Responsible leadership for sustainable development in the post-independent Africa: A Kenyan experience

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Abstract

The political independence in Africa was welcomed with joy and a heap of expectations, as Africans believed that the new African governments would bring sustainable development after years of subjugation, exploitation and oppression. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. Today, many years after the attainment of the political independence, many African nations largely remain underdeveloped with poverty, diseases, poor communication networks, illiteracy, tribal animosity, economic challenges, injustices, etc affecting every aspect of the African life. This study employed the descriptive survey design and involved a sample of 384 respondents randomly drawn from 8 of the 47 counties in Kenya purposely selected to cover all the 8 regions in Kenya. The study aimed at investigating why Kenya and African nations in general continue to lag behind in development as well experience other perennial problems many years after the attainment of political independence. The study found that although Kenya is endowed with numerous resources, it suffers from the lack of responsible leaders, particularly political leaders. Leaders in Kenya and Africa as a whole are available in abundance but very few are concerned with the welfare of the people they lead. The majority of the leaders are keen to retain power and acquire wealth at the expense of the suffering Africans. This has created a very horrendous situation in Africa as people struggle for the poorly managed resources. No sustainable development can be attained in a situation where leaders are not responsible. To attain sustainable development in Kenya and Africa as a whole we must start to think about our leadership. African leaders must realize that they are stewards who will one day be accountable for what they have done. Responsible leadership and sustainable development are closely interwoven. Recommendations are made on the need to develop our leaders for responsible leadership if at all any meaningful development will be attained in Africa.

Keywords: Africa; Kenya; Sustainable Development; Responsible Leadership

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1. Introduction

I remember a song we used to sing as children in the 1980s and every evening at least when there was moonlight many of us would assemble in my grandmother's compound and repeatedly sing it. It went like this:

You white man who told you that Kenya is yours? We chased you away.

Stay in your country and if you dare to come back I will force you to dig trenches,

Like the ones you forced our people to dig with children on their backs.

We are free, we are free! No more suffering, we are free!

We are going forward! We are going forward! Let's eat the fruits of independence.

This song was sung about twenty years after the attainment of political independence in Kenya, which was gotten in 1963. It gives us a picture of the high expectation of an African child after independence. The children like any other African are acknowledging that with the expulsion of the colonial government and its subsequent replacement with a new government of the Africa people, there will be no more suffering. We are moving forward as we enjoy the fruits of independence. At independence, African leaders had promised to tirelessly develop Africa. For example, in Kenya Mzee Jomo Kenyatta's government pledged to fight ignorance, poverty and disease, the great enemies of humanity (Githiga, 2001).[1] Today, many years after the attainment of the political independence, African nations, Kenya included continue to be ranked behind others in terms of development. What is the problem? Why has the continent largely remained underdeveloped? Why has the continent continued to experience problems such as poverty, tribal conflicts, economic challenges and others while we are ruling ourselves? Why has Africa not attained sustainable development? These questions are disturbing every African. Using Kenya as an example, this paper aims at answering these questions. It mainly focuses on underscoring the relationship between leadership and sustainable development in the post-independent Africa.

2. Methodology

The study employed descriptive survey design to investigate the relationship between leadership and sustainable development in Kenya. This design was preferable because, as noted by Kothari and Garg (2004), it involves describing the state of affairs at it exists presently without much manipulation of the variables. The study involved eight counties namely Nairobi, Mombasa, Meru, Uasin Gishu, Kakamega, Kirinyaga, Homabay and Garissa purposely selected for their centrality to cover the eight regions in Kenya, that is, Nairobi, Coast, Eastern, Rift Valley, Western, Central, Nyanza and North Eastern. The targeted population was about 10,103,778 according to the 2009 population census. The Research Advisors (2006), recommend that for a population of about 10,000,000, a sample of 384 is ideal, with a 5.0 % margin of error. In each county,

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[1] Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was the first President of the Republic of Kenya

48 respondents were randomly selected to fill in the questionnaires or, where possible, be orally interviewed. The total respondents were thus 384. In each county a research assistant, mainly my Masters or undergraduate school based students from the region, assisted in gathering information. Data from the field was qualitatively analyzed noting the number of times that views were expressed and the number of respondents who expressed a similar view. We then calculated the percentages of responses that we used to interpret the data and draw conclusions. The study also extensively employed secondary data.

