LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN POST-VIOLENT SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES: ETHICAL PRAGMATISM

by

Innocent B. Rugaragu
A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Committee:

_____ Chair of Committee

_____

_____

_____ Graduate Program Director

_____ Dean, School for Conflict
Analysis and Resolution

Date: _____ Spring Semester 2017
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

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By

Innocent B. Rugaragu
Master of Justice and Peace Studies
University of San Diego, 2012
Master of Arts & Master of Arts
Santa Clara University -Jesuit School of Theology Berkeley, 2011
Bachelor of Arts
Catholic University of Eastern Africa – Hekima College, 2009
Bachelor of Arts
University of Zimbabwe – Arrupe College, 2005

Director: Susan H. Allen, Associate Professor
School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Spring Semester 2017
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Dedication

This is dedicated to all children, women and men who love, care and deeply commit to work for Peace, Reconciliation and Ethical-Pragmatism Leadership in Africa and in the World

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my fellow Jesuits companions of Rwanda - Burundi and of the USA, especially the Jesuits of the Gonzaga Community in D.C., whose house and generosity I shared under the extraordinary leadership of Fr. Gap Lo Biondo and Br. Lundin Larry. I also pay attribute to my many wonderful friends: Greg, Sandra and Elise Cleva, the Hadingers, the Peerenbooms, the Sullivans, the DeCesare, Ann and Tim Ramish, Lorrie and Jim Neumeister, Julie Guiffre all of North VA, Jane and Mario, Ann O'Brien and Epiphany community of Annapolis, Connie Cabugos and family, Pat and John Spinetta, Cindy Cassady, all of San Diego, Fr. John Baumann, Ron Snyder, John Rutsinditwarane, of PICO International, Aline Dukuze, Anatalia Butare, many other friends, family, relatives, and the many faithful people of St. Mark Catholic Parish in Vienna under the leadership of Fr. Pat Holroyd and all the supporters who have made this happen. Many friends, family, relatives, strangers and community members assisted me in big and small ways during this academic journey.

Drs. Susan H. Allen, Sandra Cheldelin and Steve Zaccaro, members of my committee, were of invaluable help and mentorship. Dr. Susan Allen, the principal investigator of this research project invested in me so much time, effort and energy. Prof. Sandra's mentorship, expertise and availability and Prof. Steve's, expertise in leadership made me grow in knowledge and wisdom about this subject and topic. Without your guidance this dissertation wound not have been successful. So, Big Thanks.

Finally, thanks go out to all my great interviewees, my classmates, the S-CAR and GMU Community who always made me feel that I was part of the S-CAR/ GMU body and family. I made friendships that I will carry with me as I journey on the path of making my degree useful for the transformation of our violent world. They all made this achievement possible.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

UN-United Nations

ECOWAS- Economic Community of West African States

ICC- International Criminal Court

AFDB- African Development Bank Group

AFLI- African Leadership Institute

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

LWI- Leadership Wisdom Initiative

CEOs- Chief Executive Officers

VUCA- used to describe or reflect on the volatility, uncertainty, complexity and

      ambiguity of general conditions and situations.

INGOs- International Non-governmental Organizations

NGOs- Non-governmental Organizations

SADC- South African Development Community

COMESA- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

EAC- East African Community

NEPAD- The New Partnership for Africa's Development

BRICS- Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

EACP- East Africa Capital Partners

CCM- Chama Cha Mapinduzi

IRDP- Institute of Research for Dialogue and Peace

RPF- Rwandan Patriotic Front

UNDP- United Nations Development Program

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

IRB- Institutional Review Board

GT – Grounded Theory

SADCC- South African Development Coordination Conference

OAU- Organization of African Unity

AU - African Union

APRM- African Peer Review Mechanism

AACC- All African Conferences of Churches

NPP- The New Patriotic Party

SCG – Search for Common Ground

NDC - National Democratic Congress

EU- European Union

USIP – United States Institute of Peace

Abstract

LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN POST-VIOLENT SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN COUNTRIES: ETHICAL PRAGMATISM

Innocent B. Rugaragu, Ph.D.

George Mason University, 2017

Dissertation Director: Dr. Susan H. Allen

Leadership for peace and reconciliation is vital to making positive changes at all levels of the society in sub-Saharan Africa. The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore how to develop leadership for peace in sub-Saharan Africa, with the aim of contributing to the solution of the leadership crisis that leads to violent conflicts, wars and even genocides. The literatures describing leadership styles were explored to identify some examples. Key informant interviews were conducted with 20 leaders in the public, private and civil society sectors. The sample represented a broad spectrum of leaders from across sub-Saharan Africa, identified through webs and networks of connection the researcher had with colleagues. All the interviewees have worked to promote peace and reconciliation for many years across Africa. Questions were designed to determine leaders' career path, motivation and characteristics for peace and reconciliation. Using a grounded theory approach and after data analysis, four themes

formed a framework that emerged from the thick, rich descriptions provided through study participants' interviews. The four themes were (a) Historical background, (b) Be, (c) Know and (d) Do. The Nvivo program was used to help organize the coding of the data.

Regarding the results, the interviews concluded that its possible to build, grow and nurture such leadership for peace that will be successful in continuing to bring positive changes and lead to sustainable peace and reconciliation. The findings may be used to help develop such leadership especially at the top-level where it is highly needed in the communities and countries across sub-Saharan Africa.

Chapter One

Introduction

Leadership or Chaos: The Heart and Soul of Politics – Schofield & Gallego - (2011).

Background

The important insight championed by James MacGregor Burns (2003), a pioneer in leadership theory, that "Only leadership can overcome the abuses of leadership," (p.198) resonates soundly with my own experience as an African student of conflict analysis and resolution, as well as a participant observer of genocide and violence in Rwanda. A similar understanding is shared by Norman Schofield and Maria Gallego in their 2011 book titled *Leadership or Chaos: The Heart and Soul of Politics*, when they argue that "an uncertain future, with the possibility of climate change and economic disorder" requires good leadership (p. 427). They conclude: "As in earlier periods like [the] 1860s and 1930s we depend on strong leadership to guide our choices over how to create a better world" (p.427). By strong leadership they refer to competent, dynamic and ethical leaders who are able to respond to the various challenges their countries face in a given time. After being a president for over two decades, President J.K. Nyerere remarked on Southern Africa's future: " Southern Africa has a tremendous opportunity, but you need leadership, because if you get proper leadership there, within the next ten to

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fifteen years that region is going to be the Asia of Africa" (Othman 2001, p. 23). With ethical leadership, it is very possible for Southern Africa to move upwards in terms of peace and prosperity to be on an equal footing with Asia.

This study interviews top-level leaders in the Sub-Saharan countries that represent recent types of violent conflict in Africa: genocide, civil war, apartheid, post-independence and electoral violence. The study is grounded on my own experiences living in Rwanda, Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast and visiting other neighboring countries like South Africa and Ethiopia. They have shown me that only good leadership can repair the consequences of bad leadership, especially at the level of national governance.

