A Study of African Postcolonial and Post-Apartheid Challenges: A Legacy of Ineptitude?

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Abstract: Postcolonial African states have gained notoriety for what most of the literature suggests intractable problems in the running, control and management of Africa's material and human resources. Quite often the litany of ills and imperfections laid at the feet of African leaders and governments appear so colossal that few solutions are countenanced. The recent social upheavals and civil wars in Cameroon, Somalia, Nigeria, Sudan, Uganda as well as in north African states like Egypt, Libya and Tunisia suggest that severely dislocated societies can hardly be effectively rescued or expeditiously repaired in an unstructured way or as consequent to a misconception of democracy, poor governance and poor leadership with a predilection for corruption. In other words, Africa's collective woes have always been judged as owing to managerial ineptitude. The proposition here is that analysis of governance and administrative practices in Botswana and South Africa could reveal that the social and political challenges are being tackled in innovative and strategic ways. The reasons for that have more to do with the socio-economic mechanisms created by the elite classes and transnational corporations in those societies. In a way, the postcolonial and post-apartheid ways and means of in the two countries owe their stability and partial successes to the structures put in place by the former colonial upper classes. The present leadership and political groupings are in actuality a recapitulation of the governance and control mechanisms of colonial and apartheid times. The legacy of ineptitude reigning in many African countries is due to an inability of the ruling elites to adopt and adapt the well-laid ways and means of the colonial masters and their transnational corporations. As such, the ineptitudes are hardly innately African, but rather are part of the groundwork laid by undemocratic practices of the past and present globalised corporations.

Keywords: Challenges, Development, Governance, Ineptitude and Postcoloniality

1. Introduction

The narrative on newly independent Africa from the early 1960s, has been nothing but unflattering. The literature abounds with disturbing tales about bloody military coups, crushing poverty, great drought and famine, together with troublesome anecdotes of serious underdevelopment (Elaigwu & Mazrui, 2003:454-455; Mazrui & Wondji, 2003: passim; Mbaku, 2008:29-31; Meredith, 2008 4-6; Mills, Obasanjo, Herbst & Davis, 2017:x-xi). Numerous reports name the socio-economic devastation of African countries as having been created by inefficient public service, rampant corruption, incompetent leadership, dictatorial or tyrannical rule often alleged to have precipitated maladministration, misgovernment and poor control especially within a one-party state machinery (Elaigwu & Mazrui, op cit: 463-467; Kieh, Jr., 2008: 4-6; Meredith, op cit: 2-12).

From nations in the north like Algeria and Egypt, to those in the south like Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and others in the west, such as Cotê d'Ivoire, Ghana and Liberia, and finally going to those in the east, like Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia, the tale has been the same: ethnic strife or tribal wars, xenophobic attacks, religious intolerance and rampant poverty and disease, brutal suppression of dissenting journalists, torture or physical abuse of political opponents, and the looting of state coffers by greedy, dictatorial leaders (Williams, 2011:39; Meredith, op cit:150-156). Thus, after independence or in the postcolonial period following the dismantling of colonial machinery, a disturbing picture of failure or incompetency has emerged in government practices, public rule and in the administrative, economic and political systems of most African countries (Salvatore, 1989:15-35; Kieh, Jr., 2008: ibid; Soyinka, 2012:9-12).

The purpose here, however, is not to recite a litany of historical mishaps and misfortunes of Africa. Rather, it is to uncover, as far as possible, the reasons and/or causes of what has conventionally been characterised as problems, setbacks, crises, failures

or challenges (Salvatore, ibid; Williams, op cit:47-49) in the "development processes of control" and/or in the running and managing of state or public machinery of post-colonial, modern African governments. Related to the narrative of crises, mishaps, inefficiency and low success, is the matter of recognition and identification of contributory factors in the outbreak of failure in administrative systems of more than a few African states.

2. Rationale for Study

In order to obtain a deeper and fuller understanding of what precisely brought about the governmental or managerial failures in African rule alluded to in the literature, the study interrogates, discusses and analyses both colonial and postcolonial or post-apartheid factors. In other words, the problems and challenges often ascribed to poor leadership, weak public institutions and inefficient governing structures in certain African states, are the primary concern herein.

The underlying argument of the study's is that the postcolonial African states, having assumed responsibility to change discredited colonial edifices (Mazrui, 2003:113-121), would mobilise government machinery and public structures to develop, improve and benefit their citizens and/or nations. In other words, the new leadership would remove the "chains or shackles" of racial imperialism and "decolonize" the continent and its peoples, in the way that Mazrui (op cit:7), Ngugi (1992:12-25) and Altbach (2006:409) address and define the concept. The other crucial matter was whether or not the subsequent postcolonial/post-apartheid governments and administrations actually carried out, discharged and/or executed the development mandate implicit in the challenges and, problems that seemingly continue to plague a large number of post-independence African nation-states, as Davidson (1992:159-161), Chomsky (2004:150) and Soyinka (2012:vii-xiii) would characterize them. For news commentators, political analysts and writers like Mbele (2017), Quest & Busaria (2017), Mbaku (2008:29), Ngom (2017:38-40), including Mills, Obasanjo, Herbst & Davis (2017:1-3), such considerations are important for deriving solutions to the challenges or problems faced by the individual country's administrative systems.

