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**Character Training as a Prophylactic to Leadership-Followership Divergence in Nigeria's Quest for Peace and Development.****LALEYE, Solomon Akinyemi (Ph.D)**

Department of Philosophy, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko, Ondo State, Nigeria.

**Corresponding Author\***

LALEYE, Solomon Akinyemi

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**Abstract:** There has been proliferation of concerns on political leadership in most sub-Saharan Africa. Scholars have unequivocally identified nepotism, greed, ethnicity, religious chauvinism, and corruption of the leaders as the bane of development. In contradistinction, successive leaders have accused the followers of exhibiting unpatriotic attitudes to policies consciously designed to facilitate societal peace and development. These divergent opinions are the secondary catalyst that hinders the positive transformation of African society. Primarily, is the neglect of shared moral values by both the leaders and the led. The fundamental task of this paper, therefore, is how the disjuncture in value orientation between the leaders and the followers can be forestalled and meaningful development enhanced. Also, to identify ways by which the visions of the leaders and the aspirations of the followers can be reconciled to achieve the desired transformation. The paper argues for the cultivation of core moral values of

trust, honesty, transparency, concerns for others, justice and, active participation in governance. In achieving this, effective character training at all levels of the society's moral infrastructure is necessary. The paper recognizes the inherent difficulties in achieving this goal among the untrainable elders and aged ones hence, the prescription of sanctions on deviants. The paper adopts the analytic and prescriptive approaches of the qualitative method of research to clarify relevant terms and to recommend that, the ethical leaders and followers required for the development of African society are better achieved through character training that focuses on core moral values and civic participation of both the leaders and followers.

**Keywords:** *Character-training; leadership-followership divergence; moral infrastructures; ethical leaders and ethical followers.*

**INTRODUCTION**

Scholars have identified various factors as reasons for the development crisis in Africa. Bayo Okunade, for instance, opined that the combined forces of colonialism and slavery destroyed African's self-confidence, self-esteem, and the indigenous structures necessary for development. He however agrees that there is the need to look beyond slavery and colonialism.<sup>1</sup> Ali Mazrui argues that colonialism laid

<sup>1</sup> Okunade, B. (1998: 139) "Democracy and Human Rights in the Context of Twenty-first Century Africa" In Olusegun Oladipo (ed) *Remaking Africa: challenges of the Twenty-first Century*. (Hope: Ibadan, 1998).

the foundation for armed conflict that deprives the continent of peace and progress, through the merger of African territories without ties of consanguinities and, the demerger of those with ties<sup>2</sup>. Suffice it to say that Africans themselves were collaborators in the conscription for the illicit trade and, the several decades of independence have watered down the potency of this argument. Africans ought to have learnt to live and confront the challenges that steers them at the face. Daniel Etounga-Manguelle, on his part, identified African culture as a stumbling block in the quest for positive transformation of the continent. To him, the continent has an uncritical mind and a large dose of fatalism that hinders development. It is however important to note as done by Bethwell, A.Ogot<sup>3</sup> that, the cultural standpoint of any society is indispensable in any conceivable development process.

Scholars such as Chinua Achebe<sup>4</sup>, Segun Ogungbemi<sup>5</sup>, and Emmanuel Katongole located the development crisis in Africa within the confines of the leadership. They argued that, but for corruption, that, but for corruption, that, but for corruption, greed, nepotism, and ethnicity, nature endowed the continent with abundant resources for development. Without recourse to the long chain of historical development, when Ghana brazed the trail to gain political independence, like many other African countries, the mindset of African leaders seemed to be more focused on the development of the abundant human and natural resources. The reality in resources. The reality in contemporary African society is the condemnation of the teeming population to a precarious condition of poverty, unemployment, hunger, diseases, and a high level of illiteracy. All these portrayed the betrayal of the trust that the led reposed on the leaders. Emmanuel Katongole observes that poor leadership leads to mismanagement, lack of planning, the dictatorship that stifles democratic expressions, insecurity, and abuse of human rights<sup>6</sup>. Bewaji, J.A.I. captures the dearth of leadership in Africa from the perspective of personal aggrandizement which he juxtaposed with the duties of their offices. According to him African leaders, “made. According to him African leaders, “made every conscious effort not only to access the rights and privileges that come with the office but to ensure that the duties, responsibilities, and obligations that come with leadership positions are negated and abrogated with uncanny impunity.”<sup>7</sup> In other words, the promotion and protection of the rights to the perquisites of offices are prioritized over the duties and obligations owe to the society they lead.