As a Rwandese, I witnessed war and genocide in my native country. From that experience, my desire grew to participate in peacebuilding at the grassroots level and to teach conflict transformation and resolution skills. The issue of leadership was at the very center of the Rwandan genocide, just as leadership is again at the epicenter of peacebuilding and reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda. This phenomenon sparked my interest to conduct research in this area by interviewing political and non-political leaders whose leadership makes a difference for peace and reconciliation within countries such as Burundi, which is currently experiencing a "leadership crisis" at the presidential level.

Statement of the Problem

Since the middle of the last century, Africa has experienced more violent conflicts and civil wars than any other continent. "Moreover, these wars are consistently at least

two years longer than those on other continents" (Hoeffler, 2008, p. 5). Robin Clempson notes that "between 1946 and 2002 there were 47 civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa" alone resulting in millions of deaths (Clempson, 2012, para 1). Worse still, from the 1960s to 1990s, there were about 80 violent changes of government in the 48 sub-Saharan African countries (Adedeji, 1999, p. 3). These calamities and the crisis in current African political leadership, carry some of the burden of responsibility for creating the fore mentioned situation. Other contributory factors include colonialism, the cold war, poverty, and the lack of viable institutions. Unique to Africa, more than 25% of the heads of state have been in power from 15 to 40 years (UN protocol and liaison service: Public List March 23, 2015), often contrary to their country's constitutional limits.

Why have only a handful of African heads of state voluntarily and peacefully relinquished control to a successor without violence and bloodshed? There is considerable discourse regarding the internal and external factors that contribute to the tendency of African political leaders to violently extend their political tenure beyond the limits of their term of office. President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso was forced out of office into exile on 31 October 2014 after he attempted to change the constitution to remain in office; he had served since 1987. The April 2015 presidential election in Sudan is another example of a president refusing to leave office. President Al Bashir has held the presidential office for the past 25 years. He won another 5-year term, in spite of the Sudanese constitutional term limit of only two 5-year terms. Sudan is badly divided and the major opposition parties boycotted the election (only 46.4% of the registered people voted). Al Bashir has been charged by the International Criminal Court for crimes against

humanity. Present Yahya Jammeh (1994 – 2017) of Gambia also refused to leave office in January 2017 until the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union threatened to intervene militarily. Robert Bruce Shaw in his book entitled *Leadership Blind Spots* (2014, p. 39 - 40), and Nelson Mandela in *Conversations With Myself* (2010, p. X), refer to external and internal factors that prevent a leader from judging himself and his progress as a leader critically. These reasons include the intersection of factors such as the history and identity of the leader, corruption, arrogance, clinging to the status quo, being overly optimistic, not developing real successors, avoiding tough conversations, lacking such behaviors as sincerity, transparency, humility, generosity, a desire to serve. Other factors include the disposition of the citizens or those who follow the leader, the effects of colonialism, negative intervention by international monetary, political and military institutions, the International Criminal Court (ICC), new liberalism and post-violent conflict leadership styles such as excessive control or not enough control (Roach & Schaefer, 2012, para 5-13 & AFDB Group, 2014).

While there are many avenues to approach the study of African governance, the current study concentrates solely upon leadership for peace and reconciliation. I share the *African Leadership Institute*'s (AFLI) belief that:

> Without good leadership across the various levels and sectors of the continent, all the other excellent initiatives in Africa will be stifled. Investment in good leadership has an enormous return in terms of future social, economic, political, technological and environmental benefits (2012, Para 5).

Without ethical and pragmatic leaders, Rwanda as well as the majority of African countries are unlikely to overcome the critical issues that continue to undermine

recognition of the dignity of respecting human rights. Violent conflict, genocide, extreme poverty, disease and ignorance will endure unabated. Empowering ethical leadership in youth regardless of gender, within our local communities will be essential if we want to engender peace, build just institutions and allow for the unfolding of constitutional democracy in post-conflict African countries.

African leaders are often called upon to repair the physical, emotional, psychological, cultural, spiritual, financial, property and political damage caused by former leaders. They are responsible for uniting their people torn apart by the consequences of bad leadership, genocide, civil wars, post-election violence, and massive corruption. According to John Maxwell, "Everything rises and falls on leadership. If a team has great leadership, then it can gain everything else it needs to go to the highest level." (2001, p. 211) If this assertion is true, then post-violent conflict peace-building and reconciliation, especially in the sub-Saharan countries, cannot occur without good leadership at the regional and national levels.

Statement of the Problem

Since the middle of the last century, Africa has experienced more violent conflicts and civil wars than any other continent. "Moreover, these wars are consistently at least two years longer than those on other continents" (Hoeffler, 2008, p. 5). Robin Clempson notes that "between 1946 and 2002 there were 47 civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa" alone resulting in millions of deaths (Clempson, 2012, para 1). Worse still, from the 1960s to 1990s, there were about 80 violent changes of the governments in the 48 sub-Saharan

African countries (Adedeji, 1999, p. 3). These calamities and the crisis in current African political leadership, carries some of the burden of responsibility for creating this situation. Other contributing factors include colonialism, the cold war, poverty, and the lack of viable institutions. Unique to Africa, more than 25% of the heads of state have been in power from 15 to 40 years (UN protocol and liaison service: Public List March 23, 2015), often contrary to their country's constitutional limits.

While there are many avenues to approach the study of African governance, the current study concentrates solely upon leadership for peace and reconciliation, which I call ethical pragmatism leadership.

Definition of Ethical Pragmatism Leadership

A leader who espouses ethical pragmatism cares deeply about leading people with ethical conduct in practical matters such as embracing positive and inclusive changes in politics, economics and socio-cultural aspects that leads to sustainable peace and reconciliation. In contrast to the unethical and un-pragmatic tendencies, attitudes, and behavior of some top-level leaders, both locally and globally, ethical pragmatic leaders focus on moral principles and recognize a global vision of humanity and its relationship to power, identity, and resources, the three major causes of violent conflicts. Such leaders are driven by who they are, what they know, what they do, and their historical context. Their vision of a unified global relationship hinges upon them as exemplary role models for their followers and humanity as a whole. This foresight enables them to lead with a desire to end the unnecessary pain and suffering resulting from both unethical and un-

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pragmatic, corrupt, and/or unrealistic leaders. Ethical pragmatic leaders strive to end the victimization and "othering" of targeted groups or of their fellow citizens or humanity. Such leadership is committed to teaching new generations to engage in a shared moral responsibility that prevents and/or ends violent conflict while promoting sustainable peace. Within the context of sub-Saharan Africa, ethical pragmatic leaders are distinguished by their fierce sense of integrity, inclusivity, morality, servanthood, spirituality, and pragmatism as they eschew the infamous stereotype of an African leader who engages in massive corruption, greed, nepotism, divisionism, and undemocratic rule, throwing his/her people into a downward spiral of poverty and violence.

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Without good leadership across the various levels and sectors of the continent, all the other excellent initiatives in Africa will be stifled. Investment in good leadership has an enormous return in terms of future social, economic, political, technological and environmental benefits (2012, Para 5).