In addition, understanding the nature of policies and procedures followed to render the African nation-state functional and efficient would probably indicate where and how success might be achieved and failure avoided. The need for insights into the functions of African state structures has apparently been demanded by the numerous conflicts, crises and upheavals that reigned on the continent (Kawamura, 1989:261-263) long after decolonisation.

Indeed, the study cannot be justified by mere refutation of the negative stories, the shocking news and snide comments that have apparently gained notoriety for the continent. Required rather, was reasoned argument and/or explanation around fundamental questions such as the following:

- Which sort of impediments are the reasons for the mishaps that seemingly characterise governance practices of African nations?

- What public administration processes and/or governance mechanisms have assisted sub-Saharan countries like Botswana, South Africa, and perhaps even Kenya, to be associated with socio-economic stability and success on the continent?

- Where precisely lie the differences among the apparently failed states and the prosperous ones?

3. Research Design and Methodology

In the above regard, the point of departure and focus of the study was the isolation and identification of the challenges and problems African states are reported to be facing. In order to narrow the scope and to maintain that focus, the United Nations Millennium Goals of 2000 document (UNMG, 2010) were chosen as the analytic framework for discussing the development goals seen as relevant to the continent's challenges in governmental practices and state administration. Furthermore, thumbnail sketches were drawn of the type of problems that development processes and in African states like Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Sudan, Zimbabwe and Lesotho appear to have encountered, according to the United Nations policy and programme documents.

In the mentioned seven states (and for other countries to be named later) were selected on the basis

of what the researcher judges to be current or contemporaneous problems.

To that end, what has generally been portrayed and been regularly reported on and/or shown as topical on mass media platforms of radio, television, magazines and newspapers, became the input information and readily organised data for analysis of the challenges and concerns around the development issues in various African countries. Hand in hand with the selection and investigation procedures was a trawling through and sorting of several public policy manifestoes, government administration papers and planning documents published by the various African governments and their related institutions. The chosen documents had to be sufficiently screened to pass an informal authenticity test that included scanning for official status, proper dating and referencing. Thereafter the papers served as the legitimate standard and framework against which administrative and management performance would be judged, measured and/or weighed.

An interpretivist approach was adopted on the hypothesis that analysis of, for example, an African government leader's behaviour in the public arena could yield a firmer grasp of the cause of the problems and probably lead to ways of overcoming them, as agencies like the Department for International Development (DfID, 1997) and the European Union's Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (EU-OECD, 2016) frequently contend. While the evaluation was largely informal, it was made stringent largely for the systematic and discursive purposes intended for the study. As du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014:40-42) would have it, the researcher's stance in the study arises from "an assumption that there exists certain factors that produce the challenges" or problems faced by agencies like the continent's governments structures and administrative institutions. Such factors were then employed to delineate parameters of success, and used to analyse and/or measure failure in attaining the universally accepted goals specified in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (UNMG, 2000; Sachs, McArthur, Binagwaho & Bahadur, 2005:passim). The analysis was assumed to bear potential help for addressing the failures often placed at the feet of postcolonial or post-apartheid African nation-state administrations. From that, it seemed feasible that solutions would emerge or might be gleaned and presented, as the means for eliminating what can have been called the legacy of ineptitude in the relevant countries.

From the explanation above, the methodology is implicitly qualitative since the study closely examines texts and/or documents containing government policies, managerial strategies, public procedures and official practices (including those that individual African countries have identified) related to the developmental goals set out in the UNMG document. Therefore, the discussed issues were tackled from a descriptive, root cause analytic viewpoint, in the manner that Galer, Vriesendorp and Ellis (2005:34) explain it. The approach and procedure permitted exploration and comparisons leading to sufficient isolation of the problems and challenges confronting and/or conflicting with policy stipulations/precepts laid out in African government policy documents.

The analysis attempted, thereby, to establish the factors that may have inhibited success or promoted failure in the way the problems were managed within the relevant nation-state's public institutions, as would be expected within democratic nation-states (Belmont, Mainwaring & Reynolds, 2002:1-4). While the methodology entailed snapshot profiles of selected countries, a fair measure of in-depth analyses of government or public institution practices was conducted. The approach was derived mainly from case studies carried out by international agencies of the United Nations (UN). The agencies or organisations include the Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Development Programme (UNDP), the Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Other bodies like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as, management research and development agencies, like the Bureau for Global Health (of USAID), have also made studies of African problems and challenges. While such bodies have suggested solutions and introduced programmes of one or the other kind, the problems in African countries have seemingly not lessened (Davidson, 1992; Brock-Utne, 2000:43-46; Djite, 2008:14-16; Meredith, 2014:624).