3. The Post-independence African Situation: Illustrations from Kenya

The post-independent Africa was anticipated to give Africans joy, hope, freedom and relaxation after decades of perpetual subjugation, exploitation and oppression by the colonial governments. Although the Europeans believed that they were bringing civilization to Africa, they denied Africans their own civilization (Kagema, 2014). Mugambi (1989) elucidates that the colonial administration, beyond 'civilizing' their subjects, was interested in entrenching colonial political power abroad and hence, facilitating exploitation of the resources in the colonies for the benefit of colonial powers abroad. Colonialism was the worst human exploitation that has ever happened in history. The 1884/85 Berlin Conference commonly referred to as 'Scramble for Africa' (Ogutu & Kenchanchui, 1991) was a dark moment for this continent.

The colonial history of Africa begins with this Conference when Africa was partitioned by several European powers as their spheres of influence. This was the period when Europe was scrambling for control of Africa for its own interest (Nthamburi, 1991). It prepared the way for new comers to the African scene by requiring that claims to colonies or protectorates on any part of the African coastline should be formally notified to the other powers taking part in the conference, and by insisting that such claims must be backed by the establishment of an effective degree in the area concerned (Oliver & Atmore, 1967). At this Conference, boundaries of African countries were arbitrary drawn by European powers without any consideration of ethnic territories and interests (Mugambi, 1995). Sadly, no African was consulted. Soon afterwards, there was an influx of Europeans in Africa with an agenda of spreading Christianity, civilizing Africans, exploring the world and so on. Their main interest, however, whether missionaries, agriculturalists or colonial administrators was 'trade', and their common aim was to reap as much as possible from the African soil. In reference to this scenario, John Baur uses the famous Kikuyu saying, "Gutiri Muthungu na Mubea" meaning that there was no marked difference between a colonial administrator and a missionary" (Baur, 1994).

Colonialism was an evil Africans cannot forget. From the very beginning Africans were made to believe that they were not fully human, sometimes being classified with dogs. For instance, Nthamburi (1991) observes that in Meru town where he grew up there was a restaurant with inscription 'Africans and dogs are not welcome'. The white people were treated as more unique and superior than the black people. There were thus "white only" hotels, churches, schools and other social amenities. There was forced labour and the best arable land was alienated for use by the white settlers (Nthamburi, 1991). On top of this, the white people, especially missionaries and anthologists, were very negative to the African cultural and religious heritage. They regarded the African people, their cultures and religions as primitive, heathen and pagan (Mugambi,

1989). The African way of life was termed as evil and unacceptable, while Africa was regarded as a 'Dark continent'. According to Kibicho (1990), the term 'darkness' in the minds of the westerners implied extreme backwardness and primitivity in all realms of life, including social, economic, political, cultural and religious. Africans were in 'darkness' and the only way to see the 'light' was to accept the European way of life as an outward indication of salvation and civilization. In view of this Mugambi (1989) explicates that the assumption of the Europeans was that Christianity and Western civilization were inseparable and synonymous and therefore African converts had to abandon their cultural and religious backgrounds and adopt Western cultures as an outward indication of conversion to Christianity.

It is therefore clear that the colonial governments with the support of the Church reduced their subjects to mere objects in the hands of the colonizers. Sadly, they did this in the name of progress in their endeavour to create a favourable climate for development and civilization (Davidson, 1974). In that kind of environment, the rich African cultural heritage was eroded in confrontation with the dominant foreign culture. The vital natural resources were taken away to Europe to make life even more comfortable to the Europeans while Africans languished in poverty (Nthamburi, 1991).

