western) discipline of economics, although most economists also recognise market failures" (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 101). It could therefore be said that Western countries have been exposed more to this state theory than elsewhere in the world.

Neoliberalism, which refers to the new order of liberalism, was formed on the belief of “liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong property rights, free markets and free trade” (Ives, 2015: 3). The fathers of neoliberalism therefore envisioned a freedom where everyone had the right of freedom of choice within the political as well as the economic system of a country. The neoliberal scholar aligned governance to its benefits in both the private and public sector. Firstly, governance in the liberal system widens the scope of participation in the private sector beyond those who have invested in a company to include groups that are affected by the company’s actions. However, when the concept is used in the public sector, “it reduces the importance of a government as a decision-maker” (Ives, 2015: 4). The neoliberal’s relation to governance is that it limits interference from the state and gives a larger group of society a chance to participate in companies’ actions. This would be the result in a developed state of liberalism and governance; however, this study on governance relates to the African continent. The African continent has not one single developed state; therefore, this form of system may be more detrimental than beneficial for African countries. “Liberal democracy has produced a social context in Africa that has continued to work against the emergence of a democratic developmental state in various countries in the region” (Adetula, 2009: 16). The liberal democracy system has produced unimpressive results in the African context; these economies have resulted in power-hungry officials becoming corrupt.

One can see the relation of each theory to governance, which makes it clear that governance exists in ways that are often overlooked. Each theory has a relation to the application of governance and proposes the advantages of linking it to governance. However, mention was also made of the theories’ weaknesses, and why a particular theory might not enhance a state’s practice of governance. The subject matter of governance will be applied later to provide a basis for discussing its weaknesses and strengths.

None of the theories is incorrect and, depending on a state’s characteristics, it determines how successful a theory will be within a specific state. Sometimes theories are interlinked in order to ensure success in a particular government system. There is some form of governance in each theory; therefore, it is crucial that a state evaluates its situation and its goals in order to ensure the right theory, which will suit the constitution and functioning of the state, is implemented.

2.4 Democracy and Governance

2.4.1 Defining Democracy

The term democracy has its origins in Ancient Greece, meaning “rule by the people” (Heywood, 2007:72). According to Heywood, this term is ambiguous as it can mean many things to different people, which in the end, is contradicting. There is some truth in Heywood’s argument, as ruling by the people would mean that everyone should have a say, and it is human nature to have varying opinions on certain concepts. Therefore, when defining democracy there should be certain boundaries as to who the people are, how they rule, and how far they should rule. These questions give direction to how democratic governance should be practiced and to what extent the people should rule. The link between democracy and governance goes further than what is understood by many as only free elections. Democracy forms a crucial role in good governance structures in order to implement it successfully. The next section looks at the link between the two concepts, and how it can be achieved.

Democracy is a broad term and therefore can refer to different types of democracies; therefore, the next section will distinguish the different types, such as liberal democracy, classical democracy and participative democracy. However, despite the different types of democracy, “democracy alone is not a sufficient cause of good governance” (Albritton, 2009: 4). Earlier the discussion concluded that good governance exists in different state theories; but, just like those state theories, democracy on its own is not adequate for good governance.

One of the oldest forms of democracy is classical democracy, which was practiced by the Ancient Greeks, the Athens. This type of democracy “amounted to a form of government by mass meeting” (Heywood, 2007: 76). This meant that the citizens of the particular country participated in meetings that were held by the assembly. However, this type of democracy had flaws. Take, for instance, the fact that only “Athenian-born males over the age of 20 years were allowed to participate in political activity and also bearing in mind that slaves, women and foreigners had no political rights whatsoever” (Heywood, 2007: 76). This relates to the issue that the slaves formed the majority of the population (*ibid.*). The core idea is then that classical democracy referred to a limited democracy where equality was not regarded as an important aspect; thus, it can be viewed as an undemocratic system. One does,

however, need to acknowledge that it became the foundation of what democracy is today.

A liberal democracy in a political system that can be defined as follows: “Free and fair competition amongst political parties where elections will determine how the legislature is constituted; fundamental civil liberties are protected by law and constitutional safeguards, while legal enactments and rules are equally and impartially enforced by an independent judiciary and legal system; the constitution specifies the powers of particular public offices and branches of government and the relations between them” (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 18). This definition forms the fundamental foundation of a liberal democracy. In the past, these two concepts would have seemed too far from one another to be used together; however, as noted, these concepts can be combined in a modern democracy. The definition has combined the judiciary, the constitutional role, and the democratic system in one. Liberal democracy may seem to form part of what the basis of classical democracy consisted of initially. The comparison of classical and liberal democracy is thus the element of equality across all boundaries. Classical democracy neglected this vital factor, while liberal democracy is based on the equality of all and fairness of the system.

The liberal democracy system has its own flaws. Consider, for instance, “ideologies that pervade society, but serve some dominant interests”, or, “policy making that has to please financial and capital markets, not the voters” (Dryzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 208). This type of democracy is so broad that it could be manipulated to satisfy a certain part of society at the expense of the rest of the citizens. This is why it is important to understand the questions mentioned above of who the people are and to what extent they should rule. Society should understand the political environment of their country in order to ensure effective participation. In order to ensure that democracy is maximised, the public should be educated on the fundamentals of the political system in which they live (Dreyzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 209).

The last type of democracy, related to both aforementioned democracies, is participative democracy. The idea of participative democracy is that individuals do not only participate in elections, but also participate freely in all public affairs (Dreyzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 212). Liberal democracy refers to the aspect of free and fair elections, but more than that, individuals should also have free and fair participation in all public

affairs. One of the ways identified as implementing participative democracy is “workplace democracy where the workplace is itself a kind of political system where individuals participate in decision making giving them the confidence to participate in political public affairs too” (Dreyzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 212). There has not been much evidence available on this claim; however, it does seem like a good stepping-stone for practicing participative democracy. Another method for participatory democracy is a programme founded by Benjamin Barber in 1984, which refers to “the joining of different reforms that would direct the attention of individuals toward their membership of the community and their tasks as citizens” (Dreyzek and Dunleavy, 2009: 213). Participative democracy aims to maximise the participation of the public in public affairs, specifically. It starts by allowing the public to participate in their surrounding areas firstly, like their job, neighbourhood assemblies, community programmes, and so forth; in other words, all the places one is comfortable with or familiar with. By participating in familiar areas, it gives individuals confidence to speak up and participate in a bigger environment, that being the political environment, which has such a significant impact on the wellbeing of all citizens.

2.4.2 Democracy and its relation to governance

The African Charter states that “state parties shall promote good governance by ensuring transparent and accountable administration and strengthen political institutions to entrench a culture of democracy and peace” (African Union, 2007: 6). Thus, states in Africa are urged to practice democracy and good governance simultaneously. Although democracy and governance may seem to be aligned, they may not have the same vision for a state in the long term. The African Union (AU) has imprinted good governance and democracy in its constitutive act by stating the objective as follows: “Promoting democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance” (Mangu, 2014: 63). The AU has therefore pledged itself and its members to democratic states and good governance. Therefore, member states of the AU should make it part of their mandate to enforce good governance practices and promote democracy. The sad reality is that the African continent lacks both good governance and efficient democratic practices. The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) has indicated that it is constantly “confronted with many problems and challenges with regard to the promotion of democracy and good political governance in participating member states” (Mangu, 2014: 63). Although the AU, the

APRM and other human rights instruments in Africa emphasise the importance of good governance and democratic states, member states still lack both aspects. There has been an improvement in some areas; however, several deficiencies have also been identified.

Democracy plays an integral part in the implementation of good governance and therefore one would first need to identify and understand the democratic system a country uses in order to evaluate its implementation of good governance. The theoretical perspective of democracy thus has exceptional relevance to the core subject of good governance systems on the African continent. However, as mentioned before, democracy on its own does not produce good governance. One important factor is that “the major measures of good governance frequently do not include elections as a component” (Albritton, 2009). Even if elections are one of the elements of a democratic state, it does not necessarily mean that good governance is being implemented. Even though there might be good governance implementation, it is not merely because the country is a democracy. Good governance is a concept on its own, just like democracy.

2.5 Legitimacy and Governance

2.5.1. Defining Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a concept that relates closely to most government systems as it does not merely depend on the government system introduced, but mainly how it is accepted by society. According to Heywood (2007: 219), “Legitimacy therefore confers on an order or commands an authoritative or binding character, thus transforming power into authority”. Legitimacy refers to a moral and social obligation to obey. Different political models can therefore implement legitimacy differently. Concidine and Afzal (2011: 370) state, “Legitimacy is a crucial requirement for public sector organizations since it is directly related to their acceptability, credibility, approval and support both among citizens and stakeholders”. This clarifies the above statement that legitimacy is credible in its actions and decisions. In Heywood’s book (2007: 220), Max Weber identifies three types of conceptual models of legitimacy. These models will be elaborated on in the next section.

The first type of political legitimacy is traditional authority. Traditional authority is regarded as “legitimate because it has always existed” (Heywood, 2007: 220). This means that it has been justified by history because it has always been accepted by previous generations. This type of authority is not questioned because it has always been welcomed without negativity. Good examples of this form of legitimacy can be found in countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Morocco (Heywood, 2007: 220).

The second form of legitimacy is charismatic authority. This type of authority can be described as an individual’s capacity to make a direct and personal appeal to followers as a kind of hero or saint (Heywood, 2007: 221). This means that the individual should have certain skills and personality traits to appeal to the people in order for the people to favour him/her. Examples are John Kennedy and Margaret Thatcher.

The last type of political legitimacy is legal-rational authority. This refers to “the power of a president, prime minister or government official, which is determined in the final analysis by formal, constitutional rules, which constrain or limit what an office holder is able to do” (Heywood, 2007: 221). This type of legitimacy has fewer repercussions for the abuse of the system. Political legitimacy also maintains limited government (Heywood, 2007: 222). Bear in mind that all governments do not necessarily practice good governance principles.

2.5.2 Legitimacy and its relation to governance

Legitimacy within a democracy is related to the concept of “sovereignty that values effective representation of the citizenry in the executive and legislative branches of government” (Concidine and Afzal, 2011: 371). This means that it links all the aspects of a democratic legitimate system that involves representation, as well as institutional rules and competencies (*ibid.*).

Legitimacy relates to good governance because it provides independence, which can be described as an invisible element of good governance as governance refers to society being independent and equal. A legitimate country may give the government more authority, but it also adds more value to the implementation of good governance. However, this could also result in bad governance if the government abuses its authority and independence. Legitimacy cannot be characterised as a principle of good governance, yet it cannot be ignored either.

2.6 Summary

The chapter reflected on the common understanding of what defines governance. The subject matter was discussed in detail to understand the elements that are related to good governance practices, which are accepted by institutions and organisations where the key objective relates to improving governance. The theoretical perspectives that were discussed, namely, pluralism, liberalism and Marxism, were analysed in a manner whereby the distinct relation between governance and each theory could be understood. These theories have been practiced for many years, and will be practised for years to come. However, the greater emphasis on governance has given these theories a focal point whereby application would now include aspects that should be more beneficial to a country's development.

Democracy and legitimacy formed part of the sub-sections discussed in this chapter because both concepts are closely related to governance. The emphasis on an improvement in governance stems from issues of democracy and legitimacy. Governance plays a crucial role in democracy, due to its impact on rolling out democracy effectively. The same applies to a legitimate state. Legitimacy is most effective when a government has effective governance structures in place.

It was crucial for this chapter to underpin the concepts that are related to governance and to discuss each in depth, as each concept has its own relation to governance. The value of unpacking and analysing all concepts and theoretical perspectives is to understand the basis why governance has such an important role to play in everyday politics and economies. The rise of governance stems from the regression in political stability and economic growth, despite the changes countries have undergone. A strong governance structure will not be shaken by a change in leadership.

The value derived from understanding governance is that it will leave a legacy of success, if carried out successfully. Governance has the ability to change a number of statuses for a country, if applied as recommended. The future of a country's development is rooted in how well it addresses its governance issues and manages to implement these structures.

In order to understand the next chapter, aimed at analysing the contributions from international organisations, governance had to be unpacked to create an

understanding of what the concept is about and how is it achieved. The next chapter aims to give recognition to international organisations, and the contributions and dedication to governance internationally.

CHAPTER 3: AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO GOOD GOVERNANCE

3.1 Introduction

With the development of global governance came the idea that there should be a central government to govern all states; however, this would never have worked, as it would have created conflict relating to who has more power and how states practice their independence. Global governance then introduced international institutions that would serve as governing institutions to assist all states around the world with development and address critical issues that states face from time to time.

Well-known international institutions include the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organisation. These institutions were established for a variety of reasons; whether it was to assist developing states with stabilising their economies, or to protect developing states in the practice of world trade. International institutions aim to enhance good governance practices globally. As the previous chapter indicated, governance is independent from a government; therefore, one can say that international organisations are meant to promote the practice of good governance internationally and especially amongst developed and developing states.

The aim of this chapter will therefore be to evaluate key institutions that are of importance to the African continent's development and to discuss how these institutions have contributed to improving governance practices on the continent. The chapter will focus on three international institutions and their relation to good governance on the continent. The international institutions are:

- The African Union
- The African Peer Review Mechanism
- The United Nations

The next section of this chapter will discuss the relation between good governance and these international organisations. This will be followed by an analysis of the organisations' current influence on the African continent, concluding with a summary of the chapter.

3.2 The African Union and governance practices on the African continent

3.2.1 Background of the African Union

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was established in 1963, aimed at “uniting Africans under a centralised institution focusing on advancing the African continent and addressing the shortcomings the continent faced” (Kimenyi, 2015: 30). Unfortunately, the Organisation of African Unity failed at accomplishing most of its important tasks due to several challenges. The African Union (AU) was formed after the OAU was dissolved in 2002. The AU aimed to “address the weaknesses of the Organisation of African Unity, but also carrying on its major goals” (Kimenyi, 2015: 30). The AU was therefore recognised as an organisation that would empower Africans and serve as a change agent in improving the state of the continent.