On the other hand, academic researchers, scholars and writers such as, Stringer (2002), Galer, *et al*. (2005), Anstey (2006), Ouane and Glanz (2010), together with Frederickson, Smith, Larimer & Licari

(2012), have over the years, directly or indirectly offered projects to sort out African problems. Some of the plans were presented as capable of yielding beneficial management solutions and administrative strategies that African governments, state organs and public organisations could adopt and employ to govern and manage state processes in order to bring success. One such plan is the Millennium Project which outlines practical steps for achieving the development goals specified in the UNMDG, according to Sachs, McArthur, Binagwaho & Bahadur (2005:passim).

The issues found to be most critical to the socio-economic problems of development were chosen, namely, education, health, unemployment, and the environment. These themes are not discussed and examined in isolation of related concerns such as, human rights; medium of learning/instruction; language; social questions of race, equality and poverty; safety and security; human welfare or general well-being; plus, the impact of "civil and religious conflicts" occurring in many societies on the African continent today (Meffe, 2017:35).

4. Terminological Clarification

Partly because of the thematic closeness, contextual and issue-based orientation of the study, twin terms like "government" and "governance" (Lipczynsky, Wilson & Goddard, 2013:109,121), "administration" and/or "management," as well as, the triple concepts of "incompetence, inefficiency" and ineptitude, are treated as belonging to one conceptual group. Within the discussion, the use and application of terms goes hand in hand with meanings associated with notions such as, "organisational management" and "public rule/control", according to the set of theoretical policies and procedural precepts that Anstey (2006:117-119) and Frederickson, Smith, Larimer & Licari (2012:125-127) contend are key in the field of public management.

For the sake of clarity, terminology like "postcolonial" and "post-apartheid" should not be viewed as mutually exclusive and separate. Indeed, a definition incorporating and representing the comprehension that efforts or attempts to de-racialize, destroy and overthrow the colonial system (Sabido, 2015:55-58), is crucial for a historical contextualisation of the use and application of the concepts. "Postcolonialism" appeared useful for the study, largely because of the way Littlejohn and Foss (2010:343-345)

elucidate the concept. Firstly, the latter writers examine "postcoloniality" in terms of the dismantling or the "undoing" (by newly independent and free governments) of previously prejudicial, racist and suppressive practices of the colonial edifice. Thus the effort to destroy all vestiges of colonialism, imperialism, racism and/or apartheid, equates to "decolonisation," in Littlejohn and Foss's definition.

Since one of the primary concerns in the study is how postcolonial African governments administer, manage and control their affairs, the latter definition seemed fairly germane to the thrust of the study. Secondly, their exploration of 'postcolonialism' apparently converges with the ideas put forward by scholars and philosophers like Ngugi (1992), Franz Fanon, Michel Foucault, Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tifflin, 2006). The latter scholars critically examine the condition of "coloniality" from the perspective that, where one set of human beings dominate "the other," and/or other humans, it is quite often through brutal force or the exercise of military "power" (Littlejohn & Foss, op cit:342-344). As such, it seemed appropriate for a theoretical inquiry into the reasons for success or failure of African states to eliminate the institutions, ways and means of colonial or imperialist rule. Indeed, the investigation became bound to an evaluation and/or assessment of the new African government's efforts to replace colonial structures and functions, as well as, to destroy colonial ideologies, policies and practices. Any post-independent African government's pursuance of the decolonisation agenda, presumably through administration of progressive development programmes is, therefore, one of the key issues addressed in the study.

In the literature, "neo-colonialism" is often closely linked to debates on the implications of associated concepts like: postcolonialism, independence and freedom in the "developing world" which conventionally includes Africa (Kieh, Jr. 2008:4-6). When conceived of within an Africa partitioned by European delegates at the Berlin, London and Paris conferences of the late 19th century (Davidson, 1992:8-12; Rodney, 1997:10-17; Mazrui & Wondji, 2003:passim; Meredith, 2005:1-6), the term encapsulates notions of Africa straining against shackles of a new colonialism. In other words, modern types of racism, imperialism, exploitation and suppression of the so-called "developing world" by those with "capitalist power and control," is referred to as "neo-colonialism" (Meredith, 2014:558-563;

Sabido, 2015:56). In certain contexts, neo-colonialism is associated with and characterised as the international expansion of modern business and corporations into global markets located in the developing world that includes Asia, South America and Africa (Chomsky, 2004:148-150). How African continent's leadership within governments of nation-states and the citizens have interacted with and responded to the "neo-colonial trends" induced by international business or trade, the influence of huge corporations and related global-political changes (Gikandi, 2006:473; Kieh, Jr., op cit:1-3), is also of significance in the study.