In due time, Africans found themselves struggling to liberate their continent from this domination and conquest. During the period of resistance to colonial rule, Christians and non-Christians found themselves in the struggle for liberation (Nthamburi, 1991). They fought to liberate themselves from what dehumanized the community, including poverty, disease, ethnic rivalries, corruption, illiteracy, unemployment, etc. There was a lot of hope and expectation that after independence African nations would be inexorably progressive socially, politically, economically, religiously etc. In Kenya, for example, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, founding father and first President, made a solemn pledge that his new government would tackle the three big challenges of poverty, ignorance and disease. This was a bold statement of confidence in his government's ability to drive the country towards a more prosperous future and it was a direct jab in the eye of British who used all three as tools of colonial domination (Greste, 2014). Githiga (2001) denotes that Kenyans saw Kenyatta not only as their political leader, but also their saviour. They even sang political songs with Christian tunes where they used Kenyatta's name instead of Christ. One such song is cited by Anderson (1977) where they sang that "We see the love of Kenyatta . . . He gave his life to save us." Many believed that with him as their leader their anguish would be the thing of the past. It is this hope and expectation that made Africans of all walks of life join hands to fight for independence. But was their dream realized?

According to Nthamburi (1991), Africans had hoped that with the end of colonialism their ills would be a thing of the past. But alas, they discovered that human nature is such that it loves to oppress and exploit. Where independence was gained, people discovered that leaders of the liberation movements were absorbed into leadership roles by virtue of their education and influence. Consequently, many became part of the new elite and supported the status quo. Unfortunately, African leaders who took over leadership after independence started to behave like their colonial masters. They were *'Wabereru'* (colonial masters) in black skin'. They therefore perpetrated all forms of evil against their fellow Africans: Injustice, corruption, nepotism, tribalism, land grabbing, silencing of political opponents through detention and death, etc. (Kagema, 2004). The first Vice President in the post-independent Kenya, Oginga Odinga unearths the situation in Kenya soon after independence. In his resignation letter of 1966 quoted by Bienen (1974), he

says that 'Future generations will question my sincerity, when they would learn that I allowed myself to hold a secure post in the midst of poverty and misery in our country'. Although Kenyatta's government and the succeeding governments had pledged to combat poverty, ignorance and disease, the three enemies of development continued to wreck the country immensely. Kagema (2012) confirms this observation by his assertion that, '

> *"Kenya and the rest of Africa face numerous crises today. Authoritarianism, ethnic clashes, environmental degradation, poverty, hunger, corruption, diseases, internally displaced persons, nepotism, tribalism, unemployment have created a very desperate situation in Kenya."*

While I agree with Greste (2014) that major strides have been made in the fight against these vices, especially after President Moi's regime, it is a fact the vices have continued to affect every sector of the Kenyan society. We asked respondents in this study to identify the major setbacks to development in Kenya today. Interestingly, all the above issues were raised, with poverty leading with a 293 (76.3%) responses, followed by corruption 266 (69.3%); then tribalism/nepotism 261 (68%); unemployment 244 (63.5%); ethnic clashes 235(61.2%) and so on. Archbishop Desmond Tutu explains the poignant situation in the contemporary Africa,

> *"The picture is bleak and the prospect one of seemingly unmitigated gloom. It is as if the entire continent was groaning under the curse of Ham and was indeed in all aspects of the Dark Continent of antiquity. Africans may well ask: "Are we God's step children? Why has disaster picked on us so conspicuously?" We appear to be tragically unique in this respect (Tutu, 2004)."*

This has created endless conflicts as people struggle for resources and power. For instance, Kunhiyop (2008) affirms that in Africa in recent years, there have been many conflicts in many nations. This is confirmed by Thomson (2003) who says that "The continent of Africa is filled with ethnic conflict, wars over resources and failed states. From south to north, west to east, fighting burns or simmers in Africa." Adeyemo (1990) attributes the many current ethnic conflicts in Africa to unequal distribution of national resources (80% of the national cake/wealth is enjoyed and controlled by only 5% of the population); land tenure and ownership (land is owned by the rich/elite minority); socio-economic and political struggle (bribery and corruption is on the increase). Power controlled by a small elite leading to poverty and class struggles amongst the majority the population. Once in leadership it becomes a right with little regard to the responsibilities of office. Two distinct classes are emerging, the rich powerful minority and the poor powerless majority. Conflicts in post independent Africa will never cease if this situation is not addressed. In Kenya for example, although there has been many ethnic conflicts since independence, it was the 2007/08 Post-election violence (PEV) that proved rather challenging to the Kenyan people. The violence was so grave that about 1,133 Kenyans lost their lives, at least 350,000 were internally displaced, more 2000 became refugees, there as unknown number of sexual violence victims, 117,216 private properties were destroyed and 491 government-owned property (offices, vehicles, health centers, schools) were annihilated (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2011). The 2007/08 ethnic tension was a major setback to the Kenya