Without ethically pragmatic leaders, Rwanda as well as the majority of African countries, are unlikely to overcome the critical issues that continue to undermine recognizing the dignity of respecting human rights. Violent conflict, genocide, extreme poverty, disease and ignorance will endure unabated. Empowering ethical pragmatic leadership in youth regardless of gender, within our local communities will be essential if we want to engender peace, build just institutions and allow for the unfolding of constitutional democracy in post-conflict African countries.

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Rationale for the Study

With this study, I seek to add to the growing body of literature and scholarship on African leaders, leadership and conflict resolution. Specifically, I believe it is critical to understand the phenomenological experience of a select group of African leaders who have chosen to lead their people in the direction of sustainable peace and reconciliation, often in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds. As Rotberg painfully points out, "By some measures, 90 percent of sub-Saharan African Nations have experienced despotic rule in the last three [four] decades" (2004, para 1). How do we recognize and create leaders who will prevent violent conflict or who will seek peaceful solutions to conflict at various levels, especially at the national level? How will their particular style of leadership successfully avoid engagement with violent conflict, provide national security, and create positive peace for civil society? Susan Collin Marks (2015) describes this type of leadership in her work, *Leadership Wisdom Initiative*, as being "authentic

with conflict resolution skills, whole (rooted in common humanity) and compassionate as it facilitates problem solving and heals societal divisions" (Para 5).

This study examines the qualities, character make-up, and actions of leaders who intentionally lead or have led their people toward peace and reconciliation. By leadership for peace, I refer to a philosophy of life in which a leader chooses to lead with integrity and accountability while fulfilling expectations for peace and security. Good governance or good leadership is a cornerstone for sustainable peace and reconciliation. This study looks specifically at the role of leadership within the context of a divided society or country. A great deal of research has focused on ways to overcome conflicts in Africa. Examples include Terrence Lyons and Gilbert M. Khadiagala's book, *Conflict Management and African Politics: Ripeness, bargaining, and mediation* (2008); Jeffrey Herbst's book, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (2000), and Susan Collin Marks' book, *Watching the Wind: Conflict Resolution During South Africa's Transition to Democracy* (2000). However, very little has been written about the importance of the impact of leadership on African conflict.

Although Burn's analytical observation, "Only leadership can overcome the abuses of leadership" (2003, p. 198), and Maxwell's dictum, "Everything rises and falls on leadership" (2001, p. 211) may seem exaggerated, I contend leadership is one of the key pillars of both conflict and conflict resolution in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is not uncommon for African leaders who draw international attention to fit into one of two camps: those who lead their nations toward peace and reconciliation, as in the case of

Nelson Mandela in post-apartheid South Africa, and those who drive their countries into complete and utter chaos, violent conflict, and poverty, such as Charles Taylor in Liberia. Although there are many key components and groups necessary for achieving peace and reconciliation globally and in sub-Saharan Africa: youth, women, diplomacy, religion, indigenous systems, education, mediation, negotiation, justice, human rights, democracy, citizenship, rule of law and institutions, (Allen et al, 2012; Lyons and Khadiagala, 2008; Timpson, Ndura and Bangayimbaga, 2015), the scope and focus of this research was on one key pillar, "leadership." Leadership is the engine that propels all the other factors forward or causes them to fail. It is like the soil (good or bad) in which institutions and other factors such as development need to grow.

Research Question

The central focus of this research is to examine the kind(s) of leadership that are effective for peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa. This study interviewed selected top-level leaders in Sub-Saharan African countries that experienced violent conflict.

As Ernest Lefever, who founded the Ethics and Public Policy Center and has half a century of administrative experience, observed, "The main flaws of failed political or government officials were arrogance, selfishness, and failure to keep promises" (Sims & Quatro, 2005, p. 314). Various combinations of these factors have played a crucial role in the genocides in Rwanda and Burundi, apartheid in South Africa, civil war in Mozambique, electoral violence in Kenya, and religious violence in Kenya and Tanzania.

Obasanjo, Mbeki et al discussed in the AfDBGroup Forum in Kigali entitled, *Ending Conflict & Building Peace in Africa* (2014) the common characteristics: arrogance, a belief in one ethnic group's superiority over another, or lack of managing diversity, greed, and a lack of integrity, transparency and accountability. These are characteristics shared by many Sub-Saharan leaders who engaged in conflict.

This study examines the relationship or intersection between leaders and their leadership styles, the political context within which they led or are leading, and evidence of peace and reconciliation. Simply stated, leadership is the ability to influence either positively (good leadership) or negatively (bad leadership). It is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

In addition to the context in which leadership occurs, the study uncovers the factors African leaders identified that served as barriers to peace and those that enabled them to be more effective and successful in preventing violent conflict, ultimately leading his or her country toward peace. How have effective post-violent conflict leaders, such as Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia, managed the challenges of leadership for their nations while confronted with violent conflict or the residue from previous conflict? How have they dealt with critical issues related to the burden of justice? How have they bridged ideological differences and addressed internal divisions and desires for revenge? How have these leaders been able to convince their nation's people to buy into controversial national and peacebuilding processes and efforts such as national identity, elections, transitional justice and processes of reconciliation? And finally, how do leaders such as Mandela, who was

larger than life, create and nurture a place for upcoming leaders to lead for peace and reconciliation?

In order to address these question, I asked the leaders what drives them. What early experiences, role models and important mentors throughout their lives helped to shape and define their beliefs, values, critical thinking, and ethical decision-making skills? By asking these questions, information surfaced that elucidated patterns of similarities or differences amongst the leaders as they pointed to their achievements as well as to the formidable challenges they faced. What self-knowledge or insights were required at the individual level and what political and social awareness of their country's unique needs were required of these leaders who were committed to peace and reconciliation?

Scope of the Study

It was anticipated that a significant challenge to this study would be to keep the scope of the topic, Sub-Saharan leaders and leadership for peace, as well as the careful selection of participants, limited and relevant. While it is important to recognize the impact leaders at various levels make on civil society, for the purposes of this study, only top-level participants who have made well-known contributions to peace and reconciliation were interviewed.

According to John Paul Lederach (1997, p. 39), peacebuilding occurs at three levels: the top or macro level, the middle or mezzo level and at the lower or grassroots

level. At the lower, micro-level in a well-established democracy, grassroots leaders are important because they can use their leadership to amass great numbers of people to influence the vote or oust politicians. However, in post-violent conflict states where democratic institutions are still young with little or no influence, civil society is not easily mobilized to fight for peace and reconciliation and they generally lack power within the political structure. Rebel groups and well-organized coups may be the rare exception to the rule.

Mid-level leaders, such as local government officials, mayors, local religious and academic leaders, and private sector leaders are important because they constitute the majority of the middle class, a vital component of any society's economic power, political awareness and cultural influence. Mid-level leadership has less impact in a non-democratic and less secure political situation, such as during war or in post-violent conflict situations such as genocide or apartheid.

Top-level leaders from Sub-Saharan countries, such as top government officials and top civil society or private sector leaders with political or far-reaching influence, were selected as participants for the study. In addition to the specific selection of certain individuals, based on meeting the study's participant criteria regarding their knowledge and experience, the researcher's ability to access participants through connections and relationships with friends and colleagues, and logistics such as location and timing; I anticipated a snowball method of selection would also be utilized once the study was underway.