The AU’s structure consists of the assembly, the executive council and the AU Commission, and the Pan African Parliament, as well as the Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) that oversees the organisation (South African History Online, 2015: 2). The structure of the AU can thus be seen as the organs of the organisation that assemble to make selective decisions on policies, memberships, as well as determining critical issues that may affect a country on the African continent (South African History Online, 2015: 2). The AU Handbook provides more descriptive information on the structures of the organisation and its committees; it also provides a summary of the functions of the AU (African Union Commission, 2016: 9). Further, it provides detailed information on the membership of the assembly, executive council and the Commission.

The AU adopted its African Charter in 2007 and one of its key objectives is to “nurture, support and consolidate good governance by promoting democratic culture and practice, building and strengthening governance institutions and inculcating political pluralism and tolerance” (African Union, 2007: 3). The AU has made good governance an important factor in its Charter, demonstrating its dedication to good governance on the continent. The African Charter can be regarded as an implementing document of what the organisation aims to achieve and what it has prioritised. As part of the AU’s dedication to achieving good governance, it is also “empowered to impose sanctions in cases of non-democratic transitions of power or where parties to conflicts refuse to

enter into negotiations to resolve disputes” (Kimenyi, 2015: 32). The AU, unlike the OAU, is therefore empowered enough to provide some form of “punishment” for those states that refuse to act in a democratic manner. The power that resides in the organisation is rare and therefore it should be used effectively.

According to the African Charter, “State parties shall: Promote good governance by ensuring transparent and accountable administration” (African Union, 2007: 6). The organisation is therefore committed to the implementation of good governance practices on the African continent. The African Charter further provides detail on what the AU aims to do for the African continent. Therefore, the AU can be seen as a change agent, aimed at uniting Africans and improving the governance of Africa as a whole. The AU documents, such as the Charter and the Handbook, are references of the objectives of the organisation. However, one has to determine whether these documents have served their purpose relating to the implementation and achievement of what the AU set out to do. The next section will therefore focus on the progress made by the AU measured against what it set out to achieve initially.

3.2.2 The implementation of governance by the African Union

This section will focus on how governance has been implemented by the AU. Thus, it will focus on the following governance implementation statuses:

- Electoral Governance
- Peace and Security
- Economic and Political Governance

Electoral governance:

Chapter 7 of the African Charter is dedicated to democratic elections, of which Article 17 states: “State parties re-affirm their commitment to regularly holding transparent, free and fair elections in accordance with the Union’s Declaration on the Principles governing Democratic Elections in Africa” (African Union, 2007: 7). Thus, the AU values elections that are free and fair, and democratic and transparent. Article 22 further says: “State parties shall create a conducive environment for independent and impartial national monitoring or observation mechanisms” (African Union, 2007: 9).

To this end, states are expected to not withhold information from the monitoring and evaluation oversight parties; this serves as a further democratic principle in being transparent in elections. Members of the AU agreed to and endorsed the Declaration on the principles governing democratic elections in Africa (African Union Commission, 2013: 12).

Moreover, the African Charter “reaffirms the universal principles of democratic elections, it also stipulates the obligations of AU member states in the promotion of democracy through the establishment of relevant institutions and the creation of a context conducive to a democracy” (African Union Commission, 2013: 13). The Charter therefore serves as an essential instrument in abiding by universal election principles and ensuring democratic practices throughout elections. According to Omotola (2014: 24), “Elections are regarded as central to competitive politics because of their presumed capacity to guarantee political participation, competition and legitimacy which, in turn, are pivotal to the consolidation of democracy”. One can therefore say that although democratic elections do not provide the evaluation mark-off that a country is democratic, democratic elections are pertinent to the validation of a democratic state.

Despite the efforts of the AU to ensure democratic elections, the organisation has battled to embed a culture of democratic elections. One of the key challenges to this relates to the African continent’s elections being “characterised by various forms of fraud and violence” (Omotola, 2014: 27). This is evident throughout the continent, where countries hold elections and the information is manipulated to suit those who wish to stay in power or gain power. This is one of Africa’s main challenges and cuts across the continent. Omotola (2014: 28) says other key challenges refer to the poor representation of AU teams in elections and the lack of specific details within the AU’s election-monitoring reports. This represents a high risk for the organisation because the reports should reflect the necessary information, including the number of observers and the ability of these observers to monitor the elections. According to Omotola (2014: 28), the AU’s election observation missions’ “reports do not have the force of law”. This means that despite the recommendations made or underlying information monitored, the AU lacks the ability to intervene in the internal affairs of a country, unless there is a violent threat to the country.

Although the AU has prioritised good governance practices in elections and the assurance of democratic practices for elections, the findings indicate that democratic elections, which also relate to good governance practices, still serve as a great challenge for the organisation. This is due to the AU's lack of power and inconsistencies within the organisation.

Peace and Security:

The African Charter in Article 24 states: "The Peace and Security Council shall exercise its responsibilities in order to maintain the constitutional order in accordance with relevant provision of the protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union" (African Union, 2007:10). This therefore provides the Peace and Security Council with the mandate to intervene in a violent crisis, when deemed necessary, to ensure peace and security in that territory. The Peace and Security Council should therefore enforce peace and security throughout Africa by managing issues of violence that arise.

The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was established in accordance with the Peace and Security Council "for the different elements implemented (or currently developing) by the AU and other regional agencies to consolidate peacekeeping and security efforts in the continent" (Grasa and Mateos, 2010: 18). Thus, APSA can be seen as the "police force" of continental crimes. The Peace and Security Council, which is the decision-making body, is aimed at "promoting peace, security and stability in Africa, the prevention of conflicts, strengthening of democratic practices, good governance, human rights or fundamental freedoms protection" (Grasa and Mateos, 2010: 19). APSA is therefore a crucial element in fighting violence; it is also vital for the improvement of the African continent considering the high incidence of violent activities that have and still take place.

APSA is thus of great significance to the AU, considering the failure of the OAU in addressing issues that hindered a state's peace and security. The fact that this instrument of peace and security also has the direct mandate to intervene in violent issues, offers more assurance of stability and peace on the continent. However, despite the mandate this organisation has received and the power embedded in it relating to peace and security acts, the AU still faces challenges in responding to various conflicts in time (Kimenyi, 2015: 32). The delay in response to crises of

violence can challenge the AU further with people losing faith in its ability to deal with such situations, when required, with speed.

The African continent is highly challenged with regard to violent actions perpetrated by terrorist groups such as Boko Haram and the Lord's Resistance Army. These challenges are expected to be addressed by the AU, considering the directive it has been given (Brubacher, 2017: 276). However, the scant progress made by the AU could suggest that it is ineffective in delivering on its mandate. This further relates to the effectiveness of the organisation as a driver of good governance. Peace and security is one of the forms that underpin measuring governance in a country, and a lack of it, indicates the weakness or absence of good governance structures. The absence of peace and security is a direct indication of bad governance in a country.

The discussion on the issues faced by Nigeria questions the achievements of the AU in addressing the country's security issues. The indication is that the organisation faces challenges, alongside the UN, making it difficult to address the situation and solve it completely (Brubacher, 2017: 295). The presence of the AU is recognised on the African continent; however, countries remain sovereign and therefore intervention is not always welcomed.

Economic development:

The African continent, although rich in natural resources, is still characterised as producing low levels of economic growth. With the continent's history of colonialism, many states have had difficulties in cultivating an environment conducive to economic growth without depending on foreign states. The New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) serves as a crucial instrument in "assisting economic integration as well as Africa's entry into the global economy from which it has been perpetually excluded and marginalised" (South African History Online, 2015: 3). The African Charter in Chapter 9 refers to political, economic and social governance; in addition, several of the key roles of the AU relate to strengthening the role of women in development, promoting public participation in the development process, and non-discrimination (African Union, 2007: 12). The African Charter dedicates Chapter 9 to issues that have been central to the lack of growth on the African continent. One of the fundamental weaknesses in this regard lies with leadership. Weak leadership can hamper the progress of good policies and programmes.

The policies developed by the AU referring to economic development, political governance and democracy are strong documents that can be used as instruments to change the situation on the continent. The major issue however relates to the implementation of these plans, which is very slow, and some have not progressed at all (Kimenyi, 2015:31). This hampers the progress of the AU because if there is no progress these policy documents have no real meaning for the continent's growth. This is a direct indication of a lack of good governance structures, as good governance promotes implementation. Governance in itself refers to the practice and implementation of policies and the rule of law; if policies are not applied then it immediately indicates that governance is below standard.

It is however important to note that the AU has succeeded in a number of ways where the OAU failed. The differences between the two organisations is evident, but the AU's slow progress has raised questions relating to its effectiveness and whether it has really served as a change agent compared to the OAU. The AU embarked on a journey of improving good governance for Africa by addressing challenges that the continent faces relating to security, economic development and leadership, but the reality is that these challenges remain and the progress with turning these challenges around has been slow.

3.2.3 Challenges faced by the African Union

Any new instrument faces challenges when introduced in an organisation; therefore, it is not regarded as unusual when governments undergoing some form of transformation face challenges. As part of the challenges faced in Africa, it is noted that "one of the major challenges that have faced African states since the advent of political independence has been that of establishing and sustaining appropriate governance institutions and practices that would engender democratic practices and promote sustainable development on the continent" (Yimer, 2015: 129). The challenge of leadership tops the list as each African country has a different background and therefore the political environment is often described as more complex than the norm (Yimer, 2015: 133). Political stability remains a theoretical ideal on the African continent. It is not so much that leadership cannot remain stable, but rather how leadership becomes self-motivated once in certain positions. There is a constant need

for transformation in Africa because of leadership failures that continue, causing regression instead of progression in developing as a state.

According to Kimenyi (2015: 29), “Increasingly, observers both in and outside the continent are noting that the AU is either not willing or not capable of carrying out its objectives effectively”. The ability of the AU has been challenged; this is an issue that the AU should address. Africans should be able to have faith and trust in the capabilities of the AU; however, that will only happen if it proves to be capable enough to manage and respond to the matters at hand.

Despite the two challenges mentioned above, there is still a belief that the AU will improve over time. However, the frustration many observers feel is that while the AU’s progress is painstakingly slow, lives are lost and governance structures still practice bad governance. For the AU to change the view held by observers, it should proactively be addressing major governance issues and ensuring that implementation plans are drawn up. Accountability plays a major role in proving that the continued existence of the AU is a worthwhile one.

3.3 The United Nations and governance on the African continent

3.3.1 Background

The United Nations (UN) was established as an international organisation in 1945 with the purpose of “saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war” (Weiss, 2015: 2). This was related to the Second World War, and refers to the effects of war of destruction and violence. According to Weiss (2015: 3), “A universal intergovernmental organisation dealing with peace and security as well as economic cooperation would necessarily be at the centre of the new international order after the second worldwide conflagration within a half-century”. The importance of the UN’s establishment therefore reflects back on issues of the lack of governance between states, where power and self-interest were the main drivers of critical decisions that caused destruction and violence for generations to come.

According to the UN’s Intellectual History Project (2015: 2), “In addition to interdependence and a growing recognition of the need for collective action, the other explanation for the emergence of global governance stems from the sheer growth in numbers and importance of non-state entities, which also are conducting themselves

in new ways". The UN therefore identified the need for global governance that emanated from the lack of sound government, which would ensure good governance. The UN's focus, being on peace and economic cooperation amongst inter-states, created a platform for countries, both developing and developed, to interact without exposing the developing states. The UN also developed the UN Charter, which refers to a set of guidelines of roles and responsibilities for each of its member countries (United Nations, 2008: 3).

The UN Intellectual History Project (2015: 2) further states, "Despite its shortcomings, the United Nations is the most universal and legitimate organisation with the greatest potential for expansion". Since the birth of the UN, the organisation has remained the most responsive and successful international organisation, along with the challenges it faces continuously. The UN has grown beyond expectations and its role in global governance has amplified over time. It serves as an organisation of peace and security that does not exclude any membership, unless specific reasons are given. This therefore intensifies the role of the UN as it aims to provide a helping hand all over the world.

The UN has also established key norms and principles as its foundation for good governance, which were greatly elaborated on by a former UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, from the period 1953 to 1961 (Hochschild, 2010: 71). The main principles are independence and loyalty to the UN Charter; integrity to uphold international law and speak the truth even when it is uncomfortable to do so; and courage to be true to one's own principles, to show humility, and the courage to defend what is your conviction despite the threats of powerful oppositions (Hochschild, 2010: 71-73). These principles are what would uphold international law and provide consistency towards problem solving.

The above was an introduction to shed light on the formation of the UN and a brief summary of its journey, as well as its founding principles. The next section will identify the governance structures of the UN in terms of what structures are in place and what their main objectives are.

3.3.2 Governance structures of the United Nations

The UN has six main structures, namely the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat (United Nations, 2008: 13-22). Some of these components consist of memberships, functions, main committees and meetings. One of the main structures is the Security Council, which deals directly with issues relating to peace and security. The Security Council's main functions include investigating issues concerning international conflict and making recommendations on these type of issues (United Nations, 2008: 15). This structure is recognised internationally as many members look to it to adequately deal with conflict in a manner that will solve the problem or, at the minimum, provide assistance when required.

The Economic and Social Council "discusses economic problems, such as trade, transport, economic development, and social issues" (United Nations, 2008: 16). The Council has several other subsidiary bodies that address specific issues in its field. One of the key subsidiary bodies is the UN Development Program, which enhances change and knowledge and improves development amongst member states, especially those from the developing world (United Nations, 2008: 17). One of the key weaknesses identified by the UN within its Economic and Social Council refers to the lack of "adequate mechanisms and capacities to ensure development effectiveness, and accountability" (United Nations, 2016: 1). This weak performance in governance has adverse effects for the organisation as a whole, as it refers to the inability to ensure development that is in line with good governance standards.

With the structures of the UN outlined, the next section will reflect on how the UN has implemented governance in Africa.

3.3.3 UN implementation of governance on the African continent

In the 2000 Millennium Declaration, "the United Nations pledged support for Africa's efforts to achieve poverty eradication, lasting peace, sustainable development and integration in the global economy" (Mekolo and Resta, 2005:10). In 2007, there were six ongoing operations in Western Sahara, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Ivory Coast and Sudan (Van Genugten, 2008: 9). Although these were not the only operations at that time, these will be discussed. During all the

peacekeeping operations in the aforementioned countries, the UN's intention was good governance in terms of accountability, responsibility, consensus orientation, participation, responsiveness, transparency, rule of law, and inclusiveness. However, it proved to be more challenging for some countries than for others. As a result, a complete implementation of good governance was not achieved as governance cannot be achieved solely by the UN's peacekeeping operations (Van Genugten, 2008: 23-25).