Vision 2030 which had just been launched after many years of economic meltdown, social injustices and political instability (Wasonga, 2016). The aim of Vision 2030 was 'To transform Kenya into a newly industrializing, middle-income country providing a high quality life to all its citizens by the year 2030' (Kenya Vision 2030, 2007), a dream that was fatally shattered by the 2007/08 PEV.

Due to the grave effect of the 2007/08 PEV, We wanted to know from the field research whether Kenyans know its cause. Asked whether they had heard of it all the respondents (100%) affirmed that they were aware of the 2007/08 PEV. They were then asked to say whether it had affected them in any way. 224 (58.3 %) said it had affected them directly where they had either lost a relative, displaced or their property destroyed; 157 (40.9%) said it had affected them indirectly and 3 (0.78%) said that it had not affected them in any way. This shows that the 2007/08 PEV affected many Kenyans. Respondents were then asked to say what they termed as the main cause of this violence. 221 (57.6%) respondents cited the disputed Presidential election in which the Chair of the Electoral Commission of Kenya, Samuel Kivuitu could not tell who between Mwai Kibaki of the Party of National Unity (PNU) and Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Party (ODM) had won as the main cause. 159 (41.4%) cited unequal distribution of the national resources as the cause, while 4(1.04%) said that it was as a result of poor leadership where President Kibaki failed to take control. Therefore majority of Kenyans think that the 2007/08 crisis was as a result of the weak electoral system.

This is interesting because while the said violence is highly attributed to the disputed Presidential election results, the truth of the matter is that it was a manifestation of a failed state than just election results, as 42.44% of the respondents affirmed. Thus the factors raised by Tokunboh Adeyemo above as the main causes of ethnic conflicts in Africa cannot be disassociated from the Kenyan 2007/08 PEV. This can be confirmed by the report of the Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence (2008) that investigated Kenya's 2007/2008 Post-election violence. According to this Commission, Kenya's history of ethnic violence, the 2007/08 PEV included is a combination of long-standing conflict drivers. These include,

   i.   The perception of historic marginalization by certain ethnic groups as a consequence of alleged inequalities associated with the allocation of resources – in particular land.

   ii. A system of governance based on highly centralized and personalized executive, where the President and his ruling circle had historically maintained enormous control over the institutions that would normally serve as checks and balances, including judiciary, legislature as well as the police.

   iii. The longstanding problem of high youth unemployment.

   iv. An entrenched culture of impunity, where despite Kenya's history of electoral and other sectarian violence, the country had failed to bring justice to any of those responsible for prior abuses.

To conclude this section, one cannot fail to see the problem of leadership and governance in Africa. The afflictions in the post-independent Africa are as a result of poor leadership than lack of resources. Tutu (2004) sees the correlation between leadership and the challenges facing Africa today.

He says that 'Africa faces a mammoth crisis in leadership'. He goes on to explain that as a result of poor political leadership, we are all accustomed to military dictatorships, coups, corruption, refugees, civil wars, diseases, injustice, and so on.

4. Relationship between leadership and sustainable development in the post-independent Africa with reference to Kenya

The term 'leadership' may mean different things to different people. Kagema (2010) defines leadership as the "ability to influence others". Elliston (1988) shares the same view with Kagema and defines "leadership as the process of influence". In most cases, this influence is systematically carried out by one person called the leader of the group. Sustainable development, on the other hand, is that development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Its tenets are environment, society and economy that are intertwined and not separated (Dartey-Baah, 2014). Okullu (1984) defines development as 'transformation of one thing into another'. To what extent is sustainable development linked to leadership in Africa? Respondents were asked to say whether the type of leaders a nation has affects development in that nation in any way. All of them (100%) affirmed that leadership affects the nation's sustainable development and that the two are linked. This view is supported by Dartey-Baah (2014) who argues that there is a close correlation between effective leadership and sustainable development.