Perhaps in defense, successive leaders have accused the followers of being difficult, disloyal, and unpatriotic. Leaders quickly point to pervasive tax avoidance and evasion, destruction and lack of maintenance of public properties, and indifference to civic responsibilities by the followers as acts of disloyalty and lack of patriotism.

Patriotism is the deep feeling of love for, and the fundamental disposition of care to, the common good of a group usually a society or state. Fundamental to these feelings is the relation of rights, duties, and

<sup>2</sup> Mazrui, Ali. (2003: 22) “Conflicts in Africa: an overview” In Carolyu Pumphrey, Rye Schwartz- Barcott & Triangle Institute for Security Studies. (eds.) *Armed Conflict in Africa*. (Lanham: Scarecrow Press.)

<sup>3</sup>Ogot, B. A. (1999: 320) “Informal Cultural Education in the Kenya We Want” In *Reintroducing Man into the African World* (Kisumu:Anyange Press)

<sup>6</sup>Katongole, E. (2011:52) *The Sacrifice of Africa: A Political Theology for Africa* (Cambridge:Wm.B.Eerdams.)

<sup>7</sup> Okere, T. (2002: 12) “Crisis of Governance in Africa: The Root of the Problem”In Obi Oguejiofor (ed). *Philosophy, Democracy and Responsible Governance in Africa*. (Enugu : Delta Publications.)

expectations between the state and her citizens or between the leaders and the followers. The state has duties and responsibilities to her citizens, in the same vein, the citizens has duties and obligations to the state. This mutual responsibility suggests that the duty of the state is the right of the citizens and vice-versa. If we make recourse to the history of the emergence of civil society, then the citizens' claim to rights from the state takes priority over her responsibilities to the state having relinquished part of his or her rights in exchange for protection and provision by the state. It is perhaps, this priority that informs the assertion of Theophilus Okere that, "people would undertake to support government... to the extent that government undertakes to take care of certain needs and rights of the people- needs and right we can call the public good."<sup>8</sup> Patriotism and loyalty are analogous to the Siamese twin or the two sides of a coin. According to Dipo Irele, loyalty to one country is predicated on the rational assessment of certain basic needs the country can provide for its citizens<sup>9</sup>. In other words, the inability of the state to provide the basic social and existential needs of the citizens would impact negatively on the loyal and patriotic mindset of the people

This difference in demand and supply by the state and her citizen respectively neglects the shared values of the society and consequently weakens the glue that binds the rulers and the followers. The upshot of this is the leadership –followership divergence on how positive transformation of the Nigerian society could be achieved. Fundamental to this divergence, therefore, is, on the one hand, passive participation in governance by the followers and mutual distrust, dishonesty, lack of integrity, lack of transparency on the other hand. The paper, therefore looked beyond leadership problems to include paying adequate attention to the expected roles of the followers in bringing forth good leadership and governance.

Given the dynamic relationship between the expected roles of leaders and the followers in ensuring an enduring social order, the cause, as well as the reconciliation of the divergence, is viewed from the normative perspective, because the unity of purpose, shared vision, and responsiveness by the stakeholders are indispensable in achieving good governance. This, partly accounts for the assertion of Arthur. G.Jago that, "for leaders and followers to be organized around some common or agreed upon purpose or mission, the achievement ... depends on the leadership-followership relationship"<sup>10</sup> This relationship is better enhanced by good character formation directed by qualitative moral education. A morally educated society would engender progress and the general happiness of members.

The work is divided into four sections. Section one examines the idea of leadership and followership. In section two, the traditional conception of leadership and followership is examined. Section three examines contemporary leadership and followership in Africa. The final section discusses the moral infrastructures of contemporary society as a foundation for inculcating good character and in ensuring good governance.

<sup>8</sup> Bewaji, J. A. I (2007: 410) *An Introduction to The Theory of Knowledge : A Pluricultural Approach* ( Ibadan: Hope)

<sup>9</sup>Irele, D (1993:1) *Alienation and the Problem of Loyalty in Africa*. (Ibadan: Option Book Information Services.)