Peacekeeping largely has to do with cooperation by governments. For most of the countries observed, as with the Rwanda genocide from 1993 to 1996, it was concluded that the UN should have had a "more assertive response with the means necessary to take such action" (Van Genugten, 2008: 26). An issue that was not being addressed was the fact that the UN does not have much authority within many countries. If the UN acts too assertively, it could challenge the sovereignty of a country, causing more conflict with the government. This makes it difficult for the UN to determine the extent of its involvement.

The UN established that in order to assist the African continent with development, certain mechanisms had to be developed for conversations amongst the countries to steer projects that will help the continent with development and good governance implementation. The UNDP and Economic Commission for Africa initiated the Africa Governance Forum (AGF) and the Africa Governance Inventory (AGI) (Mekolo and Resta, 2005: 11). The AGF's objective is to assist African governments that support democratic and participatory governance, while the AGI monitors, evaluates and improves governance policies and activities, as well as promotes regional partnerships (Mekolo and Resta, 2005: 11). One of the other tools established was the African Peer Review Mechanism, which will be discussed later.

Some of the UN peacekeeping operations that are underway are in Liberia, Western Sahara, the Republic of Congo, South Sudan and the Ivory Coast (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2016: n.p.). One of the main challenges that arise from these peacekeeping operations is the shortage of resources as each operation has to have its own budget and, depending on the intensity of peace required, this may vary greatly from one country to another (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2016: n.p.). Resources generally refer to "operational costs such as transport and logistics and staff costs

such as salaries” (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2016: n.p.). As mentioned before, the costs vary depending on the requirements of the peacekeeping mission, and although an assessment may establish the requirements, the length of the operation could influence the resources required.

3.3.4 Governance challenges faced by the UN

In September 2015, the UN adopted the Sustainable Development Goals document, set for achievement by 2030 (United Nations Development Programme, 2015: n.p.). The document focuses on eradicating poverty and enforcing good governance practices, which could in turn enhance sustainable development (Patterson, 2015: 7). However, the UN has little influence to ensure complete implementation of such a task. According to Patterson (2015: 7-10), the UN faces the following governance challenges: getting the right stakeholders together at once; how difficult trade-offs will be made; and how accountability and responsibility will be assured. Each of these challenges are relevant. Firstly, the issue of governance has a significant influence on the stakeholders involved, whether governments or NGOs. If the people involved do not have the same perspective on sustainable development, it could be detrimental to the effectiveness of governance mechanisms. The second challenge refers to the issue of prioritising which interests should top the agenda. Having competing interests will create conflict among stakeholders as views on what is more important may differ. However, this explains why the relevant stakeholders need to be brought together to discuss such issues and reach solutions that are beneficial to the environment, as well as the wellbeing of citizens. Patterson (2015: 10) also refers to the challenge of assuring accountability and responsibility for actions taken. Accountability and responsibility are two key elements for implementing good governance. For accountability and responsibility to take place, there should be cooperation between all spheres of government within a state, and all other non-state actors. Hence, mechanisms of measuring and evaluating accountability should be adopted to ensure delivery of different goals (Patterson, 2015: 10). Accountability and responsibility also refer to the delivery of promises, which are advantageous to the aims of implementing good governance. Patterson’s views on the challenges facing the UN are accurate, and shedding light on the aforementioned issues should be a step in the right direction.

Another key issue facing the UN is global health, which was included as a Sustainable Development Goal (Kickbusch, 2016: 1). There was much criticism related to global health in 2015. This included whether the World Health Organisation (WHO) should remain the main organisation addressing global health issues, as it was perceived as weak (Kickbusch, 2016: 1). Global health is high on the agenda of key conferences that discuss how these will be solved in terms of financial and other resources. However, there has to be more emphasis on this matter to determine any other possible global health issues and how they could be solved if they occur. The idea is to plan ahead and manage risks that have not yet occurred. If the WHO cannot identify new risks and provide mechanisms for them, then issues of global health might as well be managed by any other organisation that discusses key global issues. Governance structures are also there to create effective planning for the future, which substantiates why there is a need for global health to remain on the agenda of meeting discussions.

Mentioned above are only a few challenges that the UN faces, but it is important to bear in mind that the UN on its own cannot implement good governance mechanisms. The organisation's success within a state will greatly depend on the buy-in it gets from the government and citizens. The UN does not have the authority to implement strategies without the approval of the government.

3.4 The African Peer Review Mechanism

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) has been described as a “voluntarily instrument acceded to members of the African Union as an African self-monitoring mechanism” (NEPAD, 2003: 3). The APRM ensures that state policies and practices are aligned with the political, economic and corporate governance values of the APRM (NEPAD, 2003: 3).

The APRM allows countries to evaluate themselves and for a panel to evaluate them and then, in turn, identify key challenges as well as provide recommendations for mitigating these challenges (Omozuafoh, 2016: 1). This mechanism has been a step in the right direction for the African continent to identify common challenges faced across the continent, which can be solved by dialogues on what solutions to implement. As stated above, the instrument is voluntary and therefore African states have to decide whether they want to participate, or not. To improve democracy and

good governance such an instrument is crucial as it assists in monitoring and evaluating the status of policy implementation and practices, and compares it to the political and democratic values determined.

The leadership and structure of the APRM panel consists of five to seven individuals, who must be distinguished Africans. The structure is outlined in the base document of the APRM, which gives an indication of how appointments to the panel are made, the criteria followed, the role of the panel, and for how long panel members serve (NEPAD, 2003: 4). The structure is clearly set out and the elements that influence it are clearly indicated.

The APRM, in some form, has shown to be effective; take, for example, the report on South Africa in 2007, which highlighted that “xenophobia against other Africans is currently on the rise and should be nipped in the bud” (Omozuafoh, 2016: 1). In the past five years, there has been an increase in xenophobic attacks in South Africa, as mentioned by the APRM report. This provides assurance that the APRM does not only monitor a country’s current status, but its recommendations are in line with events that could possibly occur.

According to Omozuafoh (2016: 2), the APRM can however be improved by making the monitoring of good governance practices an obligation for African countries. This is an important suggestion as it is high time for the African continent to improve its governance structures. The APRM, as a good governance mechanism, will only really become a force to be reckoned with when it is fully optimised on the continent. The mechanism has already proven to be effective, which offers even more reason to enhance it and make it applicable across the continent. One also sees that those countries that volunteer for the APRM reviews to be done are countries that have shown progress in terms of governance. However, the countries that are labelled as having bad governance practices are the ones that really require this sort of mechanism. Thus, the continent’s leaders should focus on attracting countries that lack good governance practices.

3.5 Conclusion

The following international organisations relating to governance on the African continent were reviewed: the UN, the AU and the APRM. All these organisations have

shown strengths in their practice of improving governance in Africa. The progress that has been made in some African countries with the assistance of these organisations is clearly visible.

However, there have also been many challenges for these organisations in improving governance, especially where countries face civil wars and where governments are resistant to assistance from these organisations. The challenge of authority and independence has been a great issue as well. Although these organisations were developed to promote and enhance good governance, sustainability and democratic practices, they are constantly criticised for being authoritative, or not being beneficial to the African continent, or being irrelevant to the needs of the continent. While others may be of the opinion that these organisations do not have the depth to solve African problems, it is also not only dependent on these organisations stepping in. It is clear that the organisations need buy-in from both the civilians and the governments of the countries before they can make any changes to the status of the countries. This is the greatest challenge because if they do not receive support from these parties, chances are they will not succeed.

Thus, it can be said that there is a great need for understanding what the aims of these organisations are and what change they can bring. Once people understand and find the value in an organisation, only then will it serve to be effective and results will be delivered. The AU should be the main organisation to aid African countries in terms of governance issues; however, the challenges the AU faces are linked to how it is welcomed by countries. The same goes for the other organisations, as assistance is limited to what a country allows.

Considering what was said above, one can see that although progress has been made in some instances, the African continent remains resistant towards international involvement. This challenge greatly affects the political and economic status of African countries.

The next chapter will focus on the case studies of good governance in two African countries, including the case studies of bad governance in two other African countries. This will shed more light on the practical and current situations that these countries face and the challenges of their current governance status.

CHAPTER 4: GOVERNANCE APPLICATION IN AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

The essence of this study thus far has been to identify what good governance is defined as, and to find its relevance across international organisations. So far, a clear understanding of governance has been formed; however, there has been no real identification of examples of good governance and bad governance in terms of African nations.

The general perception about Africa is that it “is a continent of corruption, famine, disasters and civil war” (Thomson, 2010: 2). This perception is not fact-based and although many of the countries in Africa are characterised by these ills, there are African countries that have improved in regards to governance. Owoye and Bissessar (2012: 3) state, “Africa’s corruption is a manifestation of its weak or bad governance, its undemocratic dictatorial leaderships, and its institutional ineptness post-independence”. This statement speaks to the idea that African countries begin facing issues of bad governance a few years after independence. There are also cases where a country improves in safety and security, but still faces issues of corruption.

Another perception relating to the continent is that “a typical African country in conflict is poor, with weak government and public institutions, a small private sector, high illiteracy, a narrow skills base and limited capabilities for guaranteeing security” (Van Genugten, 2008: 28). This perception suggests that only countries involved in conflict have weak public institutions, illiterate citizens, and security threats. However, this could be contested given that a country’s weaknesses are not only dependent on conflict, but the overall status of a country, including its resources, economic performance, security, and political status. These aspects all play a vital role in ensuring that good governance practices are embedded in the culture of a country. Conflict is mainly the first part of identifying what is problematic in a country. African countries were colonised for so long that, although independence is the ideal, it does not always lead to sustained economic growth and development. This makes the continent dependent on foreign investments, instead of building its economy with the resources available. Colonialism left Africans with little experience on how to govern themselves effectively, whilst ensuring that the economy is sustainable; this is why the continent faces so many setbacks in terms of growth and development. The ideal is to

gradually improve all areas of governance, providing assurance to the public that the practices of the government are transparent and fair.

The aim of this chapter is to provide an analysis of the status of four African countries. The chapter focuses on Nigeria, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa. It will examine the progression and/or regression in terms of governance that the countries face. As mentioned in the previous chapters, a country could be progressing in the rule of law, but due to bad leadership, it is suffering. Therefore, there will not be any singling out of a country in terms of the aspects of governance, unless the statistics and measurements used allow for such an observation. The link between governance and leadership is crucial, as leaders are expected to be the implementers of governance mechanisms that are beneficial to a country. “Bad leadership” is an indication of poor governance implementation. Below will be an examination of the governance of countries, and will include a reflection of governance and the leadership.

4.2 Zimbabwean governance

4.2.1 Historical background

Zimbabwe gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1980. At the time, it was stable as it had a diverse nation, good infrastructure and a well-established financial sector (Cain, 2016: 1). The idea conveyed here is that Zimbabwe was financially, economically and socially healthy just after independence. Since gaining independence, there has however “been no transition from the prevailing political system and culture to a more open, inclusive and democratic one” (Sachikonye and Chawatama, 2007: 31). “Transition” implies that there is a multiparty system in a country, the government changes hands after a period of being in power, and there is a democratic system in place (Sachikonye and Chawatama, 2007: 30).

When analysing Zimbabwe’s system since independence up to the present, one notices the lack of a change in leadership, which confirms the above statement of a lack of transition in the country. In terms of social development, the country has also deteriorated drastically, given that at some stage Zimbabwe was regarded as one of the most progressing countries on the African continent (Murisa, 2010: 3). Murisa (ibid.), in his evaluation of Zimbabwe, focuses mainly on social development, referring

to housing, education and health. These factors are considered effective indicators to determine governance measurements. Murisa (2010: 20) concludes, “It is also important to recognise that even though economic mismanagement among government exists; Zimbabwe like many other African countries remains a post-colonial state unfairly inserted within global capitalism”. Murisa (*ibid.*) adds that many African countries, after independence, are expected to adapt to the capitalist manner of functioning, without being equipped for the new environment.

The inability of African countries to adjust to the capitalist market mainly indicates to the world that they do not have the skills to implement effective governance mechanisms. However, during colonisation, Africans were not offered the opportunity to adapt to a democratic governance system. To expect implementation to commence immediately after independence and to remain effective afterwards is a tall order. Further, effective governance should not be limited to a specific theory, as stated in Chapter 2. All state theories have governance as an element of functionality; it could just be applied differently to each theory.

The next part of the analysis will deal with the current governance status of Zimbabwe, focusing on the key aspects of governance principles.

4.2.2 Zimbabwe’s current governance status

The governance status of the countries under study will be analysed in terms of the situation from 2013 to 2017. For each country analysed, governance issues are different and are characterised according to the underpinning issues of that specific country. In relation to governance in Zimbabwe, the following elements will be analysed:

- Leadership and the rule of law
- Public participation
- Accountability and transparency

Leadership and the rule of law:

The opposite of good governance is reflected in issues of corruption and fraud. One of the highest levels of corruption is bureaucratic corruption; when the implementation

of the levels of the law, regulation or policy takes time, it becomes inefficient and service delivery is poor (Chimbganda, 2013: 3).

Furthermore, on the topic of leadership, Zimbabwe has had the same president, Robert Mugabe, since gaining independence (Cain, 2016: 1). “From the land grabbing program to the destruction of homes and businesses, from the commonplace bribery to outright corrupt theft of public funds... the Zimbabwean government under the leadership of President Robert Mugabe has proven to be one of the worst” (Cain, 2016: 6). This indicates that governance and leadership in Zimbabwe has mainly been authoritative and dictated by the current leadership, providing no room for change or improvement. “Within the camp of authoritarianism, the republics of Algeria, Egypt, Syria and Yemen revolve around dominant presidents who leave office only upon death or disposal” (Gasiorowski and Yom, 2017: 21). This pure example of authoritarian leadership relates to Zimbabwe’s current leadership situation; it also raises the question whether another type of leadership will be possible by democratic elections. According to Chikerema and Chakunda (2014: 61), “The current approach recognises that Zimbabwe politics is centred principally on state power”. Hence, the state controls all the affairs of the country, with little or no say from the public. This type of leadership refers to a type of dictatorship. Zimbabwe is also a prime example of a country that does not allow free and fair competition among political parties during elections (Thomson, 2010: 264).