African nations continue to lag behind in development as compared to nations in other continents. There is an ongoing narrative in Kenya that at Independence Kenya was at par with Malaysia in terms of economic development, which was about 6.8% of the GDP for both. Today 54 years later, Kenya has gone down to 5.9%, while Malaysia has gone up to over 40%. The ideal question is 'What went wrong in Kenya?' Njino (2008) contends that we are in the third millennium yet Africa has little to show towards self-reliance and sustainable development. She is still subject to continuous begging and dependence on foreign aid for the sustenance of her programmes. One doubts the independence of African nations if they still continue to rely on their colonial masters for survival. To what extent can a beggar be independent?

Fifty years after the achievement of constitutional independence, African nations seem to have returned to 'square one' whereby the former colonial masters have to bail out economies in ruins and political institutions that have collapsed (Cf. Mugambi 1995). This has not been without some cost on the part of Africa. Very similar to what happened prior to 1884/5 Berlin Conference, when European missionaries, mercenaries, businessmen and adventurers plunged into the continent for plunder and self-gratification, then called on their metropolitan governments to protect their loot, today Africa has become a 'no man's land', a continent without borders, where anybody can come from any where and do whatever he/she wants. Mugambi (1995) elucidates that by portraying Africa as a continent unable to help itself, people from other continents (mainly Europeans and North Americans), drawn by their self-gratification have come here claiming to be 'saviours' without whom Africa would perish. They claim the right to enter every African country without restriction, even though there is no reciprocal arrangement for Africans to enter the

countries from which they are based. By claiming to help Africa, they have plunged African nations into huge debts, which have to be paid the by common African people whom Adeyemo (1990) says that are gripped by poverty across the whole shapes of their lives. As noted by Ezebuiro (2016), the problem of foreign debt has been a major and persistent setback for the African development. This is mainly as a result of the fact that most African nations in debt are still underdeveloped and therefore depend on foreign loans to sustain their economy. Thus foreign powers continue to exercise influence and control over African nations by financial means (Chipenda, 1993). I agree with Mugambi (1995) that there is no society that can be cited where external initiative has produced sustainable development. Therefore, no sustainable development will be realized if African nations continue to rely on former colonial powers to sustain themselves. Independence was supposed to give Africans freedom to innovate and freedom to identify solutions for accumulated problems. But this has been repressed rather than encouraged (Chipenda, 1993). If we want sustainable development we must wake up and learn from Desmond Tutu's assertion that 'Freedom is cheaper than repression' (Tutu, 1990).

According to Bishop Henry Okullu, the term development in its popular usage in Kenya as in other African nations means economic advancement, the increase the national product to bring national wealth that will be eventually spread among individual members of the community. It means living in better houses, better water supply, tarmac roads to facilitate easy transportation, better agricultural methods, more schools, colleges and universities, more dispensaries and hospitals, quicker means of communication and so on (Okullu, 1974). It means transformation of one thing into another (Okullu, 1984). It is this transformation that lacks in many Africans nations, Kenya included as exemplified by impassable roads, food insecurity, lack of water supply, few health facilities, unaffordable education, insecurity, poor communication network, et cetera. It is true that as acknowledged by Ezebuiro (2016) and African Development Plan (2015), Africa has made major strides in economic growth, where undoubtly, some African nations such as Ivory Coast, Tanzania, Kenya, Senegal, Rwanda and Djibouti have the highest growing economies in the globe (Africa Business Forum, 2016), but the continent still remains largely underdeveloped (Global Forum Policy, 2014). Although Africa is endowed with immense natural and human resources as well as great cultural, ecological and economic diversity, most of its nations continue to suffer from military dictatorships, corruption, civil unrest, wars, underdevelopment and deep poverty (Global Forum Policy, 2014). As observed by M'Ikunywa (1986) majority of African peoples whether in urban or rural areas live in abject poverty many years after political independence. It is because of this reason that most of the countries classified by the United Nations as least developed are in Africa (Global Forum Policy, 2014). The ideal question is 'What is the problem?' As Desmond Tutu asks 'Is Africa under the curse of Ham? (Tutu, 2004). What makes African nations continue to suffer many years after the attainment of political independence?