<sup>10</sup> Jago, A. G. (1982: 316) "Leadership: Perspectives in Theory and Research".In *Management Science*, vol 28, no 3,

## The Idea of Leadership and Followership

It is natural that within a group of people, some members of the populace would shoulder the responsibility of galvanizing the interests of other members so as to demonstrate collectiveness and the quest for peace, progress, and orderliness. In this wise, those saddled with such responsibility could be appointed or elected to perform such roles. Expectedly, physical, mental, and moral considerations often influenced such appointments or elections. Later events within the group often attest to the soundness or unsoundness of the initial judgment made by the group. Apparently, it could be argued that the choice is often made under “the veil of ignorance”, especially when human beings are not predictable with exactitude.

Leadership is one of the least understood phenomena on earth<sup>11</sup>. Its enigmatic nature partly accounts for why the concept lacks a univocal definition. The herculean task of having a universally acceptable definition of the concept is observed by Bernard Bass when he asserts that, there are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept.<sup>12</sup>

Leadership is analogous to a large umbrella, underneath this umbrella are the heads of educational institutions, business organization, military or para-military institutions, and political institutions etcetera. Each of the heads has varying functions but the same goal. The differences between the functions of these leaders are discernable through what Aristotle called the telos, or purpose, of the realms of their activities. In this regard, every activity has its own end or purpose, which is informed by the rationale for which that activity is carried out. The differences in the nature of leadership in different fields will therefore depend partly upon the nature of those fields themselves and the kinds of ends that they seek to secure. Leadership, therefore, is often defined or described in line with its functions.

The functions of a leader most times define the style of operation. Leadership styles, it has been argued could be in the form of commando, supportive or interactive. These styles of leadership are analogous to the manner in which a shepherd could control his flocks. For instance, a shepherd could open the gate and walks through, allowing the flocks to follow—this shepherd obviously **leads from the front**. Another could stand behind the sheep and pushes or guides the flocks through, demonstrating a **supportive leadership style**. The third moves from front to back and sometimes to the middle of the flocks, demonstrating an **interactive leadership style**. Apparently, each of the three shepherds performs different functions towards the same goal but the levels of care exhibited by each of the shepherds differ. The differences notwithstanding, it is arguable that none of the shepherds would want to experience the loss of any member of the flock.

The descriptive roles of leadership or what leaders do are those indices emphasized in most analysis of leadership. In other words, the thrust of most conceptions of leadership oscillates around status or position, power or authority, and what they are used for. This is akin to, when the outward appearance, devoid of the character of an African woman is solely used as a parameter to determine her beauty. The inadequacy of this description of leadership in terms of the functions they performed informed the

<sup>11</sup> MacGregor Burns, J (1979: 2) *Leadership* (New York: Harper Torch Books,)

<sup>12</sup> Bass, Bernard (2007:16) “Concepts of Leadership” R. Vecchio (ed.), *Leadership: Understanding the Dynamics of Power and Influence in Organizations*, 2nd ed (Notre Dame :University of Notre Dame Press,)

cautionary statements from John Gardner that, “we have all occasionally encountered top persons who couldn’t lead a squad of seven-year-olds to the ice cream counter.”<sup>13</sup> This suggests that the descriptive analysis does not draw a line of demarcation between the task of managing, supervising, bossing, and leading. The paper is of the view that good and effective leadership is not only about charisma, competence, and the ability to use power or to control the people but all these must be related to ethics as well as the goal of transforming the people’s lives positively. Power is essential to leaders of any type but, the use of it must not necessarily be coercive, dictatorial, or punitive to be effective. More importantly for the transformation and growth of the society, is the “value-laden relationship between leaders and followers who intend real change that reflects their mutual purposes and goals.”<sup>14</sup> One of the fundamental indices used to measure effective leadership in contemporary human society is the commitment to shared moral values of honesty, justice, transparency, care, and responsibility. These values are the beliefs to which the society have significant attachment and they consequently influenced the behaviour of members when those seen as leaders adhered to them.