According to the Zimbabwe Country Analysis (2014: 13), “An important development towards creating good governance and respect for human rights principles was the promulgation of Zimbabwe’s constitution on May 22, 2013”. The constitution is normally the foundation for any country to ensure that human rights are protected and sets out the laws that are binding on all citizens, which ultimately determines the types of laws that are needed.

Further consideration for the poor rule of law in Zimbabwe refers to the limitations faced by the judicial system in terms of capacity, which negatively affects case management (Zimbabwe Country Analysis, 2014: 17). Thus, this gap has to be filled to ensure that an effective judiciary is formulated that is capacitated to provide quality management of cases. Zimbabwe is therefore required to prioritise upskilling individuals to obtain the skills needed.

Public participation:

As discussed in Chapter 2, public participation is regarded as one of the main elements that define what good governance refers to in a country. Public participation mainly takes place at local government level, given that this is the sphere where most citizens operate and receive service delivery (Zimbabwe Country Analysis, 2014: 16). Public participation should be practiced at local government level, in particular, to ensure that citizens' needs are met and that their suggestions are considered. The Zimbabwe Country Analysis (2014: 16) further states, "Currently the public citizenry and other non-state actors lack legal means and advocacy space to claim their rights from duty bearers, hence Zimbabwe has not yet fully created capable institutions that ensure participatory democracy, effective service delivery, good governance and respect of human rights". The lack of a well-functioning judiciary system continues to create obstacles for good governance in Zimbabwe. The need for well-functioning and capable institutions should be prioritised to ensure that the country improves its governance structures.

Public participation in Zimbabwe is included in the Constitution; however, it is limited through legislation, such as the Public Order and Security Act and the Access to Information and Protection to Privacy Act (Human Rights NGO Forum, 2011: 3). Therefore, although the Constitution outlines the need for public participation, legislation was created to ensure it is suppressed. USAID has however focused on strategies to enhance governance systems in Zimbabwe, with the main objective being that "citizens are mobilised to make their voices heard" (USAID, 2014: 26). This objective mainly focuses on the promotion of public participation, specifically targeting women and youth communities (USAID, 2014: 26). This serves as a positive tool for improving public participation in Zimbabwe. This objective also informs many other objectives, and is key to the success of an effective governing system.

Accountability and transparency:

One of the key goals described in the Transitional Strategy of Zimbabwe refers to "democratic systems of governance to describe an ideal enabling environment in which governance principles of accountability and inclusivity are applied to national development" (USAID, 2014: 23). Accountability and transparency were defined in Chapter 2, and mainly relate to a government taking responsibility for the actions and

decisions made, as well as providing access to the public on critical information that affects them. These two principles therefore go hand-in-hand.

In 2016, Zimbabwe was ranked as the most corrupt country in Africa by Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (Transparency International, 2017: 1). The assessment analyses the different aspects that determine if a country is accountable and has a fair representation of gender and race. Zimbabwe however failed to provide assurances of representation and accountability.

The above-mentioned indicates that Zimbabwe is far from being considered as a country that practices good governance. It has a huge task ahead in order to reach a level where it can be classified as a country where good governance prevails. The issue of a lack of representation across the country raises red flags as this indicates that equality is largely absent. Zimbabwe also does not welcome political competition; this indicates that the country is not a democratic country. The country has to reconsider its strategies to change its current governance status by prioritising aspects that affect its governance and economic productivity.

4.3 Nigerian governance

4.3.1 Historical background

Nigeria's independence in 1960 was described as "standing out for its large population, comparatively peaceful transition and national ambitions" (LeVan, 2015: 57). The British left behind a Westminster-style parliamentary system and three regional governments each dominated by the largest ethnic groups, namely, "the Yoruba in the West, the Igbo in the East and the Hausa-Fulani in the North" (LeVan, 2015: 57). This aforementioned implies that the country was fully functioning when the British left Nigeria; however, it neglects to mention that those put in power were not equipped with the tools to ensure the smooth functioning of the system. The main challenges in Nigeria relate to:

- Corruption
- Crime and terrorism
- Unemployment
- Education
- Gender issues (Uzochukwu, 2015: 1).

These issues are all related to the practice of good governance, and therefore indicate that governance systems are very weak in Nigeria. The analysis of Nigeria will therefore focus on issues that also impact on higher levels of corruption, crime and unemployment.

4.3.2 Nigeria's current governance status

The next part of this analysis aims to identify key aspects that led to bad governance in Nigeria.

Leadership and rule of law

Leadership forms the foundation of the values of a country, as the leadership indicates what the country aspires to and how it aims to achieve its aspirations. According to Lawal (2012: 185), "The nature of governance in any political system is determined by the quality of leadership in power". Nigeria represents a country where corruption is a key element in the political leadership, which leads to poor governance. "The culture of corruption had become entrenched in the Nigerian polity since the creation of modern public service administration in the country" (Ogbeidi, 2012: 12). Although Nigeria is one of Africa's richest countries in terms of natural resources, yet it is characterised by poor leadership, which ultimately affects the economy. "In Nigeria, the primary goal of assuming a leadership position is self-enrichment" (Adeyemi, 2012: 2). This is a common issue, whether in developed or developing countries; those in leadership forget that the aim of holding a leadership position is to serve the people and not oneself.

All citizens, including the leadership, should obey the rule of law. The people of any country look to the leadership to lead by example. However, when the leaders of Nigeria shows disrespect for the rule of law, it becomes pointless to expect citizens to respect the rule of law (Lawal, 2012: 189). Furthermore, when a country's leaders disrespect the rule of law, it prevents the judiciary system from effectively discharging its duties (Lawal, 2012: 189). The idea of the independence of the judiciary system will be flawed, as the leadership disrespect the same rule of law they preach to the nation. This will interfere with the final decisions that the judiciary make, as they will be inclined to benefit the leadership.

This analysis of Nigeria concludes that although it has the natural resources to dominate Africa and the rest of the world, the development of the economic sector is largely dependent on the leadership (Saidu, 2015: 25), and the leadership do not work for the country, but only for their own interests. Thus, the country cannot prosper and grow, as it should, because decisions are based on empowering the leadership, and not the people of Nigeria. "If the Nigerian economy was practically growing; then the fruits of those growths have always been by the privileged few or the nation's elites, especially those who occupy political seats of power" (Saidu, 2015: 26). According to Nwagboso (2012: 232), "Noncompliance to the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is the first step in judging our leaders".

Nigeria is one of many African countries that face the dilemma of the self-enrichment of political and government leaders (Ejimabo, 2013: 5). This negative characteristic of African leaders who create wealth only for their "circle of family and friends" dominates the continent, and leads to suffering and hardship for the majority of the citizens. As stated above, the leadership should lead by example in implementing and abiding by the rule of law, and failure to do so is a clear indication of no dedication to the improvement of the country.

Whilst leadership and the rule of law is not up to standard in Nigeria, it is important to also evaluate the standard of public participation, accountability and transparency in the country. The next part will therefore analyse public participation in Nigeria.

Public participation:

According to Muse and Narsiah (2015: 181), "Public participation in Nigeria and most African nations are mostly mere consultation rather than formal empowerment". This statement relates to several African countries, where public participation is only done before elections when leaders make empty promises in return for votes. The issue at stake here is that the voices of the people remain silent, despite the fact that they are the ones who should be heard. The people are left with poor service delivery, poor leadership, and issues of poverty and unemployment. It has been said that "public participation, being a tool of facilitating and protecting the interests of the citizens, has mechanisms of efficiency in developing human communities" (Chado and Johar, 2016: 185). This statement refers to the fact that if public participation is fully implemented,

it serves as an effective tool to develop human communities, which means that public participation empowers communities.

If countries implement public participation effectively, communities evolve to become empowered enough to ensure that service delivery is effective and that the rule of law is implemented at all levels of government. A key issue, which also gives effect to the ineffectiveness of the public participation tool in Nigeria, is the lack of adequate consultation with the citizens concerned in adopting mechanisms, which in turn creates a huge gap in the implementation of public participation (Chado and Johar, 2016: 186). A problem also arises when the correct group of people are not consulted. This could result in wrong decisions being taken, which do not promote the wellbeing of society. Public participation aims to enhance governance, yet if implemented poorly, it may be the cause of bad governance mechanisms.

One of the root causes identified for ineffective public participation in Nigeria is “cultural systems denoting group boundaries in class and ethnicity” (Muse and Narsiah, 2015: 182). This creates a separation in societies and often results in people not being interested in participating in crucial events that could change their lives. Muse and Narsiah (*ibid.*) go further to include poverty as a root cause for the lack of public participation, as those who live in extreme poverty are so focused on getting through the day that they do not participate in political issues that concern them. These two causes are related, and provide effect for the lack of good governance structures. The reality of Nigeria being a country facing extreme poverty, yet rich in natural resources, is an indication that governance structures are failing the people of Nigeria.

Accountability and Transparency

According to Bature (2014: 107), Nigeria is compliant with the “Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) principles and standards toward 2011”. The key finding of the analysis done by EITI regarding the implementation of its principles was that the two organisations who did the analysis had different opinions on the transparency and accountability of oil and gas in Nigeria (Bature, 2014: 112). This is mainly because the two organisations had evaluated transparency and accountability using different models. However, the fact that there is still uncertainty as to the effectiveness of the implementation of transparency and accountability could suggest that Nigeria has to

work on improving its governance systems, as this means that there are no or inadequate governance structures.

Accountability is a form of reassurance to the public that the government is using funds for the development of the country and the people. Yet, it is indicated that the “government accounting system in Nigeria is grossly deficient, financial reports are outdated and unreliable at all levels of government” (Onuorah and Appah, 2012: 9). Nigeria should reevaluate its accounting system to ensure that financial statements are updated and relevant to what is happening in terms of expenditure. The government of Nigeria should consider addressing the gaps that are defined in accountability, so that it can work towards ensuring an accountable institution that will grow the economy to its full potential.

A main concern that significantly hinders transparency and accountability is corruption. A system that experiences severe corruption will undeniably lack transparency and accountability. These two concepts are exact opposites; in fact, corruption is an act of bad governance, whilst accountability and transparency are principles of good governance. The issue in Nigeria is that the leadership is only interested in enriching themselves, while the public are left poor. “Corruption in Nigeria is pervasive to the extent that public infrastructure and utilities are left unserved leading to their ineffectiveness and low productivity” (Olatunji and Yauri, 2014: 110). It is evident that the government is not interested in building Nigeria, but rather in building their own lives.

Infrastructure is also a key measurement indicator for governance; whilst, the lack of it indicates how underdeveloped a country is. For a country like Nigeria to be negligent in improving its infrastructure, is of great concern, because there are ample financial resources within the country to vastly improve the infrastructure.

If one considers a survey done by the UN, the top three governance priorities for Africans were “good education, better health care, and honest and responsive government” (African Economic Outlook, 2016: 116). The common aspects that African citizens mentioned indicate the urgency of government to be accountable and responsible for its actions to gain the trust of the public.

According to Olatunji and Yauri (2014: 110), “Corruption undermines democratic institutions, retards economic development and contributes to government instability,

attacking the foundation of democratic institutions and distorting electoral processes, perverting the rule of law creating bureaucratic bottlenecks whose only reasons for existence is the soliciting of bribes". Once corruption takes place, it tends to corrupt the whole system and it weakens the institutional values of a democracy, which is an insult to the citizens who trusted the government to deliver on its responsibilities. People will then inevitably have less faith in the government and will also be susceptible to corrupt activities to ensure their survival in the face of poverty. This in turn affects the accountability and transparency of the government, who begin to hide the wrongs committed. The issue of the failure of the Nigerian government to govern fairly and through effective governance systems creates further economic and social instability for the country, despite its abundant natural resources, which could have been utilised optimally in a well-functioning system. It is contended that "the failure of Nigeria to overcome the evil of corruption and by extension poverty which are by-products of unethical and non-accountability practices is largely due to ignorance entrenched to keep Nigerians perpetually poor for corruption to thrive" (Bem, 2014: 38). The citizens are therefore the starting point of addressing this issue, as they should be aware of the activities taking place and consider strategies to ensure that their voices are heard. The Nigerian leaders can only continue with corruption for as long as the nation remains divided and silent. Corruption therefore survives on societies that are silent, scared and not informed.

The reason why corruption has been discussed in such depth is because of its effects on transparency and accountability. A corrupt government will fail to govern a country well. Nigeria has a long way to go to change its systems and practices; however, if the leadership is not changed and or do not change the way in which they conduct business, Nigeria will continue to deteriorate, with a weakening economy and further social divides. Besides corruption playing a huge role in the weakening of governance, one cannot ignore the security issues that face Nigeria, for example, "600 teachers have been killed since the start of the Boko Haram insurgency" (African Economic Outlook, 2016: 120). This only indicates the number of teachers killed, not taking into consideration the number of children who are murdered daily. The issue of security should be one of the government's main priorities, but there seems to be limited intervention from government.

The key finding is therefore that countries that struggle with governance structures and systems are those that tend to have high levels of corruption and fraud, weaknesses in leadership, weak rule of law implementation, and accountability flaws. Nigeria and Zimbabwe are only two cases identified in the whole of Africa; however, there are many more. Governance is therefore a huge challenge, not because the concept is difficult to grasp, but when a country's leadership has ill intentions, it will not allow the country to flourish through its governance systems. It is important to also note that violence by non-state actors has increased in Africa (African Economic Outlook, 2016: 121). With this increase, it is crucial for the heads of government in Africa to identify the main causes and brainstorm the way forward to address the conflicts that could arise.

The next section of this chapter aims to analyse two countries in Africa that have been acknowledged for the implementation of effective governance systems.