Nelson Mandela, Julias Nyerere, Joaquim Chisano, Festo Magae, Arap Moi, Mwai Kibaki, Mukapa Benjamini, Paul Kagame, Pierre Buyoya are examples of leaders who evoked both praise and criticism from their own people as well as from the international community. For example, Julius Nyerere was loved by those who supported socialism, and he was criticized by those who favored capitalism. Nelson Mandela was highly praised as a symbol of freedom, yet some people criticized him as either not being aggressive enough or perceived him as dangerous, even labeling him as a terrorist. Paul Kagame is praised for rescuing Rwanda from the genocide and from being a failed state and is criticized for not being democratic enough. However, all these leaders demonstrated through their leadership styles, a tenacious commitment to peace and reconciliation. Their leadership for peace and reconciliation is examined through the lens of the end results they achieved in this area. Interviews were conducted with elite leaders for peace in formerly strife-ridden, Sub-Saharan African countries to gain a phenomenological perspective from their experiences as leaders for peace.

History shows that some leaders do well transitioning toward positive peace, while others fail to prevent, de-escalate or stop violent conflict and are unable to move forward to peace and reconciliation. The leaders in Botswana, Mozambique and Ghana seem to have succeeded in managing the transition to democracy and sustainable peace on one hand, while on the other, leaders in countries like Southern Sudan and Burundi have been unable to execute the transition smoothly. This study explored the intersection of leadership that promoted peace and reconciliation while considering factors such as: the political context, the character of the leader, as well as the leader's values, traits,

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knowledge, behaviors and actions. Is there a "turning point" for leaders, and if so what is it? What allowed Nelson Mandela and Fredrik de Klerk to recognize that peace was of the highest priority for ending apartheid in South Africa, and that their personal bitterness could not be allowed to destroy what was best for the country? My goal was to interview top-level officials who had experience with violent conflict to see if there were particular intra-personal characteristics and/or specific decision-making skills, based upon an ethical and selfless commitment to the country, that inspire these leaders to lead with integrity toward peace and reconciliation.

Long term, I believe that when we know what kinds of leadership are effective for peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa, we will know how best to support the development of those kinds of leaders and how to allocate the needed resources to resolve, manage and prevent the current and future violent conflicts. It is estimated thousands of people are killed annually in Sub-Saharan Africa due to violent conflicts. According to a 2014 UNHCR report, approximately 15.1 million persons were displaced in Africa, the majority from sub-Saharan Africa (UNHCR 2014 and conflict in Africa 2014). My premise suggests that self-serving leadership styles likely contributed to the majority of these conflicts. With leadership for peace and reconciliation, many lives can be saved from death and the pain of being displaced.

The reader will find that this chapter, Chapter One, introduces the topic and explains the importance of studying leadership styles for peace in Sub-Saharan Africa. Chapter Two provides a literature review that examines literatures in peacebuilding,

conflict resolution and leadership styles. Chapter Three explains the methodology used in this research project and Chapters Four through Seven present the four categories of factors that emerged from the participants' interviews as critical for building leaders for peace and then discusses those results. In Chapter Four, we find the first category, "Historical background" of a leader and an explanation of how it matters for both leadership and peace. Chapter Five discusses the theme of "Be," Chapter Six, the theme of "Know," and finally Chapter Seven, discusses the theme of "Do." The research concludes with Chapter Eight, which provides an overview of the dissertation project and makes recommendations for future areas of research in the field of leadership for peace.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

What distinguish successful from unsuccessful leaders: successful leaders would likely possess combinations of cognitive, social and self-motivational attributes – Zaccaro et al (2011: p. 20)

Introduction

This chapter is divided into six sections that discuss several bodies of literature on theories of leadership, the intersection of leadership, conflict and conflict resolution in general, and then specifically within the African context. The first two sections discuss five well-known theories of leadership while highlighting the need for a move from the individualistic "Great Man" theory to a more shared or collective and team oriented (Contractor Et al 2012: 994 – 998), adaptive and communal shared approach for leaders facing a rapidly changing, often volatile world. The third and fourth sections address the literature on African leaders and conflict specifically within the context of Sub-Saharan African countries. While a number of Africanists point to conflicts caused by internal factors such as corrupt leaders, poverty, lack of good governance, weak or failing institutions and rule of law; an equal number point to external factors, such as colonialism, international political agendas, and cyber terrorism as reasons for conflict as well as for inadequate and corrupt leadership in African states. The fifth section points to the critical need for African leaders to develop adaptive, shared, ethical-pragmatic ways

of leading that draw not only from their communal cultural traditions, but which also pay particular attention to the unique post-colonial and global context within which most African leaders find themselves. Finally, the sixth section challenges African leaders to move away from a power-centric, self-serving, corrupt - individualistic way of leading and instead, lead with authenticity, integrity and pragmatism toward peace and reconciliation, serving as mentors for an upcoming generation of African leaders.

Philosophically, the traditional understanding of leadership has been predominantly understood as inherited or genetic traits and attributes based (Galton 1869), or a combination of intelligence and social competences (Moss 1931), or the influence of the intelligence of the leader and the followers or group members (Stogdill 1948, Ghiselli 1963). Such linear effects of a leader's attributes are insufficient (Fleishman & Harris 1962, Fleishman and Peter 1962, all in Zaccaro 2007: p. 6-7). Zaccaro concludes that "leadership attributes likely exhibit complex multiplicative and curvilinear relationships with leadership outcomes, and trait conceptualizations of leadership need to reflect this complexity" (p.7). Therefore, leaders for peace must give serious consideration to the values of current leadership trends such as servant leadership (Dierendonck 2011, p. 1228 – 1230), collective or shared leadership and its team nature (Contractor et al 2012:p. 996-1009) and adaptive styles of leadership (Lowney 2013, p. 4 -7 & Heifetz & Linsky 2002, p. 13 - 20). Values such as personal and public integrity, the ability to put the needs and the interests of the followers or the people first ((Dierendonck 2011, p.1232 -1236), to ensure the national security as well as the security of people and

property, to be held accountable, and to lead with integrity, are at the core of this type of adaptive, positive action-oriented, and dynamic style of leadership.

Susan Collin Marks (2015) in her project, "Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI)" in the nongovernmental organization *Search for Common Ground* describes her vision as, "Authentic leadership that synthesizes the inner and outer arts of leadership, merging mindfulness and leadership of the self with interpersonal leadership and conflict resolution skills" (para, 3). Her approach as a peace and leadership practitioner is holistic and insightful.

> The core of our approach is leadership from the inside out. We invite leaders to understand how their inner world affects their experience of the outer world. We work with each individual at a profound level, asking them to consider what kind of leader they aspire to be. Our programs create the opportunity for leaders to reflect on their experiences and draw upon their inner wisdom while approaching the challenges they face every day (para, 2).