This paper does not intend to dissipate energies on the appropriateness or otherwise of the descriptive dimension of leadership, rather it focuses on what political leadership ought to be especially in contemporary Africa. In other words, analysis of leadership is not only descriptive it is complemented with the normative aspect of leadership. The thrust of the normative dimension, therefore, is how leaders ought to act in a pluralistic society. Undoubtedly, Africa is a large continent consisting of several countries. Suffice it to say, the paper does not intend to cover all the countries in the continent consequently, Nigeria, the most populous black nation on earth is used as a point of departure. The choice of Nigeria is informed by the conviction that the situation in the country is symptomatic of the situations in most of the African countries. The country shared similar experiences with other countries in the continent from the pre-colonial to the colonial and neo-colonial periods.

### **Leadership in the Context of Traditional Africa**

The emergence of any leader in traditional Africa was often the product of painstaking consultations with both the physical and the spiritual elements that constitutes the people’s cosmology, this is in addition to the satisfaction of both social and moral requirements of the community. An individual irrespective of his or her social status or wealth cannot lord himself on a community, such would lack legitimacy and allegiance of the people.

In traditional Africa, a leader is ironically a servant who contributes immensely to the progress of the community. The leader actively participates in building the community. S/he is “someone who is a servant to the clan, tribe, community or group”<sup>15</sup> Therefore to be a king, Head of household or priest is to be shouldered with the responsibility of serving the people. It is this connotative meaning of leadership that informed the adoption of “chief-servant” or servant-leader by some political office holders especially in contemporary Nigeria, in the bid to identify with the traditional conception of leadership. Whether

<sup>13</sup> Gardner, John (1990: 2) *On Leadership* (New York: The Free Press,)

<sup>14</sup> Rost, J.C. (1993: 102) *Leadership for the Twenty-first Century* (West Port- Connecticut: Praeger,)

<sup>15</sup> Maake Masango (2003: 313) “Leadership in the African Context” In *The Ecumenical Review* vol 55, no 44,

they are able to conduct themselves as well as discharge the duties of their offices in conformity with dictates of this traditional conception is a different thing.

Being a servant-leader in this traditional context implies the surrendering of the leaders' freedom as a display of love and humility for the led<sup>16</sup> The upshot of this is that in traditional African society, a leader lacks hierarchical connotation; a leader is not only *first among equals* but s/he is also conscious of this reality and consequently resists power intoxication. In the light of this egalitarian nature, the leader is regularly accountable to the people.

The parameter for assessing leaders is the satisfaction derivable from the leadership by the followers. The effectiveness of a leader is a function of the level of satisfaction of the people. The assessment continually becomes reference points in socio-political relations among members of the community for ages. This partly accounted for the popular adage in Africa that, the king whose tenure ushered in peace and prosperity would always be remembered while the one whose tenure is characterized by hardship, suffering, and sorrow would not be forgotten.

In traditional African society, members of the community are inseparable, so are the leaders and the led. The occupation of leadership position does not, in practice, detach the leaders from the followers. Every individual has a responsibility to ensure the wellness of the society hence, the famous assertion by John Mbiti that the existence of the individual is tied to the existence of the society and vice-versa. In his words, "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am"<sup>17</sup> Leadership positions in traditional Africa are sought out of a sense of stewardship rather than personal ego or for the purpose of personal aggrandizement. Leadership in this context has striking similarities with Plato's conception of the Republic<sup>18</sup> where the Guardians' role is predicated on duty-bound social responsibility

The model of leadership in traditional Africa that portrayed the servant/ master relationship, where members experienced the ideal socio-political situation of freedom, democracy, equality, and justice hardly exist any longer in contemporary African society. Egalitarian, communalistic, and humanistic structures associated with the society have been supplanted by exploitation and social stratifications that characterized capitalism.

### **Leadership and Followership in Contemporary Africa**

The social and political stratification of any society is such that some individuals or group are saddled with leadership roles while others are followers. Leaders are made by the society that produces them hence, every leader was at a particular time, a follower. Given this demarcation between leaders and followers, the posers are; how ought a leader to act? What are the expected roles of good followers? To what extent has each of these performed their expected roles in contemporary time? Are there ways by which the leaders and the followers can consciously choose to be ethically incline? Attempt to answer these questions dominate this section.