Though occupying the same semantic field, in this study the word "governance" is distinguished from "government," on the basis of the latter's figurative and institutional connotations. According to Buscher and Dietz (2005:4), the former concept is conventionally understood as the "practice of control and way of exercising authority" using rules set to reach the goals desired by the governed. In a sense, the latter definition is succinct but seems to fall short of mentioning the "participatory dimension" required of governance practices that are said to be democratic, as Anstey (op cit:284-289) expounds the notion.

An understanding similar to the latter exposition of a participatory element would probably render the governance notion useful for a thorough analysis of the reasons for failure or success of the African governments discussed herein. "Development" has mostly to do with how a state is run, controlled or governed in order to improve, uplift and to advance the well-being of citizens (UNCTAD 2002). In the study, how the notion of development is defined was dictated by its relation to the notion of post-coloniality as freedom from the shackles of racist control, colonial governance, imperialist rule and post-colonial exploitation.

The elimination of "manipulative neo-colonial rule" and the "capitalist control of the means of production" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2006:397-398), would presumably lead to political liberation and/or the attainment socio-economic equality in countries previously devastated by poverty, (Davidson, op cit:161-165), became the key question and central concern in how African nation-states were being administered since after independence, that is, beyond decolonisation and in the post-colonial or post-apartheid era.

5. Development Challenges and Governmental Responses

For purposes of focus and to derive maximum benefit from discussing African challenges, thematic areas seen as critical for development were selected. The areas gleaned from the UN documents specifying them are: education, health, economy, and the environment (UNMG, 2000; UNCTAD, 2002:2-6). Running through the five is the thread considered important for understanding especially economic developmental progress for many African governments searching for stability, efficiency and success in the way their countries are run (Mills, Obasanjo, Herbst & Davis, 2017:assim).

The classic example of the negative consequences and resultant problems emerging from colonialism are artificial borders created by the English, French and Portuguese colonizers in West Africa (Meredith, 2005:309-311). The present country known as The Gambia, is a tiny, narrow strip of land stretching from the Atlantic coast and bordering along both banks of the eponymous river. The result of the demarcation has been to separate people of the same Wolof language and customs from one another and an effective delay and/or brake to socio-economic development (Djite, 2008:18-20).

Today three nations surround the English-speaking Gambian enclave and they consist of Francophone Senegal and Guinea, plus the Lusophone Guinea-Bissau in the north and south, respectively. What postcolonial challenges have occurred as a result of "forced fusion, imposed unity and arbitrary borders," as Soyinka (op cit:9-12) characterises it, will be evident in the ensuing discussion. As stated previously, many African states inherited systems of governance and administrative practices established by the former colonial masters. Yet, when native African leaders came into power, their eagerness to change or transform colonial ways of running public office appeared to fade and peter out. In fact, as the latter writer and other researchers argue, the new governing elite and upper class, seem to have started colluding with the "former colonialists and new imperialists in exploiting," through their corrupt practices, to undermine and under develop their own countries (Kieh, Jr., op cit:5-6; Djite, op cit:18-21). Huge businesses, companies, banks, new technology and the information explosion, today known as the "new globalisation" (Chomsky, 2003:136-139; Kieh, Jr.,), have created

other challenges for African nations that were not exposed to the urban and sophisticated ways of the western European countries as well as those of the so-called Asian tigers, like Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea and Japan. The great need for African governments to embark on poverty reduction programmes and introduce poverty alleviation mechanisms has always been at the forefront of the development agenda in those countries (Bukuku & Mahmoud, 1989:119).

5.1 Civil Wars and Tribal Conflict Dislocate Governance

The Rwandan genocide caused by ethic rivalry among the Tutsi and the Hutu people, according to researchers like Meredith (2005:passim) and Meffe (2015:34), was allowed to fester because the UN and the international community were indifferent to the inter-ethnic uprisings and deep divisions among the populace of Rwanda, Kenya's Luo and Gikuyu people and those tensions arising out of neighbouring countries like Uganda, Burundi, and DRC. The quality of life for a country's citizens is perceived as being at the very heart of development. However, when a nation faces military coups, huge migratory moves, drought and a resultant famine, as was the case in Nigeria, Ghana, Sudan, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe from the 1970s through the mid-1980s (Bukuku & Mahmoud, ibid.; Salvatore, 1989:22-31; Mazrui, 2003:4-5 passim; Meredith, op cit:678), the chances of positive governance are diminished by the resultant challenges of both a logistical and administrative nature. Where some kind of intervention is initiated, as was done in Sierra Leone and Rwanda, it has to be a well-planned or well managed, as was done in the latter countries. According to writers like and Mills, Obasanjo *et al*. (2017:227-230), the efficient deployment of a well-trained peace-keeping joint African Union and UN forces, are far more helpful in "de-escalating conflicts" (Meffe, 2017:34-36), than troops sent in to violently squash the enemy.