4.4 Botswana's governance

4.4.1 Historical background

Botswana received its independence from Britain on 30 September 1966, when Seretse Khama became president (Chan, 2016: 2). Botswana has become known as a progressive country on the African continent in terms of governance practices. Botswana's democracy was assessed by Idasa (Alexander and Kaboyakgosi, 2012: 2), indicating that it was rated as one of the top performers of good governance practices in Africa by several organisations, including the Mo Ibrahim Index and Transparency International (Alexander and Kaboyakgosi, 2012: 3).

The Mo Ibrahim Index, which is known for the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, assesses the following aspects in a country: safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity, and human development (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015: 3). The findings and analysis of Botswana in 2014 states that "although the country is still performing comparatively well, in recent years Botswana has started to show some weakening of performance in a range of governance measures" (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015: 4). This is an indication that there may be a specific aspect or several aspects that are declining in terms of governance standards.

The rest of this section will identify the standards of performance in terms of the rule of law, participation, and accountability and transparency in Botswana. The section will also pinpoint the gaps, as mentioned by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, where governance is regressing in Botswana.

4.4.2 Botswana's governance status

Leadership and rule of law

Sebudubudu (2010: 6) states, "The resourcefulness of Botswana's leaders displays itself in terms of the way they managed the public-private partnerships, the state acquired the mineral rights from the tribes and formed a strategic alliance with international capital, formed and managed a traditional-modern coalition using a number of strategies, the way it built a political cooperation leading to some reforms in places". The rule of law in Botswana is well adhered to; take, for example, the elections that were held in 2014 in which the ruling party and the opposition party ended in a close draw. The events of those elections reflected a model of an effective democracy that involved all branches of government, including the executive, judiciary and legislature (Minchin and Kelly Newsletter, 2015: 1). Thus, according to the Minchin and Kelly Newsletter (*ibid.*), Botswana's rule of law operates effectively, given that procedures are followed, as constituted. This is one form of good governance practices, where election decisions are taken involving the relevant role players, and where the outcome of the elections are made public. Regarding leadership, Botswana is applauded for the transition of one state president to another without any major obstacles (Melber, 2007: 5). Further, according to the Mo Ibrahim Index for 2014, Botswana scored 82.7 on the safety and rule of law indicator - its lowest rating on this indicator since 2000 (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015: 4).

According to the Mo Ibrahim Index, Botswana is one of the top achievers in terms of governance in Africa; however, the country has regressed. This could be cause for concern as it could suggest that it could regress further in future. Further, the Mo Ibrahim Index indicated that Botswana's security and safety performance decreased slightly; however, it scored above 90, which confirms that it is one of the top achievers on safety (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015: 4). Moreover, Idasa states that although Botswana remains an example of good governance on the African continent, there is

room for improvement to strengthen the oversight institutions at both national and local government level (Alexander and Kaboyakgosi, 2012: 32).

The rule of law in Botswana is evolving; therefore, the results of implementation are within the positive range. The Mo Ibrahim Index and Transparency International have however said that although the country is performing well, there is room for improvement. The slight decrease suggests that there are changes occurring in the country; nonetheless, the leadership remains committed to improving the governance performance of the country.

Public Participation:

One of the main issues faced by democratic countries is the idea that democracy refers to mainly public participation, and in elections, specifically. This illusion has been the root cause why countries lack participation from the public and why the public tend not to participate in matters that affect them. As the UN states, “Elections are necessary but not sufficient to assess state governance” (African Economic Outlook, 2016: 134). However, as elections are a key element of public participation, it is important to note the progress that has been made in regards to fair elections on the African continent (African Economic Outlook, 2016: 134).

According to Obasi and Lekorwe (2014: 1), “In Botswana, decentralization is a national political priority and is well formulated in the Constitution as well as in other policy documents”. Botswana has incorporated public participation in its key constitutional documents, as well as made it a precedence for implementation. The country is known as Africa’s “success story”; it is considered this because of the progress it has made with governance systems, as the above statement indicates. An important observation is that in certain countries, where the ruling party fears they do not have the support of the majority, they often resort to the suppression of freedoms and the manipulation of the electoral game to guarantee their return to office. An example is the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF) (Southall, 2010: 6). This suggests that elections form part of how public participation is viewed, and once elections are manipulated to favour the ruling party, it clearly indicates that citizens are being deprived of their rights in one way or another. Public participation involves many aspects of how government involves the public in its decisions and allows the views of the public to affect its final decisions. Take, for example, how Botswana involved

citizens in the project of implementing Principle 10 of the Bali guidelines regarding environmental concerns and key decisions in that regard (Ochieng, 2015: 6). Although Ochieng (*ibid.*) concluded that the citizens were involved in the environmental decisions by default, through national government notices, the reality is that they were informed; however, there is room for improvement.

Public participation by women has become a more important topic over the years, as a result of the suppression women around the world have suffered in competing with men. A study on women participation in Botswana indicated that in central government 49% males are employed, with 51% females employed, while in local government 52% are males, and 47% females (United Nations Development Programme, 2014: 15). At the same time, the study also reflects on “segregation in certain industries. Men and women are over represented in certain ministries and not in others. For example, “20% of women are employed in the justice industry, while the health industry consists of 65% of women” (United Nations Development Programme, 2014: 15). However, these examples may reflect something more than what is mentioned. Classifying the majority of women in the health industry, and more men in the justice industry as “segregation” may not be the correct term. One has to also bear in mind that although we are striving for gender equality, participation also suggests the interests that both genders favour. Therefore, a majority of men in the justice industry and a majority of women in the health industry does not indicate poor participation of males or females in the other industry. It should be viewed as an indication of preference from both genders.

Certain advances have been made with political representation and public participation in Botswana (Southall, 2010: 7). Public participation is one of the crucial factors for a democratic system; therefore, it is emphasised often in democracy and governance systems. Botswana is one of the leading countries in Africa where the ideal of democracy and good governance is reflected in its structures and practices. Botswana can however improve in enhancing good governance in the country.

Accountability and Transparency

As mentioned throughout Chapter 2 of this study, “Accountability denotes the responsibility of the power holder to answer for the exercise of his or her powers” (Chirwa and Nijzink, 2012: 5). For each country analysed, accountability will be one of

the crucial elements examined because accountability and transparency tell the story of how power is being exercised.

Botswana, as the leading country in Africa, in order to obtain positive results for accountability and transparency, it should serve as an example to all other states. Accountability and transparency, as measured by the IAG, is one of the crucial indicators that define the rule of law. The indicators are divided into further sub-categories, which then feed information on direct practice, as accountability and transparency specifically focus on the public or the private sector (Mo Ibrahim Index, 2015: 8). In 2014, Botswana received an overall score of 74.2 for governance, and under the indicator “Safety and Rule of Law”, the country received a score of 82.7 (Mo Ibrahim Index, 2015: 8). Taking that a step further, the country showed a record of continued excellence, scoring 100 for the sub-indicator “Accountability, Transparency and Corruption in the Public Sector” from 2000 to 2014 (Mo Ibrahim Index, 2015: 8). The country also kept its first place for the sub-category “Accountability” with a score of 72.1 for 2015 (Mo Ibrahim Index, 2016: 32).

Botswana has managed to hold its position of excellent achievement with the IAG throughout the years, which indicates the country’s dedication to good governance practices, more so in the public sector. Accountability and transparency has proven to be challenging for a number of African countries; however, the status ranking of Botswana is something that others could aspire to. The Index does however mention that there has been some regression in Botswana. Despite this, the country has managed to maintain its position. The ideal is not to become comfortable with the results achieved, but to focus on improvement constantly. When focusing on transparency and accountability, three elements should be taken into account to achieve excellence. According to the Ahmed (2017: 248), “Transparency makes information available, publicity makes information accessible, and accountability makes information actionable”. All three elements are interlinked. Therefore, as referred to above, accountability gives an indication that power is being exercised correctly and implemented accordingly. The public continuously wants assurance that the government is using its role and power as effectively as possible. The only proof that the public has of this is through how the government reports on accountability and transparency.

Despite the negative results for other countries, where governance often raises a red flag, Botswana has managed to lead the pack. This should be an indication to Africans that there is hope for a better Africa with good governance in its rightful place.

The next example to be discussed is South Africa. The same reflection will be done as to the principles of governance implemented and the current status of governance in the country.

4.5 South African governance

4.5.1 Historical background

The first democratic elections took place in South Africa in 1994, which marked the beginning of true independence from the apartheid government (Evans, 2017: 1). This was when South Africa became independent from minority white rule. This date is marked as one of the key historical dates for South Africa when the apartheid system finally fell and there was freedom for all.

One of the key departments, or change agents, that brought about a changed South Africa was and still is the National Treasury Department. The Department helped “to forge a unified state from the fragmented apparatus it inherited from the apartheid state and achieved broadened capacities for intergovernmental coordination” (Pearson, 2016: 2). Even today, the National Treasury works as a key governance agent where policy directives and frameworks are formed to filter down to provincial and local government in South Africa.

4.5.2 South Africa’s governance status

Considering the elections that took place in 2009, the ANC won but the statistics clearly indicated a decrease in the percentage of votes they received, costing them three seats in Parliament (Shapiro and Tebeau, 2011: 1). The ruling ANC could be questioned in terms of what is being done to further improve the South African governance system. The key focus further on will be on the rule of law and leadership, public participation, accountability and transparency in South Africa. These elements are critical for the development of governance structures and systems in the country.

This will also provide insight as to the progress made concerning governance and the political status of South Africa.

Rule of law and leadership:

A book by Chris Landsberg examines the “diplomacy of transformation” in terms of the various periods of presidency, referring to when South Africa was first declared free in the era of Nelson Mandela to Thabo Mbeki being president, and then to the current presidency of Jacob Zuma (Landsberg, 2010: 4). In terms of leadership, seeing the different presidents, one can say that South Africa has experienced a more peaceful change of presidents compared to other African countries. The current president, Jacob Zuma, stated in the early stages of his presidency that his government would be more a “responsive, inclusive governance regime in general or a foreign policy decision-making architecture in particular” (Landsberg, 2010: 200) - the idea being that Zuma’s government would continue to do what Mandela strived for and what Mbeki aimed for. However, putting aside the speeches that are made promising the people all that is good, it is important to understand what type of leader one wants to have in place. When addressing the developing Africa, it is crucial to understand that a transformational leader is of essence in the process of transforming a country (Mwambazambi, 2014: 1).

According to Mwambazambi (2014: 1), “A transformational leader is a leader who understands his or her moral responsibility as that of contributing to the transformation and enhancement of individuals and communities or organisations for a higher communal good”. The traits of a transformational leader therefore refer to good morals and values, being a thinker and a doer, and someone who the nation can depend on. Currently, South Africa is facing various issues that all relate to morals, values and principles. “The current government of South Africa finds itself immersed in a sea of unintended consequences, with unaccountability, corruption and particularism embedded in the very fabric of public service and the State” (Franks, 2014: 55). This questions the current leadership that is embedded in the South African culture. The country, which once was seen as the leader on the African continent, is being labelled as one of the countries where corruption is growing at a rapid rate. The leadership’s responsibility when implementing governance structures is to lead by example. Therefore, the public sector should be an example of good governance to businesses

and organisations. However, the case in South Africa is debateable, considering that although the rule of law is enforced, the question is whether it is enforced adequately on the public sector. Franks (2014: 55) writes, “The Public Administration Management Bill 2013 may well establish the basics of a disciplined and managed Public Administration and stop procurement and services corruption, but can it come in terms of the fundamental conflict about the public service itself?”. This is the issue with the rule of law and leadership in South Africa. The rule of law may be well drafted and address the critical issues that need attention in order to ensure transformation, yet the implementation by the public service might be what is lacking to ensure that good governance is as effective as it should be.

Public participation:

With the idea of public participation, as alluded to in the previous discussions, it is also important to look at the status of violence, unemployment and economic instability in a country. This will provide an idea of how well public participation is being practiced because if it is as effective as it should be then the country would not face major issues relating to unemployment, economic instability and violence, in particular. When looking at South Africa, the discussion will focus on what is present currently and the issues faced. In the Mo Ibrahim Index’s 2016 analysis, there is slight deterioration of 0.3% in the sub-category “Participation” for South Africa (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2016: 38). Given this, it is clear that participation has not improved. Further, the Institute for Security Studies states, “Economic inequality, frequency of protests and trust in government are but some of the drivers of South Africa’s rising social instability” (Cilliers, 2016: 7). The aforementioned statement indicates why there is a rise in protest action against the government, and the reason for the escalation in violence. This could result in further implications for the government, and it could become uncontrollable, if solutions are not sought soon enough. However, this also indicates the effectiveness of freedom of speech in the media and by the public. Further, Van Vuuren (2014: 7) states that local government is mainly responsible for public participation as it is the main service delivery provider; however, municipalities have been lacking in delivering on their mandate. The aforementioned indicates that public participation is not as effective as it should be, and can be improved. The lack of effective public participation in the decision-making process results in the violence that is witnessed continuously. There is a serious need to monitor the application of public

participation in the decision-making process in the form of evidence being provided to give assurance of participation figures. The need for participation by the public is critical in the political process and is one of the key principles that affect governance. The South African government should attempt to find alternative ways to promote public participation; it should also involve the public adequately in matters that affect them.

Accountability and transparency:

Accountability and transparency are essential for the reputation of any government sector. These elements provide assurance that there is someone responsible for the specific decisions taken and that the public is made aware of these decisions. The government will always be evaluated on these principles as their power rests in the votes of local citizens, therefore government accounts to the people. “If people do not feel that the government is broadly accountable then they will not feel that it is accountable and responsive in providing services” (The World Bank, 2011: 29). It is therefore crucial for government to understand the importance of responding to the needs of citizens and to address those challenges. If the public loses confidence in the ability of the state to be transparent, it may take action that will result in violence. The increase in corruption is also an indication of the lack of transparency and accountability in the public sector in South Africa (Van Vuuren, 2014: 6). If one considers the findings from Transparency International on corruption, South Africa is ranked number 64, with a rating of 45, which reflects as one of “the bad” scoring countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Ernst and Young, 2016: 12).

The perception is that South Africa is degrading its status in terms of good governance in various areas of governance. However, it is still seen as one of the better performing countries on the African continent. It is crucial for the country to review the efforts that have been put in to ensure that accountability is one of the major elements that inform good governance practices. One of these is the legislative framework that broadly speaks to governance structures that should be implemented.