<sup>16</sup> Koestenbaum, Peter (2002: 194-195) *The Inner Side of Greatness: A Philosophy for Leaders* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass,)

<sup>17</sup> Mbiti, John (1969: 109) *African Religions and Philosophy*.( New Hampshire : Heinemann,)

<sup>18</sup> Plato *The Republic*

The actions of leaders are expected to be the action that are above board. Leadership is assumed to be the model for action in the society; it elicits positive and negative action hence, the leader should be a model for right action because right action influences the behaviour of the followers positively. When leadership is morally deficient, it portrays the rejection of virtues and sadly, the acceptance and promotion of vices in society. Effective leadership is provided when a leader's behavior and roles are not at variance with ethical or moral values shared by society. In this regard, a leader who is conscious of moral "can set positive examples for others...."<sup>19</sup> while the reverse is the case with leaders that jettison moral values. In essence, morality is an important factor in the analysis of effective leadership. When a leader conducts his or her actions in line with the dictates of the moral law, such a leader could be referred to as an ethical leader. Ethical leadership emphasizes a leader's character, integrity, ethical awareness, and promotion of national interest over self-serving interests, demonstration of civility, and consideration for the rights and needs of others. In other words, ethical leadership is demonstrated when morals regulate the conduct of a leader. Such conducts are not strictly based on law, though they should not encroach on the law, because law could sometimes be deficient to tame some of the excesses of a leader. It is essentially the demonstration of the virtues inherent in a person of good character. In this sense ethical leadership is related to the expression of trust and integrity. As John Gardner puts it, "we should hope that our leaders will keep alive values that are not so easy to embed in-laws – our caring for others, about honor and integrity, about tolerance and mutual respect, and about human fulfillment within a framework of values"<sup>20</sup>

The relationship between the vision of an ethical leader and the aspirations of the followers is enhanced when they both have the right mind-set on what constitutes good for the generality of members of the society. How would the good of the generality of members be identify? To identify the good of members require that both leaders and followers have a sense of community- "a belief ... that common social problems must be resolved by processes of peaceful change"<sup>21</sup> a sense of community would invoke the spirit of cooperation, loyalty and patriotism on the part of the led, it would also prevent the combined forces of power, intelligence, fortune or wealth to manipulate or oppress the followers by the leadership.

An ethical follower, therefore, is a person who agrees with and pursues the overall values and policy directions of the society under the influence of a sense of community. Therefore, an ethical follower must be properly educated on "the conglomerate of institutional ideals held by individuals or collectively shared by group of people"<sup>22</sup> in the society. Leadership and followership in contemporary Africa seem to have largely departed from the ethos of the ethical leadership and followership ideal required for society aspiring for development. In the assessment of this claim, there is the necessity to make recourse to leadership and followership in contemporary Africa.

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<sup>19</sup> Freeman, R. E & Stewart (2006: 2) *Developing Ethical Leadership* (Charlottesville: Business Round table Institute for Corporate Ethics, )

<sup>20</sup> Gardner, John (1990: 77) *On Leadership* (New York: Free Press,)

<sup>21</sup> Russett, B, Harvey Starr & David Kinsela, (2006: 330) *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* 8<sup>th</sup> ed (Victoria: Thomson Wadsworth,)

<sup>22</sup> Sogolo, Godwin (2014: 85) "Ethical and Socio-Cultural Foundation of National Security" In *African Journal of Security and Development* Voll, No1,

In contemporary Nigeria and many other African countries, the relationship between the leaders and the led leave much to be desired. This calls for interrogation on how leaders emerge in contemporary Africa.

With the advent of democracy, it is expected that political participation by the citizens would engender good governance and development because democracy provides the platform to vote and be voted for, it also provides among other things, freedom of expression which empowers the followers to demand explanations, suggest advice and critique constructively the policy direction of the leadership. Recalcitrant political leaders could be impeached, recalled, or voted out of offices. In other words, the active participation of the citizens makes and unmake leaders. In an ideal democracy where citizenship education and transparency on the part of the leaders are high, politically conscious followers are conscientious and reliable in the pursuit of national goals and objectives when the leadership is transparent.

Unfortunately, in contemporary democratic Nigeria leaders emerged when, the material wellbeing of desperate and over-ambitious aspirants are used to manipulate the gullible, ignorant and the poverty-stricken majority, to get into elective offices. Political leaders induce false beliefs in the people through forgery, propaganda, imposture, manipulation of facts, making unrealistic promises, crowd renting etcetera. It is common for leadership positions to be assumed “when elections are rigged before the actual vote when voters register is manipulated thereby increasing the number to give the riggers slack to work with when payment of the opposition’s agents is made so as to make him or her look away when stuffing the ballot boxes with pre-thumb printed ballots before, during and after the vote with the connivance of the police, the army, and the election regulator<sup>23</sup> as often the practice in democratic Nigeria, the consequences of these corrupt and illegal processes of producing leaders defined the nation’s level of development.