The latter strategy apparently is working for places like Kigali, Rwanda largely because efforts for peace and reconciliation involve the close cooperation of government agencies, non-governmental organisations and the communities previously and directly affected. The programmes put in place to rebuild the traumatised communities, to encourage former victims to record and write their experiences and in training ordinary citizens to patrol and protect their neighbourhoods, were partially successful. This was owing to the elimination from the programme any show of military force such as that used to crush the insurgents who had involved and used child soldiers in the genocide of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Rwanda (Anstey, 2006:passim; Meffe, ibid:31-33). Key to the success of the programmes is building public trust in government agencies like the army and police that had been trained to be impartial and neutral.

On the other hand, the challenges of war in countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Central African Republic, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, South Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe, have bequeathed the devastation of misrule, mal-administration and corruption that historically, has hindered development (Belmont, Mainwaring *et al*. 2002:passim; Anstey, 2006:70-82; Mills, Obasanjo *et al*. ibid:171-4). These conditions called for more efficient ways of governing (Belmont, Mainwaring, *et al*. 2002). In Lesotho, the small mountain kingdom that went through three coups before the 2014-15 military blow out, political and constitutional rivalry led to and produced a crisis and much instability (Ramalepe & Shai, 2016:100-103). The intervention of South Africa as the powerful brokering neighbour created a measure of stability enough to restore an elected government in 2016. While South Africa's intentions can be viewed as laudable, there is also reason to question the ability of Lesotho's own government to manage the regular explosions over who rules in the kingdom.

Equally, there seems to have been incapacity in the Nigerian authorities to handle the insurgency and instability problems caused by the Islamist Boko Haram, in the north-eastern part of the country (Mills, Obasanjo *et al*. 2017:258). In the wake of these dislocating civil wars and religious or ethnic strife, citizens of the said countries have had to languish in devastating hunger, to suffer the pain of migratory flight, poverty, misery, squalor and disease. In those circumstances, very little progress and/or improvement has been achieved in the well-being of the general populace, especially where safety, health, sanitation and education services are concerned.

The post-independence anticipation of post-independence African governments to introduce changes that usher in stability, peace and prosperity for developing the former colonies was thwarted by intermittent coup de tats, military strife and genocidal wars. In most cases, the governments and public institutions responsible for providing the

barest tools and means to counter the mentioned problems, have been found wanting not just in their lack of any capacity to take action but also inefficient when the issue is dealt with.

5.2 The Socio-Economic Problems in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya

On account of incessant drought spells through 2013 to 2015 have created an agricultural challenge in the low production of maize (Mbele, 2017; Quest & Busaria, 2017), especially in Zimbabwe, Malawi, parts of Zambia and northern Mozambique. The drought itself brought to the fore the inability of government institutions, farming agencies, irrigation schemes and the health system setup to handle the outbreak of diseases like Ebola and its after-effects. How the combined problems affected the national economies and the citizen's quality of life has been described by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as the weakest economic growth rate in sub-Saharan Africa in over twenty years. In the face of, for example, farming product shortages and the high pricing practices on agricultural produce, the governmental bodies have done little to counter the resultant socio-economic problems of their nations.

What was suggested by international agencies of the UN and the European Union (EU) in order to better the socio-economic conditions of the citizens was, for example, to encourage government institutions to be innovative in addressing the problems confronting them. In other words, African govern and/or state agencies were urged and empowered, through training projects funded by international bodies like the USAID, World Bank and the IMF, to embrace modern farming methods and mechanisation by introducing policies and implementation practices (Kumwenda-Mtambo, 2016; World Bank, 2016). Over the years, affected African countries like Kenya and Zimbabwe, have responded to the challenges of drought, starvation and food shortage by importing large quantities of maize from Mexico and other places, though such measures have been viewed as somewhat short-sighted (BBC World Business News, 2017). The latter view arises out of a reigning mistrust, among Africa's developing nations, of solutions offered by western and/or European institutions, like the World Bank, IMF and EU. These organisations, according to Chinweizu (2003:passim), represented the new breed of post-colonial imperialism and capitalist domination of African countries in the so-called developing Third World.