4.6 Conclusion

Governance structures are critical for service delivery in any country and for the assurance of good governance practices in the public sector. This chapter analysed

the different governance implementation measures in four different African countries. The focus of the chapter was to identify the weaknesses and strengths these countries face and how they are addressing these challenges.

The analysis indicated that Nigeria and Zimbabwe are regarded as countries that lack the acceptable governance industry practices due to various reasons; however, the common denominator is that both of the countries' government systems give the impression of self-interest, instead of the common good of the country. In the past, South Africa was considered as one of the leading good governance countries in Africa; however, recent findings indicate that it has been regressing, which is due to leadership changes that ultimately caused a change of direction, as well as led to uncertainty in the country. As mentioned before, one can argue that South Africans are indeed practicing their right of freedom of speech. However, the increase in protest action and strikes indicates the need for an improvement in governance. The vote of confidence in Botswana relates to its stability; although it should be considered that it is a smaller country.

The importance of African countries to move to an acceptable level of governance maturity is critical for the attraction of investments, which will lead to economic growth. The next chapter will focus on the various best industry practices used to measure governance. It will consider organisations and institutions like the Mo Ibrahim Index, the OECD, Transparency International, Idasa and the APRM to identify factors for consideration that are important in measuring governance.

CHAPTER 5: MEASUREMENT INDICATORS USED FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE, EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on offering practical examples of countries in Africa and their governance status. It reflected on the shortcomings of certain governance principles implemented, as well as acknowledged where progress had been made with governance. This study up to now has been a reflection of what governance is defined as, how researchers view it, and practical examples of it.

Chapter five will provide the key measurement indicators for governance that are currently used and implemented globally. The aim of the chapter is to take governance a step further from only defining it and provide the instruments used to measure governance. It will therefore highlight the key measurements used by the different organisations, and include an analysis of the past chapter to reflect the different methods that were used to measure governance for these specific countries.

The starting point for this chapter is therefore to link the two terms, governance and measuring indicators, to understand its aim better. The word “measurement” indicates that one wants to determine the value of something or someone in its largest sense. Therefore, indicators are those instruments that are used to measure governance. “The indicators are not absolute measures of governance, but are measures of a country’s relative rank with respect to that indicator” (Thomas, 2006: 3). Therefore, the indicators measure certain aspects of a country’s development; thus, informing the public of the level of governance implemented in a country.

Governance is divided into various sections within each country, of which mostly concern the national, the provincial, and then the local. Local governance refers to governance within municipalities. The need for measuring local governance can vary because local governance in turn affects both provincial and national governance, if not done right. Measuring and assessing local governance is done to “identify potential gaps and constraints in local policy implementation; to identify specific capacity development needs; and to engage civil society and the private sector in local governance” (Laberge and Moretto, 2008: 15). Local governance measurements and

assessments therefore assist in improving key documents and constantly keeping up to date with trends and best practices globally. “Beyond economics, measuring government activity is important because of the size of its activities and the consequent need to understand what it is achieving with the very significant expenditures” (OECD, 2007: 2). This statement indicates that government activity should be measured and assessed to offer a better understanding of what financial expenditure is made and for which activities. Government activity also influences citizens because these activities are or should be related to current situations the country faces and how to improve these situations, which is normally an activity related to service delivery or economic improvement.

Understanding why governance should be measured is crucial for the process to be of value. Governance affects many aspects of a country’s performance, and reflects how matters are dealt with; therefore, it warrants to be unpacked and understood well when embarking on determining the statistics of its implementation. The different methods and measurements used for governance may reflect governance being measured for various reasons. Organisations as governance is a matter that is interrelated with every institution, organisation, NGO and country, and cannot be avoided even when practices are hostile. One of the critical needs for measuring governance is due to economic development, which plays a major role in any country’s development. “Aspects such as rule of law, property rights, political stability, and lack of corruption has been pointed out as essential in order to promote economic growth” (Dellepiane-Avellaneda, 2010: 195). Hence, the elements used to measure good governance are essentially what is also needed to promote economic growth and development. Bad governance elements, such as corruption, fraud and abuse of assets and power, all feed negatively into the growth of the economy; therefore, the development of the country is slow. Hence, there is a great need to measure governance practices in order to determine where there are weaknesses and what needs improvement. Measuring governance also sheds light as to the methods that have been successful in governance and those that have been harmful.

The following sections will deal with the specific uses of governance measurements recognised globally for best practice and/or applicability, as well as their uses by several countries, both developed and developing.

5.2 Measuring instruments

5.2.1 The World Bank

The indicators the World Bank uses for measuring governance are referred to as the World Governance Indicators (WGI). They are the “voice of accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, control of corruption” (Thomas, 2006: 3). The World Bank is one of the largest organisations that measures governance for reasons related to its mandate; therefore, it is known as an organisation that can be relied on regarding its statistics. According to the World Bank, the six indicators of “governance should not be thought of as being somehow independent of one another” (Kaufmann, 2010: 5). As mentioned in Chapter two, the elements of governance are interrelated. These elements function together if implemented correctly.

The Mo Ibrahim Index is another well-known governance indicator tool used to measure governance on the African continent. The need for measuring governance is to “monitor country progress, understand the causes and consequences of good governance for development, and learn from successes and failures” (The World Bank, 2006: 1). When governance is measured, it provides an indication on where a country is concerning its stage of development. Governance measures are used to provide worldwide organisations with clarity on how and to what extent a country can be assisted. For instance, the World Bank will use the governance measurements to decide how much it can lend a country that applies for a loan. The governance indicators therefore also give an indication of the risk involved. Thus, governance measures are used for various reasons, including for countries to monitor their own performance.

According to Thomas (2006: 3), the “WGI covers 213 countries and territories and is based on several hundred variables produced by 25 different sources, including commercial data providers”. This indicates that the WGI is well known for its use of measuring governance and because of its reputation, it is recognised as a reliable source for measuring governance. It also reflects that these governance indicators are accepted by a number of countries worldwide and are therefore the standard for measuring governance. The WGI relies strictly on perceptions based on governance

data sources to firms, households, commercial information providers, NGOs, and other public-private sector bodies (Kauffman, 2010: 5). As explained by the World Bank, its approach of using unobserved components methodology (UCM) is because it “has the advantage of maintaining some of the cardinal information in the underlying data; second, the UCM approach provides a natural framework for weighting the rescaled indicators by their relative precision, as opposed to simply constructing unweighted averages as is done by most other cross country composite measures of governance and the investment climate” (Kauffman, 2010: 16). The WGI does therefore not use the same approach as other measuring organisations, mainly because governance is difficult to measure, unless one measures those aspects that highlight the negative effects of bad governance or the rankings of certain factors, which also do not depict governance completely. The World Bank therefore relies more on perceptions because people base their views on perceptions, just as a service is rated on perceptions or investments are made due to perceptions, which are motivated by outcomes received previously. Further, the WGI relies more on subjective perceptions than objective views because facts are often based on theory, whereas subjective perceptions are based on reality (Kauffman, 2010: 18).

Hence, the WGI is known for its different perspective on measuring governance. The WGI indicators are applicable to other measuring indicators; however, the method of collecting the information is completely different from other measuring methods.

5.2.2 The Mo Ibrahim Index

The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) was created to “provide a tool to measure and monitor performance in every African country” (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2016: 6). The Index is known for its popularity on the African continent and is used as a reflection of governance ratings. The Mo Ibrahim Index divides the various categories of governance evaluation into the following:

- I. Safety and Rule of Law - rule of law, accountability, personal safety and national safety
- II. Participation and Human Rights - participation, rights and gender
- III. Sustainable Economic Opportunity - public management, business environment, infrastructure, and the rural sector

IV. Human Development - welfare, education and health (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2016: 7)

These elements are divided further into other elements that measure a specific component. If one looks at the findings for 2016 for the countries analysed in the previous chapter, South Africa was ranked sixth, with a score of 69.4; Nigeria was ranked 36th, with a score of 46.5; Zimbabwe 39th, with a score of 44.3; and Botswana second, with a score of 73.7 (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2016: 18). The IIAG has included 16 new variables for data sources, of which three completely new concepts, namely:

- Protection against discrimination - Assesses whether the government protects ethnic minorities from discrimination and protects citizens from discrimination based on religious beliefs.
- Civil registration - Assesses the existence of a functioning birth and death registration system and the ability of citizens to obtain birth and death certificates in a reasonable period and at no charge.
- Regional Integration - Assesses the extent of the government's actions and efforts to promote free movement of persons and labour and easy right of establishment, and contribute to regional financial integration (Umar, 2017: 2).

These new concepts included in the IIAG are an indication that the Mo Ibrahim Foundation has reviewed the incidents of xenophobia on the African continent, as well as the issue of capturing information on births and deaths, which has been a matter of concern on the continent. The IIAG has improved its data source methods to incorporate the current reality of the continent, which also reflects whether governance is progressing or regressing. The IIAG uses a variety of data units for measurements and not one specific measurement method; that is, it uses percentages, infinite numbers and ordinal scale figures (Umar, 2017: 2). According to the IIAG, it makes the process of measuring governance more meaningful and does not exclude imperative information that could affect the statistics/data. The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) has stated that the "IIAG's view of governance is holistic, looking not only at democratic aspects, but also socio-economic factors" (Gruzd and Turianskyi, 2014: 1). The SAIIA therefore acknowledges the perspective of the IIAG and values the information received from the Mo Ibrahim Index. As the

SAIIA also indicated, the IAG takes a universal view on governance and considers a number of factors to determine the scoring of a country's governance, which then also motivates that the dex provides valuable information to those who are affected by governance and consider it for various reasons.

The AU made mention of the IAG in one of its speeches on political affairs. It stated that the IAG is acknowledged as one of the most comprehensive collection of data measurements on African governance; further, the IAG provides an opportunity for all the stakeholders of a country to freely express their views on goods and service delivery and the effectiveness of policies and the rule of law (Abdullahi, 2013: 4). The AU has therefore provided its support to the Mo Ibrahim Index and regards this measuring tool of governance as an effective tool to assist countries in improving various aspects, including democracy, rule of law and accountability, which all relate to good governance. The AU also indicated that the Department of Political Affairs of the AU and the IAG work together to encourage democracy and good governance on the continent (Abdullahi, 2013: 5). The AU has thus given the IAG its backing.

The IAG provides its governance assessment to the entire African continent, covering 54 countries (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2016: 8). One can therefore see why the AU has recognised the IAG and continues to see the fruit it produces on the continent. The abovementioned results on the four countries assessed on governance indicated the weak governance systems on the African continent, which affects the development of the continent negatively, which in turn affects investments and further weakens the economy. What the IAG also aims to do is to identify these weaknesses so that they can be addressed by policy implementation measures.

The Mo Ibrahim Foundation continues to be one of the leading indicators for measuring governance on the African continent, as expressed by various sources above. The next section will focus on the OECD as a measurement tool for governance.

5.2.3 The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

The OECD's vision is to "help countries develop policies together to promote economic growth and healthy labour markets, boost investment and trade, support sustainable

development, raise living standards, and improve the functioning of markets” (OECD, 2011: 2). Thus, the main purpose of the OECD is to assist countries with development in the various areas that promote the overall development of a country. Policy development and implementation forms an integral part of enhancing development in a country; therefore, the OECD is dedicated to assisting countries with the process of creating policies that will enhance and support good governance practices (OECD, 2011: 2). Hence, the purpose of the OECD, unlike that of institutions that aim to measure the level of governance, is not to measure governance as much as it is to assist in the process of improving governance structures for developing countries. The OECD serves as a platform used by governments to come together to find solutions to common problems, promote best practices for good governance, and share ideas (Gurria, 2017: 13). The OECD is therefore not a measuring tool, but an enhancing tool for good governance practices. One finds several documents on the OECD website that promote best practices of good governance identified by governments as a whole. This platform provides a good basis for sharing ideas and advising countries on various methods of addressing key governance issues that may affect economic growth, reputations, and investments.

One key measuring method of the OECD for good governance relates to performance measurement of the policy programming, which is a fundamental tool for building accountability and promoting transparency (OECD, 2017: 386). Reference is made to Chile’s development process; however, given the nature of many developing countries that lack accountability and transparency, its applicability cuts across countries globally. Performance measurement in the public sector is one of the greatest deficiencies faced globally by many developing countries. It could be characterised as one of the key elements for developing countries that are regressing in terms of governance. If performance is not measured, it creates a gap in the assessment of governance practices. Participatory governance is also reflected on in the assessment of Chile, which acknowledges that without participatory governance a government lacks proper governance in totality (OECD, 2017: 386). If there is no participation by the public in policy development, identifying key service delivery needs, and understanding challenges then one ultimately eliminates a crucial process of democracy.

From assessing the information presented above, it is clear that the OECD is grounded on the principle of policy effectiveness, which stimulates economic growth and good governance practices. However, no African country is a member of the OECD; despite this, one can note the relevance of the OECD in policies that are created to serve the needs of society.

5.2.4 The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)

As described previously, the “APRM of the African Union is a self-monitoring mechanism which aims to foster the adoption of policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth and sustainable development” (NEPAD, 2003: 3). The APRM is available for member states on a voluntary basis to assess their own governance. This tool can be used to determine how far a state is with the implementation of policies and practices of standards, which in turn provides a self-reflecting report on the status of a state. Although the APRM theoretically serves as a good tool for self-monitoring, its effectiveness has been scrutinised over the past few years. An article on the effectiveness of AU reviews, focusing specifically on the APRM tool, states that for certain countries usage of the APRM improved their rankings in the IAG index; however, there are also instances where countries including Mali, Mozambique and Tanzania regressed in terms of governance measurements for the 2014 period (Gruzd and Turianskyi, 2014: 2). The regression could suggest that the APRM reviews are not as effective as expected, or it could have been affected by other drastic changes, for example political changes or safety issues, which result in negative effects when governance is reviewed.