For the purposes of this study, my scope was narrower than Marks' in light of my argument that leadership is one of the vital pillars of conflict resolution, if not *the* cornerstone to preventing conflict and creating sustainable peace in sub-Saharan African countries. As Marks points to the importance of authenticity in leadership, Matthew King (2010) identifies the key role leaders play in achieving sustainable peace:

> Although peace is the responsibility of everyone, those in political and civil leadership roles are the key actors in any society building peace. They form the backbone of the search for peace. [And] when those in political and civic leadership roles neglect this responsibility, instability, social and political violence, or war may break out. (King, 2010, p. 172)

Leaders represent their followers, provide vision, and promote the will of the people or "collective purpose" or teamwork and team learning (Day et al 2004, p. 1-8) or

intent to be satisfied such as "human needs and expectations" (Burns, 1978, p. 3). They encourage the implementation of other tools for peace such as mediation, negotiation, dialogue, good governance, state building, rule of law, human rights, peacebuilding and peacemaking. Often, top leaders enjoy the advantage of experience, power and influence that impact peace more so than at the lower levels of leadership.

In summary, although leadership is a neutral concept with multiple meanings (valence), it is often assumed that leaders have or should have altruistic rather than malevolent intentions. This is similar to what Dierendonck calls the "key characteristics of servant leadership" which include among others: building people, empowering and developing them and humbly serving them for the good of the whole ((Dierendonck 2011, p. 1231 – 1233). Followers typically have the expectation they will be ethically led rather than unethically manipulated by their leaders. The Ethical leader is "seen as leader's use of social influence to promote ethical conduct" (Brown et al., 2005 in Schaubroeck etal 2012: p 1054). Given that leaders can be attracted to greed, power and control, as well as to altruism, ethical behavior and conduct, my discussion on leadership is distinct from the concept of power wielding or the brutal use of force by individuals with Machiavellian or malevolent intentions to control the masses (Burns, 1978, p. 4). Some African leaders do manipulate the follower, which is contrary to the philosophy of sustainable peace or moral pragmatic leadership; have often used threats of violence and fear. Besides the threat of violence and fear, such leaders have also used money, promises of protection and reward of position, and privilege to command or coerce the followers, which is totally central to ethical leadership (Brown et al 2006: p. 595- 598).

The relationship between accountability on the leader's part and the expectations of those who follow is of paramount importance in determining the effectiveness and motivations of a leader (Brown et al 2006, p. 608-609). Burns' definition of leadership is particularly applicable to my discussion regarding the direction sub-Saharan African leadership must follow for sustainable peace. Burns states:

> I define leadership as leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and motivations—the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations—*of both leaders and followers.* And the genius of leadership lies in the manner in which leaders see and act on their own and their followers' values and motivation … Leadership, unlike naked power wielding, is thus inseparable from followers' needs and goals. The essence of the leader-follower interaction of persons with different levels of motivations and of power potential, including skill, in pursuit of a common or at least joint purpose (1978, p. 19).

Overview of Traditional Theoretical Models of Leadership

The study of leadership has characteristically been understood from a leader centric perspective 'the queen bee or the alpha male' (Judge et al 855-858), emphasizing the significance of the leader's traits (nature) and/or ability to adapt to the context or situation in which he or she is expected to lead (nurture). The trait-based approach to understanding leadership is the oldest of the theoretical models (dating back to Thomas Carlyles 1840/2008, in Judge p. 855) and is sometimes referred to as the "Great Man theory" of leadership (Judge et al 2009, Wynn, 2012). Early in the twentieth century, researchers primarily studied male leaders who had achieved a level of greatness, in order to compile a list of attributes or characteristics that could help in the identification of future great leaders (Judge et al 2009 & Wynn, 2012). With Great Man theory, features

such as 'extraversion' 'agreeableness' 'emotional stability', 'openness to experience', intelligence and 'charisma' are highly regarded for leaders (Judge et al 2009, p. 865-866).

Based on numerous research studies conducted between 1940 and 1960, the Great Man theory or trait theory lost favor among researchers as a premise for understanding or predicting great and effective leadership (Jenkins, 1947; Mann, 1959; Stogdill, 1948 in Derue 2011: p.8, Zaccaro 2007 & Wynn, 2012). It became apparent that while greatness may be important to a certain extent, other factors are equally important for the success or failure of any leader. For example, Contractor et al in their article *The topology of collective leadership* make a reference to Pearce & Conger (2003) who explore and argue for, "the possibility of shared leadership, a reorientation of leadership away from understanding the actions and interactions of "leaders" to understanding the emergent, informal, and dynamic "leadership" brought about by the members of the collective itself" (Contractor et al 2012: p. 994). Defined by Pearce and Conger (2003, p. 1) "as a dynamic interactive influence process among individuals in groups for which the objective is to lead one another to the achievement of group or organizational goals or both," collective leadership centers itself around "broadly distributed roles" around three pillars, namely, leader, followers and their relationship, instead of centering in the hands of " a single individual" (2012, p. 995). Increasingly, researchers found situational factors must be considered when looking at what constitutes a great effective leader. While most researchers such as Zaccaro (2007) agree there are some definitive traits such as "accuracy in work, knowledge of human nature, moral habits,… decisiveness in judgment, speech fluency, interpersonal skills and administrative abilities as stable leader

qualities" among others (Stogdill's: 1948 in Zaccaro: 2007, p. 7) that set great leaders apart from others, there was a general lack of consensus on a specific list of traits (Wynn: 2012). Derue et al did a meta-analytic study that shows that overall "leader traits explain between 2% and 22% leadership effectiveness" and "the most important leadership traits are extraversion and conscientiousness. These traits, which span across task competence and interpersonal attributes, are both positively related to effectiveness, and they account for 35.3% and 27.6" of the surveyed data (2011: p. 30). Zaccaro (2007) notes that though trait theory is still relevant and helpful in understanding effectiveness of a leader, but the theory does not account for factors such as the individual's cognitive abilities, motives, values, social skills, expertise and problem-solving skills (p. 6-16). But according to Derue et al "together, leader traits and behaviors explained 92% of the variance in satisfaction with leader (2011: p. 34). This must explain why during my interviews principled character, background and the knowledge of a leader were seen as vital for the effectiveness of a leader.

Additionally, trait and character theories have been predominantly based on male examples rather than females. Although Golda Meir, Margaret Thatcher, and Ellen Sirleaf Johnson are representative of great female leaders, Western patriarchal culture tends to stereotype femininity pejoratively as dependent, submissive and conforming, therefore lacking in leadership qualities (Burns, 1978, 50). Though there are biological and social-cultural differences between gender in terms of leadership effectiveness, both genders are capable of being successful despite other differences such as personality and the context (Derue 2011, p. 13).

Situational or contingency-based leadership theories were developed in an attempt to address these criticisms, with the exception of the issue of gender bias. They noted a number of situational variables that influence the emergence of leadership (Stogdill 1948, Fiedler 1964 & 1971 in Zaccaro 2007). When factors, such as the work or political environment or the organizational value system, intersect with the individual's personality traits, the opportunity for leadership either arises or does not, as a result of the synergistic relationship between the individual and the situation (Tang, 2015). People may perform optimally at certain times, in certain situations or places; but when taken out of their element, or faced with a specific type of task or situation, they may not perform optimally. Hence, Zaccaro after studying this leadership phenomenon for a longtime (1993, 2000, 2001, 2004) and after engaging other scholars (such as Ed Fleishman, Daniel Katz, Mumford, Harding, Fleishman & Reiter-Palmon, 1993, Harding, et al, 2000, Connelly et al 2000, Hammerschmidt & Jennings, 1992 and Judge et al, 2002) concluded that few studies have taken an integrated approach to describe how multiple- traits are combined for optimal leadership (Zaccaro 2001). Hence, we need to consider integrated sets of "cognitive abilities, social capacities, and dispositional tendencies, with each trait contributing to the influence of the other" (Zaccaro 2007, p. 12). Also see Zaccaro's Model of Leadership Attributes and Leadership Performance (2004 in Zaccaro 2007: 11).