5.3 Environmental Degradation and Skills Shortage

In recent times, it has been widely reported that there is serious pollution of the waters of Lake Tanganyika and Lake Victoria (Mbele, 2017) in central Africa where Tanzania, Uganda and southern Kenya lie. There those huge bodies of natural, fresh water no longer yield the required quality of fish and the water itself has been contaminated by the progressive dumping of raw sewage from burgeoning shanty towns around the shores of those lakes. The government response, according to Serumaga (2017:37), has been to laud the benefits of exporting the Nile perch to European countries, while neglecting the latter species' rapacious nature which has eradicated indigenous fish types. The livelihood of the communities living close to the lake was threatened in that the diminishing supply of fish has meant less money earned and a lower income from the markets, since August 2015. On the other hand, the Tanzanian National Environmental Council has in recent years begun introducing workshop literacy and information-sharing programmes among the lakeside dwellers about overfishing, pollution and proper use of water and/or sanitation processes (BBC World Business News, 2017). Environmental protection and the sustenance thereof implicitly requires that the officials monitoring the flora and fauna be skilled professionals in the relevant fields and industries. Should such persons not possess the necessary qualifications and experience, there is likely to be disasters on the environment of the kind seen in the oil spillages in the Niger delta, near Port Harcourt, fairly recently (SOWETAN, 2017:1).

The appropriate response to the illicit oil refinery enterprises in the Nigerian town of Kana Rugbana, was seen as more beneficial when the modular, legalised refineries programme was introduced by the country's Vice President Yemi Osibajo early in March and April 2017. The Port Harcourt and the Delta area local communities were readily accepting of the skilful interventions and positive plan than the previous violence and bloodshed triggered by corrupt oil traders colluding with military or navy officials. On the other hand, it became clear that limited capacity in government institutions of control due to unskilled and poorly educated civil servants and ill-equipped civic bodies & organisations over the oil industry, the nation's ordinary oil refinery

workers and breadwinners would continue to be deprived and "disadvantaged" (Servaes & Oyedemi, 2016a:passim; CNN News – Inside Africa, 2017).

5.4 Governmental and Managerial Interventions

Economic development in both South Africa and Botswana derives its success from industries of excavation and mining the rich gold, platinum and diamond resources in those countries. More importantly though, in Mazrui and Ade Ajayi's estimation (2003:643-644), is that such success came through the employ of proper management and supervision of the associated capital, investments, manufacturing, engineering and technology facilities. In other words, having mineral resources and owning large tracts of land teeming with flora and fauna does not amount to much if the rich resources are poorly used, are neglected or do not receive proper management.

There must therefore exist an understanding of the resources as part of the public good that has to be utilised, governed and managed in sustainable and beneficial ways for the country's citizens (Tsheola, 2017:15; Mills, Obasanjo, *et al*., op cit:226-227). The role the state plays in that is quite critical since it is government machinery and its systems that has greater national visibility and is more widespread than private companies, enterprises and industries.

The direct involvement of government machinery in public programmes or projects is required in order to ensure that the goods and services are of quality. When the administrative arm of government does not function properly and efficiently, perhaps through the ill-discipline or ineptitude of officials, the consequences can be dire. An example of mismanagement and neglect of national projects was seen in recent disasters reported cases in Abuja, Nigeria and in Durban, South Africa (Child, 2017; DAILY SUN, 2017). The equipment, infrastructure and building projects put in place for government offices, hospitals, clinics and schools were poorly supervised and improperly inspected, especially in terms of, their strength, quality and integrity of materials used to erect the very buildings. Hence poorly built structures were granted permits for occupation while no official safety certificate had been issued or any document signed to vouch that the inspection having been carried out. That the

finished housing could later pose a danger to the occupants as well as being hazardous the general citizenry (Quest & Busaria, 2017; DAILY SUN, ibid.), was overlooked by obviously unqualified and/or inefficient building personnel employed within the state machinery.

5.5 Health Matters in Egypt and Zimbabwe

While the condition of certain South African hospital and clinic buildings and medical equipment is reported as poor by Childs (2017), it is evident that the resultant health problems require the intervention of relevant institutions and departments of government. In other countries like Egypt and Zimbabwe the challenges those nations faced have been handled in innovative and effective ways by the authorities and NGOs.

To begin with, the Egyptian experience is fairly instructive. The challenge to health workers there lay largely in convincing the female population from the Aswan rural localities to use contraception (Galer *et al*., 2005). By conducting a root cause analysis through interviews and consultative discussion, the health workers, nurses and family doctors found that there were many rumours, myths and misconceptions around the use of pills, syringes and bottled medicines (Galer *et al*., ibid:43-44). The task team formed and called El Khor Health Unit addressed the problem of negative attitude towards contraception through an action plan that involved the communities by training women volunteers and forming alliances with the local religious leaders. This action worked splendidly since the attendance at the family planning clinics increased from 21.5% in 2002 to 34% between January and June, in the later months of 2004, according to Galer *et al*. (ibid.). A similar experience has been reported by family planning health workers in Zimbabwe around the Mutari district, where the involvement of local councillors are not career and populist politicians, as Sebola (2015:15-16) avers should not be the case, are well known contributors to the development projects and processes in their local communities. What is instructive in the above scenarios is that without carrying out a preliminary analysis of the root causes of the problem and without a structured action plan and the engagement of alliance-forming tactics, little success can be attained in say, providing a community with good medical or health services.