The APRM has 35 member countries across the African continent, of which 17 have had peer reviews done by 2015 (Rashed, 2015: 5). The effectiveness of the review is dependent on what the country did after the review took place to further implement policies and procedures. This informs the measurement of governance on the IAG index, as mentioned above. “For the last 12 years, APRM Country Assessments have provided an in-depth analysis of country specific governance and development challenges, as well as local approaches to problem-solving” (Rashed, 2015: 7). This statement was made by Ashraf Rashed, a member of the APRM Panel of Eminent Persons, who one can expect would justify the progress of the APRM. However, the effectiveness of the APRM can be questioned as countries may be in denial of the

issues faced, especially if those countries' leaders are the ones providing the input for the APRM reviews. This challenges the results of the APRM in terms of how truthful or accurate they really are, and what value they add to a country.

An instrument used for self-monitoring is perhaps not the most effective and accurate instrument to be used; therefore, it is worth having another measurement tool to measure governance from an outside perspective. It is the same as an audit undertaken in a firm; although the internal audit team's work is valuable, it is best to have an external audit team too, who will validate that information is accurate and if there are further challenges not highlighted by the internal audit team, the external audit team are in a position to do so.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, democracy plays a crucial role in governance, especially in good governance systems. However, Africa still lacks effective democracy, as described in the case studies on South Africa, Zimbabwe and Nigeria. Although some countries experience positive economic growth, they lack democratic practices where all citizens participate in the governance of the country (Ejiogu and Kondlo, 2011: 15). South Africa is considered as one of progressing countries in terms of governance on the African continent; however, the above-mentioned statement is relevant regarding the practices of democracy in South Africa. The same applies to Nigeria. Despite it being the leading country in terms of economic growth on the African continent, governance is poor, and democracy is lacking in the system.

The application of governance systems remains a concern on the African continent. The possible reasons for the ineffective implementation of governance should be investigated to shed further light on the matter.

5.2.5 Transparency International

Transparency is one of the key elements of good governance, as it aims to make the work of public officials open and transparent. This element has significant value for effective governance and is regarded as crucial for a country. The 2016 Transparency International index indicates that South Africa was in 64th place, with an average score of 45. This indicates that the country is midway between being "highly corrupt and very clean", leaning more towards being highly corrupt (Transparency International, 2016:6). Nigeria scored 28, Zimbabwe 22, and Botswana with the highest score of 60

(Transparency, 2016: 6-7). Botswana was the only country in Africa that scored above 50, which indicates that the rest are prone to corruption.

While Transparency International focuses on transparent practices, the opposite would be corruption and fraud. “Corruption is the most powerful weapon in the armoury of violent extremism” (Allen *et al.*, 2017: 1). The aforementioned statement, from a document published by Transparency International, explicitly indicates that corruption is the cause of the violent extremism, taking place in Iraq, Libya and Nigeria (Allen *et al.*, 2017: 1). Corruption has negative effects on any country that is working towards development; it is the extreme opposite of a good governance system. Although some countries are more likely to experience corruption than others are, it is clear that the African continent battles with it. In comparison to the 2016 Transparency International index, results for 2015 depicted a high score for corruption in all the countries analysed in this study, including South Africa, Botswana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe. Thus, it is clear that corruption has been rife on the African continent for some time now.

Transparency is one of the key elements for good governance; however, the results have confirmed that corruption has swallowed up much of the wealth of nations because of a few individuals who are not focused on the improvement of their country’s status, but rather on enriching themselves.

5.2.6 The United Nations

The United Nations (UN) is known as one of the world organisations that focuses on good governance practices, economic growth, and fighting various forms of violence in various countries. The universal principles of good governance (as explained in Chapter 2) reflect those that are also recognised by the UN, including transparency, accountability, responsiveness and participation (United Nations, 2016: 9). These principles are also accepted and recognised by several other organisations that strive for improved governance, economic growth and development.

Where governance structures act as an incentive to individuals, firms and organisations, it leads to economic growth and development; however, the opposite is also true (Jarbandhan, 2016: 9). The application of good governance structures and processes leads to economic growth and development, whereas bad governance leads to poor economic performance and a regression in development. The effects of

utilising governance structures have a huge impact on how a country progresses or regresses economically. The economy of any country is dependent on good performance, and factors such as corruption and unemployment have a negative effect on it. According to the UNDP (2017: 130), “The most recent data from several opinion surveys confirms that unemployment remains the most pressing issue for African citizens”. Unemployment is one of the three most pressing issues in Africa. It has also given rise to other issues, such as an increase in corruption and crimes that are committed to ensure basic survival. These issues of political and economic concern are all related to the chain of governance, whereby it is clear that a lack of good governance gives rise to all these negative factors within a country. Although unemployment is a major issue, it is recognised that the level of dissatisfaction with wages and salaries is also of great concern given the increase in public protests for better wages and salaries (UNDP, 2017: 132). The African continent is known for the low wages and salaries paid to workers, which in turn gives rise to an increase in unemployment, crime and corruption.

Furthermore, according to the UN’s economic outlook on Africa, “Dissatisfaction with political arrangements was among the main drivers of public protests in Africa from 2011 to 2016” (UNDP, 2017: 135). Political stability is absent throughout the African continent, including in South Africa and Nigeria, which are examples of political instability due to the ruling party being divided and corruption reigning supreme. Political arrangements play a vital role in addressing all the issues that affect a country; however, with the current situation in various countries on the African continent, it has become more of a concern. Political instability also gives rise to corruption, which in turn affects a country’s investment outlook. “The high transaction cost of doing business in Africa is detrimental to business and companies and hampers the flow of commerce, as well as economic growth and development” (Jarbandhan, 2016: 27). This sheds light on the current situation in a number of African countries, where investments do not occur, resulting in the countries taking out loans. However, the other issue is that due to the high rate of corruption and fraud, these loans serve no real purpose as they often are used for the wrong purpose.

The UN has provided assistance to several African countries; however, the UN does not have the power to implement and dictate a country’s leadership. The UN can therefore only provide recommendations and advise. According to the United Nations

(2016: 53), “African governance indicators, produced by ECA, were developed to assist policymakers in identifying the gaps between policies, constitutional and other legal provisions and actual practice, as well as building in-country research capacity to measure and monitor governance, among others”. The UN has given credit to the tools used to measure governance in African countries. These measuring tools have been improved over time to address their deficiencies; among them are the World Bank Indicators and the Mo Ibrahim Index. The aim of these measuring indicators is to improve policies, governance and other issues that hamper economic growth and development. Governance measuring tools are also used by other organisations and companies when deciding on investment opportunities; thus, if the results indicate the same issues and even an increase in them, companies are less likely to invest in a country.

5.3 Conclusion

The tools used to measure governance in Africa were assessed, proving that they all serve a specific purpose. Organisations like the UN and AU have motivated the importance of making use of these tools.

What is clear at this point is that the African continent has not made much progress with governance; this despite the fact that most countries have gained independence. The same countries that are now democracies are characterised by poor governance structures. While the measuring tools have indicated an improvement in certain instances, there has been a lack of improvement overall on the African continent. (The Mo Ibrahim Index for 2016 will be attached as Annexure A, giving effect to the results provided)

The measurement of governance may vary as to what tool is used; however, what has been highlighted in the discussion on all the methods is that governance is lacking on the African continent. The governance measurement tools indicate the results of the current status of governance, but how countries improve their situation is dependent on the leadership and the citizens of a country. These measuring tools do not only measure governance, but also identify gaps that require improvement in a country's governance structures. The lack of implementation of these recommendations is what causes governance to keep on regressing on the African continent.

This chapter has highlighted the main governance measuring instruments and organisations, which are not only recognised in Africa but globally. The tools for measuring governance serve as an effective method for measurement and monitoring. Measuring governance is therefore a critical part of assessing governance structures and areas of concern. Governance should serve as a top priority on the African continent, and while it is not expected that all governments should use the same tools and methods, what is important is that the practices used for benchmarking and to indicate effectiveness should be utilised.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

The topic under discussion in this study was good governance on the African continent, with a direct analysis of four specific countries, namely:

- Botswana
- South Africa
- Nigeria
- Zimbabwe

The topic chosen was motivated by several factors, including the worldwide recognition that governance has been receiving for some time now. Governance forms part of our everyday lives and we are confined to governance structures on a daily basis, as reflected in **Chapter 2.2. Defining Governance**. While the importance of governance was highlighted broadly, the topic's focus was on analysing governance on the African continent, as Africa is perceived as a continent with weak governance structures. Many African countries have gone through the transformation phase from being ruled by Northern countries, to being independent and free. This process was not easy for any of the countries and setbacks were experienced. Moreover, as mentioned before, most African countries face challenges relating to governance. The need to evaluate governance has thus become a priority considering the widespread violence, and the challenges relating to democracy, crime, unemployment and the lack of economic growth. In addition, good governance on the African continent is of great significance in order to ensure foreign investment and to address key factors, such as the eradication of poverty and policy implementation (Chapter 4, page 23). Good governance promotes investment opportunities, which will in turn improve factors related to poverty and policy implementation.

The problem statement of this study was defined as addressing issues that relate to governance directly, including democracy, human rights and the rule of law. These elements are all linked to how governance is implemented and received by citizens and the leadership of a country. It was thus essential for an analysis to be done on

African countries to identify the direct issues that pertain to certain countries, of which the analysis was based on the countries mentioned above.

The key objectives, as indicated in **Chapter 1**, were to:

- Provide a theoretical perspective for the study as a foundation for conceptualising the term ‘governance’;
- Analyse international contributions to good governance;
- Provide case studies on African countries where there is evidence of good governance and bad governance practices;
- Determine the motive behind bad governance practices in Africa;
- Review the measuring tools used for governance practices; and
- Determine the challenges faced and the way forward for African countries.

These objectives will be examined below to substantiate how they have been met individually.

6.2 Summary and overview of the study

6.2.1 Chapter 2

Chapter 2, which refers to the theoretical chapter, reflected the discussion on what governance is defined as, what the key governance elements are, as well as elements that are closely related to governance. The chapter further unpacked the theories of pluralism, Marxism, liberalism, democracy and legitimacy, and each theory’s relation to governance. Several scholars and researchers, with different opinions and views that are all related in one way or another, have defined governance. According to Heywood (2007:6), governance is described as “various ways through which social life is coordinated... the term reflects a blurring of the state/society distinction, resulting from changes such as the development of new forms of public management, the growth of public-private partnerships”. **Chapter 2** emphasised the repetitiveness of the development of governance, whilst illustrating the fact that governance is a cause worthy of study. Other definitions of governance provided include: “...self-organising, inter-organisational networks characterised by interdependence, resource-exchange, rules of the game, and significant autonomy from the state” (Kjaer, 2004: 7). This definition refers to the independence of local government from national government.

The need to define governance is crucial in order to reach a common understanding on the subject matter so that it can be measured correctly.

The African continent was chosen for this study because of the issues relating to the development of the continent and the challenges it faces to grow economically. An irony linked to Africa is that although it is a resource-rich continent, which should imply wealth for its people, for some reason it is still struggling to grasp how wealthy it truly is. This links up with understanding how the concepts of pluralism, liberalism, democracy and legitimacy relate to the governing systems used by African states. Understanding these concepts was the point of departure for understanding governance in Africa because each African country has some relation to a specific concept and how it is applied in reality. The elements of good governance, which are recognised worldwide, have an effect on the governance structures used. Whilst **Chapter 2** highlighted these elements, they were applied throughout the study to illustrate the application to the four countries assessed. Elements of good governance include (Gisselquist, 2012: 11):

- Rule of law;
- Transparency;
- Accountability;
- Responsiveness;
- Public Participation;
- Effectiveness and Efficiency;
- Consensus-orientated; and
- Equity and Inclusiveness.

Institutions and organisations of good governance, including the APRM and the IIAG, recognise these elements as they are critical for good governance practices and serve as a necessity to improve a country's economic growth and development. **Chapter 2** thus achieved its aim in defining governance as a collective, incorporating a number of views, and understanding the rationale behind each view. **Chapter 2** added value to the study by unpacking all the elements and theories and how each has a relation to governance, as well as what the effects of each of the theories are.

6.2.2 Chapter 3

Chapter 3 dealt with how international organisations have contributed to good governance practices. These organisations were developed for various reasons, including to assist countries with the development process and address issues of concern. The chapter focused on three specific institutions, namely, the African Union, the African Peer Review Mechanism, and the United Nations. Each of these institutions have contributed to governance in a number of ways, and therefore were assessed as part of the tools for measuring governance. The establishment of the African Union was discussed, highlighting its key objective as being “to nurture, support, and consolidate good governance by promoting democratic culture and practice, building and strengthening governance institutions and inculcating political pluralism and tolerance” (African Union, 2007: 3). The AU aims to play the same role for African countries that the European Union plays in Europe. The AU has managed to act as an organisation for African countries that binds them to good governance practices and to improving democracy. It has contributed greatly to improving governance in Africa as it can impose sanctions on African countries that contravene democratic practices (Kimenyi, 2015: 32). The AU is one of the only organisations that may do this, and it has proven successful in achieving its aim. As indicated in Chapter 5, the AU has collaborated with the Mo Ibrahim Index in measuring governance, indicating the organisation’s objective to achieve good governance. The AU was discussed in detail to outline all its objectives, including peace and security, democracy, and economic development. This shed light on the aim of the organisation, as well as the issues faced on the African continent.

The United Nations found its purpose after World War 2 - a war that caused violence and destruction beyond repair. The UN has been described as an international organisation with the purpose of “saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war” (Weiss, 2015: 2), as reflected in **Chapter 3.3.1**. The UN was therefore established to rebuild countries that have been and are currently being destroyed by wars and the greed of dictatorships. This organisation is recognised globally, and it is present in a number of countries that are experiencing challenges with peace and security, development, violence and corruption. The establishment of the UN marked the beginning of global governance, whereby unity would be created with all countries across the world to reach a level of consensus on what good governance is and how

it can be achieved (**Chapter 3.3.1. page 10**). A challenge that the organisation has faced from time to time is pressure from the public of how involved it can become in the affairs of a country. The UN has to be mindful of not overstepping boundaries as states are sovereign and therefore act on their own accord. Therefore, the organisation cannot impose recommendations on countries. The elements of good governance mentioned and discussed in **Chapter 2** are also those of the UN. As mentioned in **Chapter 3**, the Security Council of the UN is well known because of its ability to deal with conflict in countries (United Nations, 2008: 15). However, this is not always a good thing, as the organisation receives negative publicity when it struggles to achieve a goal. It was therefore highlighted in Chapter 3 that the UN has shortcomings, which are mainly related to the level of authority it has in a country. On the African continent, the UN has had a presence because of the conflict in a number of countries. It serves as one of the most constant organisations to have assisted the continent.