Furthermore, most of the elected political leaders that have governed Nigeria are unwilling political horses who got leadership positions thrust upon them by circumstances; their ill-preparedness for the positions reflect in their performances. Therefore, for the followers to force leadership role on reluctant individuals could be counterproductive for a nation. This does not suggest the entrustment of leadership position in the hands of over-ambitious individuals but, some modicum of ambition coupled with self-esteem traits in an individual should be a necessary but insufficient requirement for the leadership position. The potential leaders must be physically and mentally sound in addition to having an interest in governance, while the followers ought to take interest in how leaders emerge.

K. C. Anyanwu<sup>24</sup> rightly observed that citizens’ participation in governance in Nigeria is abysmally low, they do not go nearer the machinery of their government than the voting booths. When they do, it is most often to collaborate with leaders to undermine national development through personal and self-edifying requests. Hence, the attitude of the public reinforces the manner in which the elected officials operate the government

<sup>23</sup> Walker, Andrew. (2016: 92) ‘Eat the Heart of the Infidel’ *The Harrowing Experience of Nigeria and the Rise of Boko Haram* ( London:Hurst and Company,)

<sup>24</sup> Anyanwu, K.C. (1982: 108) The Bases of Political Instability in Nigeria In *Journal of Black Studies* vol. 13, no 1,



The absence of active participation of the followers in politics includes the non-interrogation of the performance of government at all levels. Suffice it to say, the ground norm of the Federal Republic of Nigeria for instance provides for items on exclusive, concurrent, and residual lists but, citizens hardly interrogate the performance of government at the local or state levels. This have encouraged political actors to amass public wealth for self-aggrandizement, “favour their own ethnic category or group...through the distribution of jobs, contracts, licences, development grants etcetera”<sup>25</sup> and the deployment of the instrumentality of power to coerce the followers.

The reality in contemporary Africa therefore, is that the continent is confronted with the challenge of adopting and nurturing the model of leadership that is selfless, and conscious of the wishes and aspirations of the people so as to actualize them through responsible and responsive governance. Hence, the preponderance of opinion in Africa, that the continent “live in a world where leaders are often morally disappointing.”<sup>26</sup>

### **Moral Infrastructure and Character Formation**

From the previous discussion on leadership-followership in traditional Africa, it could be inferred that traditional African society possessed some virtues necessary for mutual understanding, progress, and peaceful co-existence among the leaders and the led. The level of the virtues might not be perfect, especially when historical records has it that African traditional leaders were accomplice in the infamous trans-Saharan slave trade. But more importantly, the leaders and the followers adhered to a large extent to the dictates of the moral voice of the community. The moral voice of the traditional Africans is built around the philosophical thoughts espoused in *Ubuntu*, *Omoluwabi*, and *Ujaama* ethos, which interalia elicit primordial loyalty to ethnic groups.

This suggests that peace, progress, and enduring social order in any society are functions of how strong the moral voice of such society is. The moral voice is the inner voice that directs the individuals towards what ought to be done in a social situation. This moral voice is predicated on the value commitments of society. According to Amitai Etzioni, “the moral voice is the main way that individuals and groups in a good society encourage one another to adhere to behaviour that reflects shared values and to avoid behaviour that offends or violates them”<sup>27</sup> These are traits present in traditional society but conspicuously absent in contemporary African society.

This reality perhaps informed the thought of Peter Ekeh, when he identified two public realms in African social and political space: - viz, the primordial and the civic realms. According to him, “the primordial public is moral and operates on the same moral imperative as the private realm”<sup>28</sup> while “the civic realm is amoral and lacks the generalized moral imperative operative in the private and in the primordial

<sup>25</sup> Goldsworthy, David (1982: 108) “Ethnicity and Leadership in Africa: “The Untypical” Case of Tom Mboya” In. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* vol 20, no 1,

<sup>26</sup> Ciulla, Joanne (1995 :5) “Leadership Ethics: Mapping the Territory” In *Business Ethics Quarterly*

<sup>27</sup> Etzioni, A. (1997: 124) *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society*. (London: Profile Books,)

<sup>28</sup> Ekeh, P (1975: 92) “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol117, No 1,

public”<sup>29</sup>. In other words, the different ethnic groups attract loyalty and patriotism from their members consequent upon the shared moral values of the group, but the new African states that emerged after independence does not enjoy such loyalty because of the absence of shared moral values.