5.6 Education and Change: South Africa and Botswana

Certain scholars like Brock-Utne (2000:46-47) and Blommaert (2010:22-24) contend that colonialists established certain globalised ways through their languages, in technology and education systems within African societies, in order to "overawe" and "shake the confidence" of Africans in their tried and tested cultural expertise and traditions (Mazrui & Ajayi, 2003:644). Indeed, in the context of education, where consideration of the medium of learning or instruction and using indigenous African languages for high order functions, like in commerce, business, law, scientific inquiry and research is of importance (Kennedy, 2011:25-27; Negash, 2011:161-163), the over-reliance on the colonial language, in many African states, has partly led to quite serious drop-out rates and failure to attain meritorious and beneficial at both schooling university education (Djite, 2008:65-74; Ouane & Glanz, 2010:4-6).

Even in the Republic of South Africa (RSA), where the post-apartheid constitution stipulates the parity among the eleven official languages, there still is no college or university in that provides tuition through the medium of an African language. Indeed, none of the so-called historically black universities (HBUs) offers or conducts research and scientific inquiry in any of the indigenous languages, as Djite (ibid.), Mbaku (2008:29-31), Spolsky (2009:256 passim) and Ouane and Glanz (2010) argue. Despite the implicit demand in the native language speaker population figures, the use of English and Afrikaans for the high order functions required in the country's business, commercial, legal, scientific and technology enterprises, no serious effort has been made to promote the equitable use of African languages and thereby develop and elevate them, as Alexander (2002:91-98) indicates.

Thus, English emerges in most postcolonial African states as what Blommaert (2010:76-78) calls a "linguicidal force" in that it serves as a predominant instrument for all discourse even in the presence of indigenous African languages which are consequently consigned to a slow decline and death. The multilingualism that needs to be prioritised, as the RSA Constitution enjoins, has become no more than an illusion where remains the RSA's unofficial "lingua franca" (Alexander, ibid.).

The political will required to achieve the set UNMDG goals such as attaining proper human development through an education system (New African, 2017), that communicates through local languages, eliminates illiteracy, diminishes socio-economic inequality and which helps to avoid the poverty trap, has been sorely missing in other countries as well, according to Habte, Wagaw and Ajayi (2003), Sachs, McArthur, *et al*. (2005) and Mills, Obasanjo, *et al*. (2017).

For the Botswana nation which has been named Africa's foremost economic success story, development as related to "education and poverty reduction" has been pragmatically approached. Through establishing medium term National Development Plans since 1970 (Maipose, 2008:7-9), the country's government has made conscious, focussed policy decisions on the delivery of goods and services like education, health and water to many communities in the sparsely country (Mooketsane, Modilenyane & Motshegwa, 2017). Indeed, the funding support to education was boosted by the discovery of large mineral resources and diamonds in the early 1980s (Maipose, ibid.). Wealth generated from mine royalties and the Botswana government's shareholding revenue has been channelled towards poverty alleviation, job creation and an increased access to education through structured funding policies.

In Gambia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique where changes in education are required, be it at school, college, tertiary and/or university level, the policy plans and development manifestos drawn up by post-independence governments were neither partially implemented nor fully followed. Clearly, therefore, government and administrations within African states were found wanting in bringing about beneficial change, if not radical improvement, in the running and control of national education systems (Davidson, 1992:144-146; UNCTAD, 2002:42-50).

5.7 Poor Leadership, Inefficiency and Ineptitude

The post-independence expectation that freedom would usher in decolonised development and post-colonial opportunities in new state machinery and public institutions, was not realised. At the heart of the mentioned "daunting" problems, by Meredith's (2014:593-600) estimation, is the role of leadership. In other words, the vision of freedom and dream of Africa growing and thriving was hardly realised partly because of the quality of post-independent

leadership, the kind of government they run and the public administrative systems they are expected to run and control not politically but efficiently "to deliver proper service to the populace" (Frederickson, Smith *et al*., 2012:15-20). For citizens of countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Malawi, Zimbabwe and the DRC, the devastating droughts, huge swarms of locusts attacking crops and farmlands, diseases like malaria, smallpox and yellow fever assailing large populations, became a painful reality. Added to that was the non-performance and non-intervention of the elected leaders who act undemocratically and in order to serve their own interests, whether personal or political (Meredith, op cit:603-617; Coetzee, 2014).