The APRM has been recognised as one of the most significant organisations that has assisted the governance process in Africa. The APRM is a voluntary instrument that is available for countries to assess their governance levels and the effectiveness of their policies. The successes of the APRM were mentioned in **Chapter 5.2.4**; however, it also has negative associations. Nonetheless, the APRM remains a good instrument; however, it should be noted again that the instrument is voluntary and therefore does not provide for sanctions or banning if a country does not participate in the process.

6.2.3 Chapter 4

Chapter 4 dealt with the application of governance in the four African countries, namely, South Africa, Botswana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe. The general perception about Africa is that “it is a continent characterised by corruption, famine, disasters and civil war” (Thomson, 2010: 2). This perception has been applied to the African continent for many decades, and to some extent has been proven true. However, it needs to be acknowledged that all is not doom and gloom and that progress has been achieved in some instances. South Africa is an example of a country that has achieved economic growth and development since the dawn of democracy in 1994. However, the destruction wrought by corruption and unemployment has made the country regress (**Chapter 4.5.2**). Botswana has been described as the most progressive country in Africa in terms of good governance practices, and despite it not being

completely free of issues of economic growth and development, it is important to recognise its achievements in relation to governance structures. Botswana is therefore more likely to receive larger investments as countries and companies consider governance issues when making lump sum investments. In addition, Botswana's political stability is a good example to all African countries (**Chapter 4.4.2**). Nigeria, in turn, has shown an upturn in its economic growth due to its natural resources; however, it still faces the spectre of Boko Haram, which has not been solved. Moreover, Nigerians complain about the corruption that is threatening to engulf their government, and the results from the Mo Ibrahim Index are evidence of this, as reflected in **Chapter 4.3.2**.

Each of these countries tell a unique story of what is happening in them; but, what is common amongst them is the fact that good governance is lacking, more so than it is progressing. Only one of the countries analysed, Botswana, can truly be called a good governance country, whilst South Africa has been regressing since its previous achievements. It would appear that the constant need for improvement has not been emphasised by most of the countries analysed; instead, it would appear that once an achievement has been made, the leadership relaxes and rather pushes their own agenda, which often boils down to self-enrichment. It is inevitable that the citizens will at some point stop supporting poor leaders, just like the citizens united to stand up against colonialism. If the reality is faced, it is a country's own people that allows it to drown in bad governance because they do not use their voices and their power at the voting booth to say, "Enough is enough". When all is said and done, African countries will have to start working on ways of ridding themselves of their poor leaders, who only care about enriching themselves, if they want to ensure that their countries prosper and grow.

6.2.4 Chapter 5

As a result of the bad governance prevalent in most African countries, the need for measurement tools for governance arose. This is discussed in **Chapter 5**. This need for measuring governance has been justified time and again in this study. Governance should be measured to determine performance levels, weaknesses and challenges, and provide instruments for improvement. As mentioned before, good governance should not be taken lightly by countries, as good governance is of vital importance for

investments, economic growth opportunities and development. As mentioned in **Chapter 5.2.6**, if governance is ignored and the measurements are not used for the benefit of a country, the citizens at some point will act on it. This gives rise to public protests, civil wars and an increase in violence and crime. Governance measuring tools are there to assist in the process of governing and not to work against it. Some African countries have been very resistant to making use of governance measuring tools, and that is mainly due to the assessment exposing the weaknesses of the country. However, those weaknesses present an opportunity for improvement and, if applied correctly, could benefit the country. The importance of measuring governance was unpacked in detail in **Chapter 5**.

The main tools assessed for measuring governance were:

- The World Bank – the World Governance Indicators (WGI);
- The Mo Ibrahim Index – the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG);
- The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD);
- The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM); and
- Transparency International.

Each of the abovementioned were critically discussed and analysed to include the positives and negatives of applying these tools. However, what was determined and concluded regarding each tool, despite the negative connotations associated with them, is that these tools are all aimed at improving governance. The tools were established to find different alternatives for measuring governance and evaluating its effectiveness (**Chapter 5.3**). They measure the good and the bad, and they clearly indicate where the challenges are.

6.3 Findings and recommendations

6.3.1 Findings

The study has indicated that governance has been ineffective on the African continent for a number of reasons, including:

- Poverty
- Unemployment

- Poor economic growth
- Crime
- Fraud and corruption
- Violent protests
- Health

The Economic Outlook on Africa report underlined the above issues, which were discussed in **Chapter 5.2.6**. (UNDP, 2017: 130). These issues seem to cut across a number of African countries; therefore, it is clear why governance is so fragmented on the continent. Economic growth has been slow in African countries, and even those that showed progress in this area have been exposed to corruption and violence (e.g. Nigeria). The issue of economic growth remains a top priority and should be addressed as a matter of urgency.

A key finding related to the international organisations and institutions is that some countries decline the assistance provided because it exposes the bad governance practices in those countries. Countries under a dictatorship are also less likely to make use of these international organisations. Moreover, the practice of resistance could be directly related to greed and self-interest. Despite this, these organisations still serve as important tools for assisting in governance progression, development and economic growth. It is recommended that governments should align themselves to the principles and elements of good governance that these institutions recommend.

International organisations and institutions play a critical role in development and governance, especially in the modern era where countries are dependent on one another. These organisations emphasise the importance of balance, fairness and independence among state members, and bring in a fresh perspective, which can serve as an impetus for change and improvement. These international organisations do not always have the power to implement or force countries to implement specific governance measures, as mentioned in **Chapter 3.3.4** as one of the challenges faced by the UN. Countries remain independent and certain boundaries cannot be overstepped by external organisations. This hurdle then begs the question whether international organisations are effective if they do not have the authority to act on destructive practices.

The findings of this study vary, but the golden thread running throughout is the following:

- Governance is recognised as important, but is not applied accordingly in practice;
- Governance practices affect a number of factors that in turn have an influence on the economy, development, political stability, and safety.
- Governance measurements are not given enough credit or recognition by African countries and thus the recommendations for implementation plans are not always utilised.

Each of these aspects will be discussed to substantiate the result of the findings.

(i) Governance is recognised as important, but is not applied accordingly in practice:

Reference is made in the study to the importance of governance by various scholars, authors, institutions and organisations. The concept was defined in **Chapter 2** so as to understand what each of the elements of governance are. The concepts of democracy and legitimacy were also discussed to refer to the role governance plays, specifically in the public sector. **Chapter 4**, however, indicated that the application of governance is not as effective as described theoretically. Reference was made to countries that lack transparency and accountability, public participation, and, most importantly, leadership who are able to drive good governance practices.

Chapter 4.3.2 alluded to the fact that public participation only becomes a priority when elections are around the corner, which is accompanied by empty promises of better service delivery and governance structures that will account to the people. The notion described above creates false hope for citizens and results in poor leadership. Good governance practices are promised to gain votes, but end up not materialising when the political party comes into power.

(ii) Governance practices influence a number of factors, that in turn have an influence on the economy, development, political stability and safety

Governance affects our lives on a daily basis, as discussed in **Chapter 2** where governance is defined. In **Chapter 2.2** it was stated that the African Development Bank

(AFDB) defines governance as “a process referring to the way in which power is exercised in the management affairs of a nation” (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 1999: 5). This statement indicates that governance practices contribute greatly to the political stability of a country. Whether or not the political leaders implement good or bad governance practices will in turn affect how governance measuring organisations and institutions and the international world, which monitor governance implementation, view political stability.

In **Chapter 3.2.3** it was said that “one of the major challenges that have faced African states since the advent of political independence has been that of establishing and sustaining appropriate governance institutions and practices that would engender democratic practices and promote sustainable development on the continent” (Yimer, 2015: 129). Governance structures play a crucial role in creating order and promoting good ethical practices; while, if effective governance structures are absent, an organisation exposes itself to poor development.

Chapter 4.1 made reference to the fact that although the ideal for Africa as a whole has always been independence from colonialism, independence has not always led to sustainable economic growth for the continent. This brings us to what good governance practices promote, which is economic growth and development and an ethical society where crime is managed effectively. “It is also important to recognise that even though economic mismanagement among government exists, Zimbabwe like many other African countries remains a post-colonial state unfairly inserted within global capitalism” (Murisa, 2010: 20). The aforementioned refers to **Chapter 4.2.1**, where the finding was clear - colonialism may not be the direct reason for poor governance and poor economic growth, but it played a major role in leaving the people of Africa without the skills to promote good governance and economic growth.

(iii) Governance measurements are not given enough credit or recognition by African countries for them to use the recommendations for implementation plans:

Chapter 5 unpacked the need for measuring governance, not only in Africa, but globally. **Chapter 5.1** made mention of the fact that the elements used to measure good governance are essentially what is also needed to promote economic growth and development. **Chapter 5.3** informed us that measuring tools are utilised by

countries, but to a limited extent. The results of the measuring tools are accompanied by recommendations; however, these recommendations are seldom implemented by countries. The lack of implementation of these recommendations creates a continuous cycle of poor governance measurements. Nothing is improved or changed, and transformation does not occur. In the same way that governance measuring instruments are accepted, so are the international organisations.

The measurement tools and organisations were established to provide assistance to African countries to improve governance implementation. However, **Chapter 3.5** and **Chapter 5.3** clearly indicate that the organisations and tools are not received with great enthusiasm. It is good when recommendations are made to create tools to assist in assessing governance; however, when it comes to applying what the findings suggest, there is a consistent lack of it. This was substantiated by the results from the APRM and the IIAG in **Chapter 4 and 5**.

It can be concluded that progress will be slow in African countries until the ills are addressed by using the recommendations provided to improve the concerns on governance on the continent.

6.3.2 Recommendations

The findings are related to what has been discussed in each chapter. While it would be a beautiful story to tell, how far we have come and what we have achieved, the truth is that the continent should focus on changing how governing structures are put in place and why they exist. There seems to be a lack of understanding on governance in practice, and the reasons behind this would require more investigation. Governance has to be made a priority for the situation to improve. The practices by countries' leadership indicate that governance is seen as a once-off task, instead of an ongoing activity.

This section of the chapter aims at making practical recommendations to establish the way forward. The recommendations proposed are selected as part of what the study aspired to achieve, being to create an awareness of good governance in Africa. The recommendations also fundamentally relate to those made mention of throughout the study by international organisations and the governing measuring instruments in **Chapter 5**.

The study suggests that the only way forward is to create a structure of reporting issues of governance in every country, whereby time limits are set to implement recommendations. In addition, greater accountability and transparency is required to improve governance in Africa. With the current political and economic changes taking place, it raises concerns whether Africa will be able to survive drastic economic changes.

It is recommended that international organisations like the AU and UN receive some form of authority to place pressure on countries to implement the control measures suggested by them, as well as the measuring tools, including the APRM and the IIAG. This will further increase accountability and responsibility. It will also improve the current situation whereby the international organisations have the skills to recommend implementation plans; however, they lack the authority to ask countries to report back when there is a lack of implementation.

Further, the measuring tools used should be utilised more frequently, or, if not, reasonable time frames should be set for reviews. The annual review is effective; however, a biannual review session on specific matters that pose a high risk to the prospect of good governance is recommended. It would put more pressure on countries to improve their situation, which would in turn result in better implementation of recommendations. Only addressing the concerns once a year could make society forget about the problems faced. Take, for example, the situation in Nigeria and Zimbabwe, discussed in **Chapter 4**. Both these countries have been facing these particular issues for some time now. If the public focused on these countries more frequently, it would bring more awareness from the international world; therefore, the countries would have been more proactive in finding solutions for the problems. Although the idea is not to bring bad publicity, but to focus on the fact that society is suffering; therefore, constantly reporting issues of bad governance should be a priority.

The analysis indicates that African countries are aware of the problems they face, which hinder growth and development for their people. The cause of these problems can often be traced back to the poor leadership skills in many African countries. It is not to say that the leaders are not aware of the solutions to the problems, but because the solutions could result in them having to step down, they would rather ignore them. Thus, it is recommended that international organisations and countries should come

together to discuss leadership issues and how to address them. Countries should also be clear on what will necessitate a change of leadership. Currently, greed and self-interest are the main by-products of poor leadership. Countries should acknowledge that good leadership plays a significant role in the progress of a country, and if not given the consideration it needs, it will result in bad decisions being made for the country.

The recommendations highlighted above are in line with the findings and the analysis of the entire study. The first point was to understand governance, and as it was clearly defined in all its aspects, the implementation of the measures and structures to see a turnaround in growth and development was emphasised. However, the implementation is strictly reliant on countries; thus, there is a need to stress the reality of governance implementation even more.

6.4 Final remarks

This study initially aimed to provide insight into governance on the African continent because of the current status of governance worldwide. The focus was on the African continent specifically, as Africa is viewed in a poor light worldwide when it comes to governance practices, and because it is a developing continent.

The history of the African continent has been inhuman and tragic as most nations in Africa were colonised. The aftermath of independence for African countries is still not completely understood, but it is agreed that the transformation process post-independence has been slow.

A key issue highlighted in this study is that most African countries have very weak systems in place to deal with corruption and crime. At the same time, reference was made to good examples where governance structures were implemented so effectively that they were able to address aspects of concern.

Understanding the historical background of African countries was essential to the process of understanding governance on the continent because the current findings were based on the history of these countries. The study also indicated that while many African leaders have attempted to create a better future for their people, only a few people benefit from it. This is exactly why the issue of bad governance has to be

addressed urgently so that not only the minority benefit, but the majority benefit as well.

Bad governance is obstructing progress on the African continent; this is mainly due to a lack of good leadership. Once the leadership issues and corruption and crime are addressed, it could result in the implementation of better governance structures. The continent is undoubtedly resource-rich, but the abuse and exploitation of these resources by ineffective and corrupt leaders could lead to Africa losing all its riches.

The study reached its aim in determining what the governance issues in Africa are and how they can be addressed - the thinking being that better implementation will result in better accountability, which in turn will result in good governance, and that will hopefully lead to economic growth and development on the continent.

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