4.1. The challenge of leadership in Africa

We enquired from the respondents whether they know what has made Kenya and other African nations continue to lag behind in terms of development as well as why we have continually experienced other problems, yet Africa is a continent endowed with numerous resources. Interestingly, 381 (99.2%)

respondents cited poor leadership as the main cause of Africa's afflictions, while 3(0.8 %) were not quite sure. This shows that Kenyans just as other African peoples are aware that they suffer due to their leaders' failure to be responsive to the needs of the people they lead. This is supported by Tutu (2004), who blames the current predicaments facing Africa to Africa's political leadership. He argues that "Africa faces a mammoth crisis in leadership, especially in politics". Similarly, Ngara (2004) is of the view that that the problems that we encounter in Africa: terrorism, corruption, ethnic and civil wars, economic meltdown, political instability, underdevelopment, poverty and others are all linked to failed leadership. Kwasi Dartey-Baah denotes that there is a close link between leadership and sustainable development. He says that leadership experienced in post-independence Africa has manifested several instances of incompetence, ineffectiveness and unresponsiveness to the needs of the present and even future generations. This has really hampered the realization of sustainable development in Africa, as sustainable development cannot be attained where leadership is weak (Dartey-Baah, 2014). Leadership is thus imperative in promoting sustainable development (Sharma, et. al, 2009).

According to M'Ikunywa (1986), small pockets of wealthy and powerful elites have replaced former colonial masters in Africa. These are the ones who control and determine the direction society will take, often to the detriment of the majority who are poor and powerless. They are the ones responsible for the desperate situation in which Africa is. This view is supported by Adeyemo (1990) by his elucidation that the coming of political independence in Africa brought a lot power. Ironically, power came and remains not in the hands of the masses but in those of small elite. The dream of our freedom fighters to unite the shattered fragments of a bitterly divided continent and create an earthly paradise remains utopian and in some areas has turned into a nightmare. Many African national leaders treat their national offices as an exclusive right rather than an open responsibility. No sustainable development can be attained where only a few selfish leaders control the national economy while majority of the citizens are languishing in poverty. For instance in many African nations, 80% of the national wealth is enjoyed and controlled by only 5% of the population (Adeyemo, 1990), mainly the leaders and their cronies. It is sad that some African countries earn a lot of money from the natural resources, yet they remain underdeveloped due to lack of good leadership. For example, Kunhiyop (2008) informs that despite Nigeria earning billions of dollars from oil production, there has been no tangible development.

Nthamburi (1991) denotes that there is a close correlation between poverty, exploitation and oppression in Africa. Kagema (2016), for example, indicates that the low social and economic status of the African people and the general underdevelopment of the continent as a whole is as a result of exploitation and oppression, first by the colonial governments and then by the African leaders who took over after independence. There is so much poverty in Africa that George Kinoti reports that "One out of three Africans does not get enough to eat" (Kinoti, 1994). What is however clear that Africa is poor and underdeveloped not because African peoples do not work hard but because of exploitation by their leaders. In view of this Nthamburi (1991) says that we cannot exonerate independent African states for their contribution to the suffering of their peoples. While the quality of leadership can be measured by the degree to which a leader is able to direct social reconstruction without destabilizing the society in which he or she leads Mugambi (1995), African leaders have continually destabilized their societies through corruption, selfishness, nepotism, tribalism, bribery and

et. cetera with little cognizance of the effect of this to the development of Africa and without minding of the future generations. This means that if we want to address the afflictions facing African nations including underdevelopment, poverty, corruption, ethnic conflicts, tribalism, illiteracy, diseases and others, then we need to think of leadership. Without good leadership, it will be difficult to realize sustainable development in Africa.