The ethnic loyalty or primordial sentiment that citizens had in traditional Africa can be appropriated for national integration, peace, and development by the different African countries through educational policies consciously designed and directed towards new character formation for citizens. The policies should prioritize tolerance, inclusiveness, and consultation. In an ethno-religiously diverse country of Africa, centralization of power and resources at the center usually results into ill-feelings, unhealthy competition for the control of power, and, consequently leadership – followership divergence. Enlightenment on the inherent benefits in the devolution of power and resources would enhance participation and less divergence.

In re-enacting the virtues of tolerance, care, transparency, and justice in the citizens, the restructuring of the moral infrastructure of the society is necessary. By moral infrastructure, reference is to the elements of character formation in human society. These elements, according to Etzioni include families, schools, community, and community of communities<sup>30</sup>

The family is the first point of contact with human society. It has the responsibility of engineering the process of value inculcation in infants. At the tender and formative age, the mind of the infant is a Tabula Rasa and capable of being the receptor of values that can shape the life of the child to becoming an ethical follower and leader. Parents are expected to effectively play this role in the life of the children.

The school is the second building block of the moral infrastructure that remedy the character neglects from the home. The educational system of most African nations is a radical departure from the ideal that emphasizes morals hence, the need for the re-tooling of the system towards education that would humanize and re-orientate the mind. The future of society is a function of the education the youth receive at this stage.<sup>31</sup> In this wise, civic education in addition to quantitative and qualitative reasoning and history should be taught at this level. In addition, training that equips civil and moral behaviour so as to instill in the youth sense of justice and respect for others should be included in the school curricular. Essentially, the educational system must be directed towards internalizing moral values.

It will be recalled that in traditional African society, the training and character formation of the child is not the exclusive responsibility of the immediate family rather, it is the concurrent responsibilities of both the community and the family. Unfortunately, this has jettisoned in contemporary African society. Members of the society has to be alive to their responsibilities in reinforcing the character of the individuals. Finally, the judicial system which in my opinion extends to include not only the judges but as well as the lawyers, investigators and law enforcement agencies (because it is a value-chain to the extent that the operation of one affects the other) must be strengthened legally and morally with respect to sanction on deviant citizens. It is corruption of a grandeur scale to pervert justice by neglecting shared

<sup>29</sup> Ekeh, P (1975: 92) “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol117, No 1,

<sup>30</sup> Etzioni, A. (1997: 176) *The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Democratic Society*. (London: Profile Books,)

<sup>31</sup> Ozumba G.O. & Chimaakonam, J.O. (2014: 96) *Njikoka Amaka Further Discussions on the Philosophy of Integrative Humanism A Contribution to African and Intercultural Philosophies* (Calabar: 3<sup>rd</sup> Logic Options Publishing.)

values of truth, justice and integrity or to subvert the law. Law, no matter how stringent it is, cannot implement itself. It requires implementation by the moral agents hence, values of honesty, fairness, justice and transparency must be shared.

### Conclusion

The article examined the factors responsible for leadership- followership divergence and how they impacted on the socio-political spheres of Africa. It noted that central to the divergence is the noninvolvement of the followers in governance on the one hand and, the absence of shared moral values of trust, honesty, justice, transparency, and fairness among leaders on the other hand. The article opined that, until the people wake from their dogmatic slumber to realize that development and growth in African society is achievable by ethical followers who are confident to critique their leaders and consistently check their excesses when exhibited, through the ballots and other legal means African would have to have leaders bereft of shared moral values.

Furthermore, the paper argued for ethical rebirth through new character formation among citizens beginning with the infants and youth to instil in them a sense of community. This involves the reconstruction of the moral infrastructure of the society. In doing this, the moral voice of the society would be strengthened from the family level, through the schools to the larger society.

Finally, the judicial institution of the society should be strengthened to ensure the letters of the laws are complied with. Infractions on the law should be sanctioned as appropriate.

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