The response to these crises by government leadership in sub-Saharan nations like, Liberia, Sierra Leone, the DRC, Central African Republic (CAR), Nigeria, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Malawi and Uganda was frequently and without exception, to instigate "ethnic rivalry, strife over scarce resources plus secessionist conflicts and mini-wars" with large numbers of the native population being attacked and decimated (Anstey, 2008:11-14; Meffe, 2017:passim). Governments under Samuel Doe, Charles Taylor, Foday Sankoh, Joseph Mobutu, Jean-Bédel Bokassa, Emeka Ojukwu, Colonel Mengistu, Hastings K. Banda, Gabriel Mugabe, Milton Obote and Idi Amin became notorious for despotic greed, corruption, nepotism, their suppression of dissent or opposition voices, the looting and syphoning off to European banks of their country's resources for self-aggrandisement (Meredith, 2005:291-292 & passim). These tyrants have transformed themselves into modern, home-grown imperialists.

Causes of the development problems creating unsatisfactory living conditions for the citizens have been roundly blamed on the African dictators named earlier, even as the economic decline in the countries they lead has been laid at their feet. However, the challenges posed by natural disasters that increase the "already high levels of poverty" (Mahmoud & Bukuku, op cit:117-128), in the rural and agricultural areas of Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, cannot be reasonably blamed on the ineptitude of government leaders. Rather, it is common cause to inquire about the "management style of civil service, public or government institutions" like schools, universities, hospitals and similar services (Habte, Wagaw & Ajayi, 2003). The response to disruptions brought about by either

natural disasters or management processes is what gives an "indication of good governance," as outlined in the UNMDG (2000), UNCTAD (2002), World Bank (2007) and EU-EOC (2016) documents.

The resultant impact of poor or inept leadership during natural or man-made disasters could, for example, be widespread poverty and people's mass migration from rural to urban areas where unhealthy and squalid conditions in makeshift houses destroy their hope of obtaining the means to a life better than their original places of abode.

In the carrying out of the minimum requirements so outlined for any country's government and its leaders, it is universally accepted that the country would be effectively run and administered for a moderately prosperous and stable future, as in Botswana, Kenya and South Africa (Sachs, McArthur *et al*., 2005:passim). At the helm of these developmental processes and changes would be the African leader who has been democratically elected into power. Where the leader of the nation-state does not abide or conform to such guidelines, he or she will be judged to be detrimental to the country's socio-economic development.

6. Findings

Some of the main findings of the study have to do with insights gained from analysing how development programmes were administered and controlled in public institutions of several African states. The scenarios drawn from the Botswana and South Africa experiences strongly suggest the following points:

- Public institutions charged with delivering services have to be monitored and managed under a codified law with plans, systematic guidelines and procedures to regulate their functioning.

- Accountability to oversight bodies like parliament and the judiciary systems of the country has to be pursued at all times by the leadership, the administrative and managerial structures.

- Involvement and participation of the citizenry through education and using local languages in development programmes will ensure that success is attained and conflict is avoided. Participation of the citizens is not only the democratic oil that makes the state machinery work,

but also that the citizens acquire attitudes of trust, fulfilment and ownership of the workings of their government. That being so, the challenges and problems facing the African state and each country's government, can be addressed and probably solved through an organised and efficient programme of action or plan.

- The involvement and intervention of international corporations and agencies like the IMF and World Bank has had moderate success in the development of certain African countries. It has, however, been argued that in certain instances their international corporate interventions have increased many an African country's overdependence on neo-imperialist control, to detriment of its own identity and a sustainable national self-actualisation.

7. Conclusion

From the discursive analyses given above, it would seem that in most African governments very little socio-economic progress has been made or achieved for the benefit of the citizens. The causal factors have generally been identified and ascribed to lack of visionary leadership, poor managerial and weak administrative skills. In several instances of the mentioned countries, the study went some way to indicate that the lack of relevant skills retarded socio-economic advancement and improvement in the wellbeing of a nation. Overall, it appeared that the failures were due to ineptitude of one kind or another. As to how such ineptitude came about, there was oblique reference and ascribing to neo-colonial machinations and the meddling of global corporations. The latter parties were apparently able to thwart the efficient administrative efforts of many African governments through corruption and manipulation of the aid programmes put in place by organisations like the United Nations, World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The unstructured responses to environmental challenges degradation and pollution of the waterways, arable lands and the flora and fauna have led to destruction and/or diminishing of the very resources needed for healthy living standards and for sustainable development of the African continent.

From arguments presented in the study, the picture emerges of a whole raft of several causes for the ineptitudes in African governance and administration. The major ones are connected to ill-equipped leadership that frequently often indulges in brazen corruption; poor organisational skills in running programmes intended to combat poverty, help increase literacy and develop technical skills to support advances in agriculture, health and environmental protection. Where those programmes were meant to provide educational support and alleviate certain health-related problems, it is evident in many instances that governance mechanisms and implantation procedures around them were inadequate and dysfunction.

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