5. Responsible leadership for sustainable development in Africa

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines the term 'Responsible' as having a job or duty of doing something or taking care of something, so that you may be blamed if it goes wrong. In view of this, Gathaka (2005) defines leadership as being in a position of responsibility. Thus if one accepts to be a leader he/she should be ready to take the blame if anything goes wrong. This is true because I have observed that here in Kenya, whenever something goes wrong, it is the President and his government who are blamed. For instance, whenever there is drought, floods, high cost of living, insecurity, tribal wars/conflicts, strikes, etc, it usually the President who is blamed. When schools perform poorly in national examinations, the Principals are the ones blamed. When companies are running at losses the managers are blamed and similarly when Church members are running away from the Church, the bishop or pastor is the one who takes the blame. Responsible leadership therefore implies that the leader is in charge, in control and is willing to take the blame if anything goes wrong.

Stuckelberger and Mugambi (2005) remark that leaders are available in abundance, but responsible leaders are hard to find. They continue to observe that to be responsible, a leader must be responsive to the needs, concerns and interests of those whom he/she leads. Respondents in this study were asked to say whether in their view their leaders are responsive to their needs, concerns and interests. 351 (91.4%) said 'No', while 33 (8.6%) said 'Yes'. When they were told to explain their answers, 329 (85.7%), argued that their leaders are busy enriching themselves, their families and friends while the people they lead are left suffering. This is a sad situation for Kenya and the rest of Africa. The continent has many leaders, but only a few of them (just about 8.6%) are responsible leaders. The leaders who mind of the welfare of their people are very few. The majority of the leaders are selfish, self-centred, greedy and only concerned with their bellies at the expense of the impoverished masses. No sustainable development can be attained when a nation has such leaders. For example, in Kenya more than 80% of the national wealth is enjoyed and controlled by only 5% of the population, who are mainly political leaders and their cronies (Adeyemo, 1990).

One of the characteristics of responsible leadership is willingness of the leader to hand over power after his/her term expires. The coming of political independence in Africa brought a lot of power (Adeyemo, 1990). Power in Africa goes with a lot of prestige: wealth, a fleet of escort cars, a posse of bodyguards, unquestioned authority, many wives and concubines and so on. Because of the satisfaction associated with power, many African leaders do not want to let it go once they get it. Hendriks (2014) alludes to this fact by asserting that 'Today, the relationship between leadership and power may be the biggest problem that we face in our continent'. He elucidates that African leaders do not want to give away power after they get it. For instance,

apart from Nelson Mandela, no African President has ever given away power after only one term in office. The result of this has been endless mass uprisings, ethnic conflicts, election violence and military coups as people try to force them out. Such conflicts have recently been experienced in Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Egypt, Libya, Zimbabwe, Somalia, Nigeria, Uganda, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Southern Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Cote d'voire among others (Shah, 2014; Kunhiyop, 2008). This has really hampered the development of Africa as no sustainable development can be attained in the midst of conflicts as affirmed by the United Nations Chronicle (2016), titled ' No Peace no Sustainable Development'.

Responsible leadership entails good stewardship (Gitari, 2005). Respondents were asked to say the extent to which they think responsible leadership involves good stewardship. 243 (63.3%) said to a larger extent, 125 (32.6%) cited to an extent, 14 (3.6%), said to a low extent and 2(0.5%) said no extent. Therefore, leadership and stewardship are closely connected as affirmed by 95.9% of the respondents. This implies that leaders are stewards. The Greek word for 'steward' is 'oikonomos', which is closely connected to the English word 'economist' (Stuckelberger, 2005). The word Oikos means a home, house or household (Kagema, 2016). Thus, the oikonomos is the housekeeper who keeps the house in order (Stuckelberger, 2005). Leadership is the realization that all that we posses, including the people we lead is entrusted to us by God for his service. Gitari (2005) possibly explains the expectations from a responsible leader as a steward by his assertion that,

> *"A steward is a person who is appointed to manage a house or property of his employee. The household or property does not belong to him, it belongs to another person. His work is to manage. He can be a good or a bad steward. But in the final analysis he has to give account of his management."*