Fred Fiedler's Contingency Theory states "there are two types of leaders; relationship-oriented and task-oriented" (Fiedler, 2012 & Tang, 2015). So, such "experience" matters Fiedler: 1970, in Derue 2011, p.13). Leaders who focus on relationships tend to maintain a certain amount of social interaction with group members.

They strive to cultivate trust and respect within the group, and they value the critical role of effective communication. Task-oriented leaders emphasize the plans and actions required to meet goals. They tend to prioritize and assign tasks to group members and are governed by an overarching objective to boost a group's productivity (Fiedler, 2012). According to Fiedler, there is no ideal leader; "both task-oriented and relationship-oriented leaders can be effective if their leadership orientation fits the situation" (para 8).

Functional leadership theory is primarily concerned with specific leader behaviors, which contribute to organizational effectiveness. This theory argues the leader's main job is to attend to the group and do whatever is necessary to meaningfully contribute to the group's effectiveness and cohesion in order to get the job done (Goodman, 1986, p. 72-75). John Adair, one of the best-known Functional theorists, developed the model of Action-Centered Leadership that emphasizes the interconnectedness between the task, the team and the individual. The team can achieve excellent performance if all individuals are fully developed, engaged, challenged and motivated (p. 85).

Ruth Wageman and Richard J. Hackman in *Handbook of Leadership Theories and Practice* (2010) observed the broad functions a leader performs when promoting an organization's effectiveness to include: environmental monitoring, organizing subordinate activities, teaching and coaching subordinates, motivating others, and intervening actively in the group's work (Nohria & Khurana .2010, p. 476-479)

The Functional leadership theory defines the types of behaviors that guide an organization and then looks at how those behaviors occur. Under this model, leadership is

a distributed function where anyone may contribute to attain the intended goals. One of the cornerstones of this leadership model is the emphasis on form and function rather than on people.

The transactional theoretical approach is typical of political leadership in groups, legislatures and political parties (Burns, 1978, p.19). It is also common in business and as Derue et al puts it in their article *Trait and Behavior Theories of leadership: an Integration and Meta-Analytic Test of Their Relative Validity*, "it focuses on task-oriented leader behavior" (2011: p. 9). It views emergent leadership as a result of the interaction between a leader's traits and the situational context where both "traits and behaviors influence leadership effectiveness" (Derue et al 2011: p. 9). "Leadership unlike naked power-wielding, is inseparable from the followers' needs and goals" (Burns, 1978, p. 19). The relationship between the leader and followers meet in pursuit of a common or a joint purpose (Burns, 1978, p. 19). Within the transactional approach to leadership, one person takes the initiative in making contact with others for the purpose of an exchange of valued things. This exchange can be economic, political or psychological in nature. Both parties are aware of where the power distribution lies within the interaction, and each recognizes the other as a person within the bargaining process or transaction (Burns, 1978). However, the emphasis is on completion of the task rather than upon long-term maintenance of the relationship between leader and follower.

Furthermore, "where the transactional leader rewards followers for accomplishing tasks, transformational leaders inspire and motivate their followers to adopt a shared vision which hypothetically inspires them to accomplish goals" (Adair, 1973, para 7).

The transformational approach to leadership therefore "occurs when both the leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns, 1978, p. 20).

Current Themes and Global Trends in Leadership

Nick Petrie (2014) argues that, while traditional leadership models highlight the traits or characteristics of a great charismatic leader, contingency factors, and/or the dyadic relationship between a leader and his or her followers, they fail to take into consideration the complex reality confronting leaders today. The current global environment in which leaders must function is too complex, volatile and fast-paced for a "great man" to lead alone. Leaders striving to achieve peace must possess ethical, innovative, analytical and adaptive problem-solving skills. The traditional theories assume the leader-follower relationship is long-term and static. They fail to account for internal change such as the personal or professional development of the leader or the influence of external forces on the leader, such as globalization.

Over the past several decades, global issues increasingly point to a need for leaders that are flexible, adaptive and innovative thinkers. In Africa, there are many challenges: security and the threat of terrorism, globalization and climate change, access to the rapid growth of technology, changing socio-cultural values, diaspora mobilization, increasing numbers of developing countries with large populations of unemployed youth, a diverse workforce, genocide and mass atrocities, and virtual social media and networking. These issues force leaders to leave their silos and begin collaborating and developing information-sharing networks in an effort to problem-solve and build sustainable peace. The 2014 - 2016 outbreak of Ebola in the West African countries of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea, and the terrorist attacks in Nigeria, Kenya and Tunisia are excellent examples of the need for a transition from isolated, singularized state

leadership, to the development of governments utilizing collaboration to establish international systems to manage security and possible pandemic crises.

It is difficult for individual leaders to be fully prepared to deal effectively with unpredictable events in an increasingly globalized world. A number of CEOs and academics in leadership have borrowed the military term, "VUCA," to describe the current global environment as volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous (Petrie, 2011, p.7). Adaptation to changing conditions is likely to be ineffective unless leaders are able to obtain accurate, timely information and correctly interpret the implications for those they lead. Success in adapting to external change usually requires collective learning, shared leading, collaboration by many members of the organization and team work (Yukl & Masaud, 2010, Day, 2004: 6 & Morgeson et al 2010, p. 15).

An era of rapid innovation is needed in which organizations experiment with novel approaches that combine diverse ideas in new ways and most importantly, share new knowledge with others. Technology and the web will both provide the infrastructure and drive the change. Leaders will need to become adaptable, creative, self-aware, collaborative, and skilled at networking (Petrie, 2011, p. 9). Susan Collin Marks (2015) calls this type of leadership, "Leadership for the whole… rooted in a profound sense of our common humanity and interconnectedness" (Para 1). Such leadership requires certain criteria to succeed. These include affective criteria such as satisfaction, commitment, and identification, behavioral criteria such as quality and quantity of task to be performed as well as the contextual and cognitive criteria that include learning and adaptation to the team learning over time (Morgeson, 2010: p. 30).