In this regard, one does not fail to see the correlation between leadership and management. A responsible leader is a good manager. It is unfortunate that Africa, a continent with lots of resources continue to experience incessant underdevelopment and other problems. This is a manifestation of lack of good managers of our resources. Koontz et. al (1984) see a connection between good management and development and observe that,

> *" . . . the importance of management is no where better dramatized than in the case of many undeveloped or developing countries . . . provision of capital or development does not ensure development, the limiting factor in every case has been lack of quality and vigour in the part of the managers."*

Stuckelbereger (2005) prefers to use the term 'good manager' when referring to a 'responsible leader'. For the development of Africa, African leaders must start to realize that they are accountable before God. As noted by Gitau (2000), they have a responsibility towards African land, natural resources, ecology, human resources and everything else placed under their care by the Creator. The following biblical principles high lightened by David Kadalie are vital guidelines for any person called to be a leader in the post-independent Africa (Kandalie, 2006):

i.   God owns and retains ownership of everything and everyone

ii.   God has made steward on earth, to till and keep the land

iii.   God will judge each of us in respect of our stewardship during our stay here on earth.

iv.   God intends that our stewardship be that of a guardian, curator, manager or an executor

v.   God warns us to understand our roles. We are stewards not owners.

vi.   God, as the owner sets the standards and expectations for stewardship. It must be done according to his will before he gives rewards. It must be managed assertively for the future. It must be guarded.

In Luke 16: 1-13, Jesus gives the parable of the shrewd manager or the unjust steward, who instead of caring for his master's possessions was wasting them (v.1). In our case, this manager exemplifies the character of an irresponsible leader. A key challenge for responsible leadership is the management of resources, including energy, water, air, soil (natural resources), property of goods and services (material resources), financial resources, human resources and structural resources (Stuckelberger, 2005). As we have already said Africa is richly endowed with all these resources. In the midst of underdevelopment, environmental degradation, poverty, incurable diseases, endless ethnic clashes, corruption, illiteracy and other vices, God/master is asking us 'What is this I hear about you? Give an account of your management because you cannot be manager any more' (Lk. 16: 2). African leaders need to be responsible with what has been entrusted to them. This is what is will ensure a sustainable development in the post-independent Africa.

6. Conclusion

Leadership is the biggest challenge that the post-independent Africa faces. We are underdeveloped or poor not because of deficiency in resources but due to poor management of these resources. Although Africa has many leaders, responsible leaders are not there. While leaders should be responsive to the needs of their followers (Responsible leadership), African leaders, especially political leaders have ignored their people concentrating on amassing wealth for themselves, their relatives and cronies. This has put the entire continent in a very desperate situation of underdevelopment. Africa is endowed with a variety of resources yet the African children continue to experience extreme poverty, poor transport and communication net work, poor health facilities, high living standards, perpetual ethnic conflicts, illiteracy and so on. Of recent there have been numerous talks of the need for the African people, governments and donors to focus their attention on developing Africa. At least most of the conference adverts, governments' policies, learning institutions curricula, Universities statutes and organizations' guidelines that I have seen have sustainable development as their main goal. What we have however not realized is that sustainable development cannot be attained where there is no responsible leadership. For the development of Africa, the African people and policy makers must start to think on how we can have responsible leaders. In this regard, no African should take voting lightly as the kind of leaders we elect largely determines the route our continent takes in terms of development.

It is therefore imperative that the following recommendations are made if at all we have to attain sustainable development in Africa today:

a) Incorporate 'responsible leadership' in the curricula for the learning institutions in Africa, where it must me made a core part of the curricula. It should be made compulsory to the students in all disciplines as these are usually the ones who become leaders in their nations after the completion of their studies.

b) The importance of responsible leadership for sustainable development in Africa should be emphasized in all forums, e.g. conferences, public gatherings, religious gatherings, workshops , etc.

c) Government policies in the African nations should be geared towards developing citizens for responsible leadership as this is what we are lacking.

d) Constitutions of the African nations should emphasize on the need for responsible leadership.

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