Globalization has influenced technology, communication and transportation, increasing the ability and opportunity for people to connect at a variety of levels rapidly and with relatively minimal effort. The dissemination of knowledge and information, accurate or inaccurate, occurs at break-neck speed and can educate and empower, or incite violence and terrorist acts as we have witnessed in recent years where increasingly hate groups and terrorist use the internet to organize, plan, recruit and do damage. Within the global South, INGOs, NGOs, multinational corporations, institutions, diasporas, and individuals are playing an increasingly active role in influencing state leadership by contributing to a variety of sectors such as health, peace, security, education, poverty reduction and development. Hence, the leaders of globalized countries and the world need to function as an ethical team and pragmatic team or follow the "functional leadership theory that suggests a leader's job is to do whatever is needed for the team to succeed" (Kaiser, Hogan & Craig, 2008 *in* Morgeson, 2010: 30). In summary, a team, preferably a good team, becomes "central for performance cycles that collective (team) action occurs with success" (Martin & Bal, 2006, Marks, Mathieu, & Zaccaro, 2001 in Morgeson, 2010, p. 6-7).

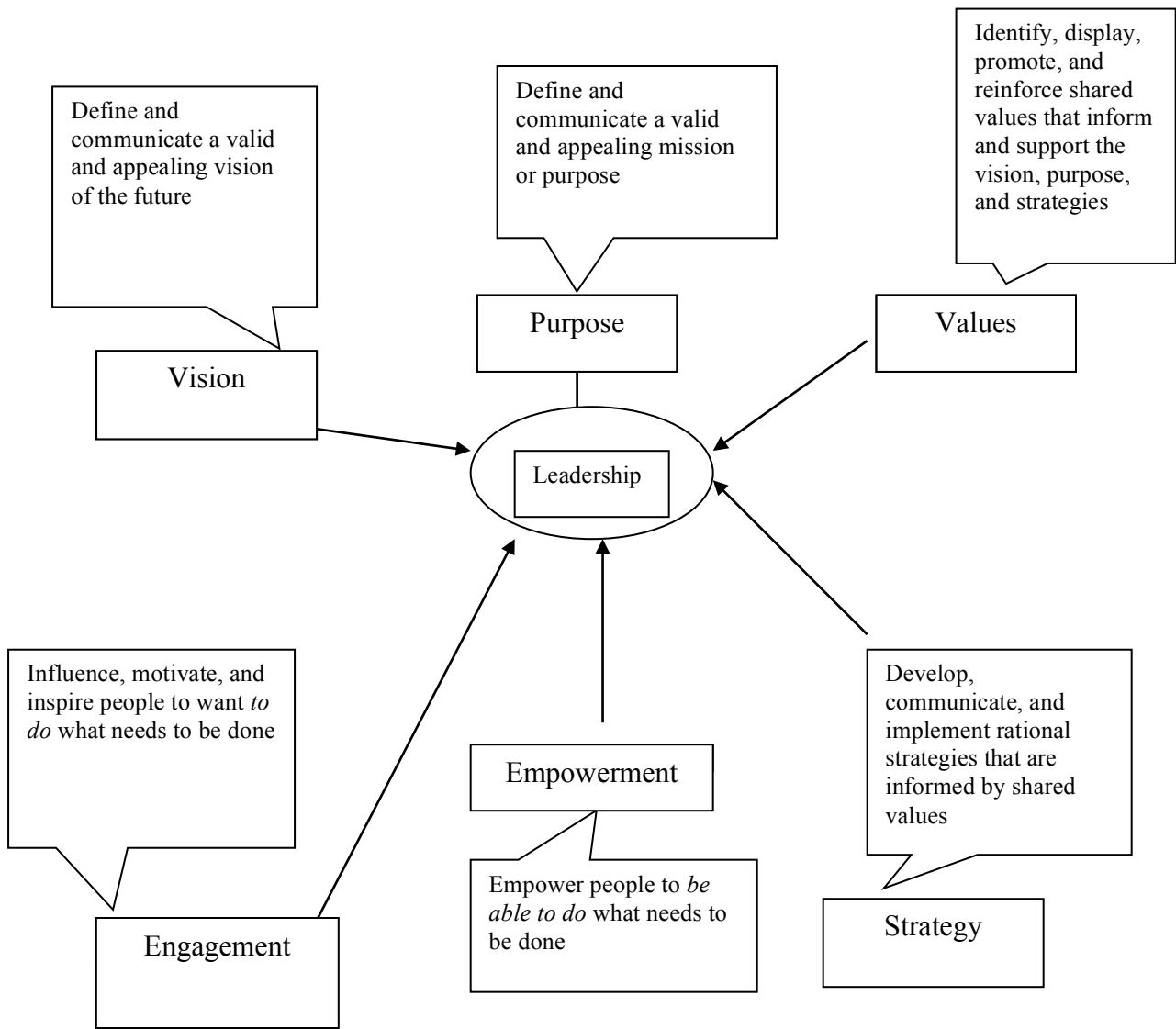The World Economic Forum's Outlook on the Global Agenda for 2014 noted the top ten themes that world leaders would need to address: rising social tensions in the Middle East and North Africa, widening disparity in wealth and health, persistent unemployment, loss of confidence in economic policies, inaction on climate change, intensifying cyber threats, the growing importance of megacities, Asia's expanding

middle class, a lack of values in leadership and the rapid spread of digital misinformation (Larkin, 2013, Para 7).

In the past fifteen years, the Great Man model has become less effective, as the "fit" between the challenges of the environment and the ability of the heroic individual to solve them has started to diverge. In the twenty first century, we may see the "great team" theory of leadership developing more, replacing the "great man" theory of leadership so as to solve the global complex issues and problems such as global climate change, water management, human and drug trafficking, money laundering, security and peace. The complexity of the new environment increasingly presents what Ronald Heifetz calls "adaptive challenges" in which it is not possible for any single model or individual to know the solution or even define the problem. Situations such as the debt crisis or cyberattacks "lack a single solution" as Morgeson puts it and they require collaborative planning, and shared information and decision-making (Petrie, 2011). Scholars such as Zaccaro et al 2001; Hackman & Walton, 1986 argue "a critical team leadership function is to diagnose and solve any problems that keep teams from realizing their potential (in Morgeson, 2010: 23). Shea and Guzzo (1987, p. 347) argued that "effective team leaders must know how to "diagnose problems accurately and intervene effectively" and Zaccaro et al (2001, p. 454) "suggested that team leadership should be defined in terms of "problem-solving activities directed at the generation of solutions that advance team goal attainment" (*in* Morgeson 2010, p. 23)

As a result of these areas of concern, current trends in leadership are moving away from the traditional models of leadership. The most direct effect of globalization is a shift from the individual as leader to developing collective or network systems of leadership. External forces such as the influence of diasporas on state politics are noted by Lyons and Mandeville (2012): "Activating diaspora networks is useful to homeland as well as host state governments, to opposition parties, insurgent groups, to those seeking human rights as well as to those working to shape very local political outcomes" (p.3).

Virtual communication, cyber-terrorism, rapid advances in technology and transportation are all weakening states' borders. Within states, internal forces are moving leadership from centralized to decentralized as a result of democratization expectations, civil society, the private sector and institutions demanding increased accountability and responsibility from leadership in the form of good governance. Gill's (2011) diagram, Figure I, on page 32 (next page), identifies six core themes and practices of the kind of collaborative, transformative and visionary leadership that has become increasingly necessary for effective leadership in today's world: vision, purpose, values, strategy, empowerment and engagement. See Figure I – on the next page.

Define and communicate a valid and appealing vision of the future

Define and communicate a valid and appealing mission or purpose

Identify, display, promote, and reinforce shared values that inform and support the vision, purpose, and strategies

Purpose

Values

Vision

Leadership

Influence, motivate, and inspire people to want *to do* what needs to be done

Develop, communicate, and implement rational strategies that are informed by shared values

Empowerment

Empower people to *be able to do* what needs to be done

Engagement

Strategy

**Figure I - Six Core Themes and Practices for Effective Leadership
(Gill, 2011, p. 100)**

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The Intersection of Conflict and Leadership

Renowned practitioners and leaders in the field of conflict transformation Susan Collin Marks and John Paul Lederach consider the importance of the role of leadership in conflict resolution. They strive to develop transformational leaders with conflict management and resolution skills. Transformational leadership (Bass 1985) is both "change oriented" and "relational" and to be effective it has to touch all the three elements of leadership behavior, namely: "task, relational and change" (Derue et al 2011, p. 38, 41). Susan Collin Marks as a scribe of the Leadership Wisdom Initiative (LWI) sees her role in conflict resolution as one in which she provides ongoing transformative leadership by

> …mentoring leaders in governance, politics, civil society, and high-impact global agencies worldwide; helping them understand how their inner world affects the outer world; encouraging them to make conscious choices for the common good; supporting them to recognize and strengthen their integrity and compassion; and creating the opportunity to reflect on their experiences and draw upon their inner wisdom while facing everyday challenges (Marks, 2015, p. 1).

In the same vein, John Paul Lederach's book, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies,* (2007), highlights three levels of leadership which are vital for sustainable peace and reconciliation: Level 1: Very visible, top leadership which is comprised of key political, military and religious leaders; Level 2: Mid- range leadership comprised of respected ethnic, religious, academic, intellectual and humanitarian (NGOs) leaders; and Level 3: Grassroots leadership which is comprised of local leaders, leaders of indigenous NGOs, community developers, local officials, and refugee camp leaders. (p.38-39).

The diagram in Figure II, below, represents Lederach's triangle of leadership levels.

Types of Actors

Power to Influence Peace

Level 1: Top Leadership
Military/political/religious /leaders with high visibility

They have a lot of individual and institutional power to influence politics – policies and peace

Level 2: Middle-Range Leadership
Leaders respected in sectors
Ethnic/religious leaders
Academics/intellectuals
Humanitarian leaders (NGOs)

Second most powerful and influential

Level 3: Grassroots Leadership
Local leaders
Leaders of indigenous NGOs
Community developers
Local health officials
Refugee camp leaders

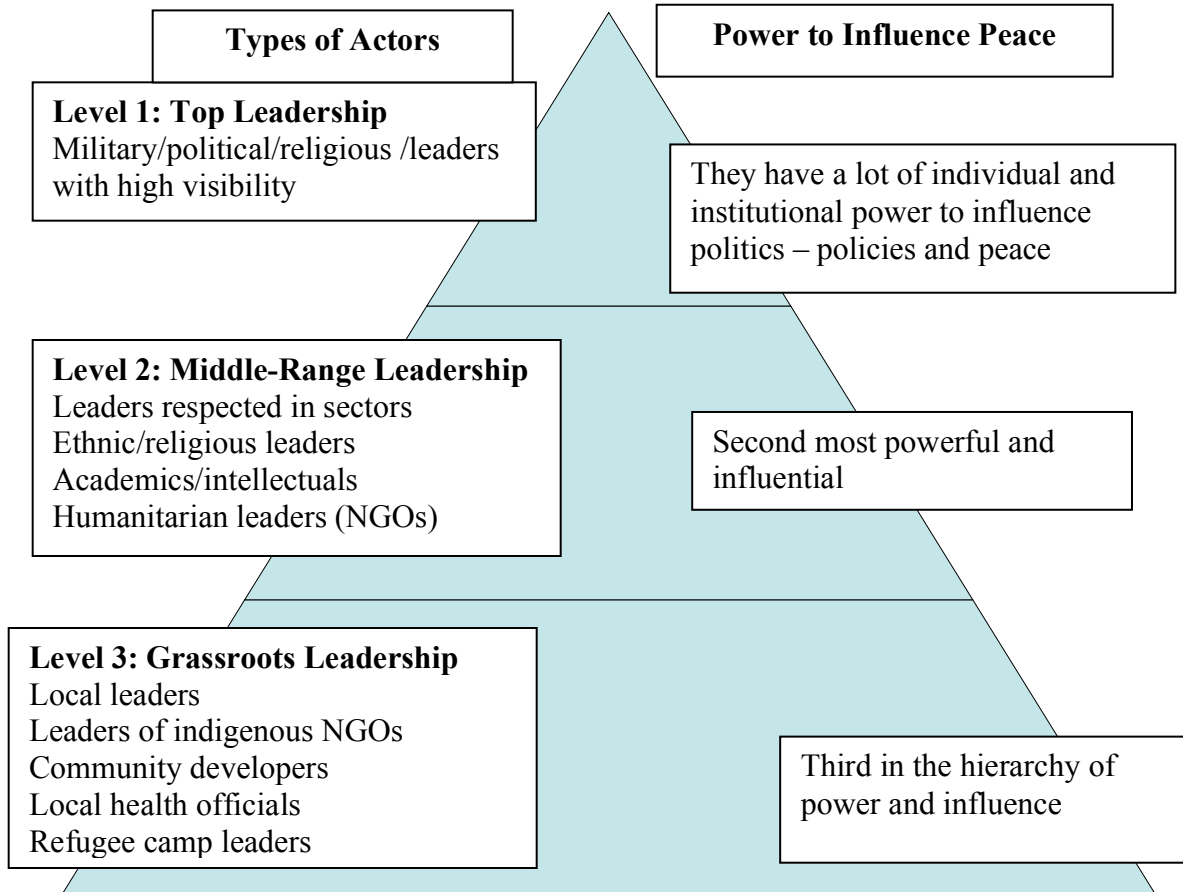Third in the hierarchy of power and influence

Figure II - Triangle of Leadership Levels (Lederach, 2007, p. 39)

The essence of leadership is about taking action, leading people and managing the conflicts that arise. Leadership or leading a nation toward peace is part of the commitment institutions and leaders make in rebuilding a post-violent conflict or failed

state. As Rotberg notes, political institutions and leadership capable of maintaining order provide the necessary building blocks toward a foundation of stability and peace (2003, p. 270).

Leadership theory and conflict analysis and resolution theory share an intersection that is required for sustainable positive peace. Good leadership is essential for peace. To echo this point, Human Rights Watch argues, "The proximate cause of communal violence is governmental exploitation of communal difference" (Brown & Karim, 1995, Para 13). Brown (1996) emphasizes the importance of leadership and states, "The academic literature 'places great emphasis on mass-level factors' but is 'weak in understanding the role played by the elites and leadership in instigating violence'" (p. 22-3). Brown believes most major conflicts are triggered by internal, elite-level activities, or simply put, by bad leadership, in spite of what one gathers from reviewing the literature on the causes of conflict (p. 22-3).

Many individuals in academia, the media, think tanks, or in policymaking positions link inadequate African leadership with underlying problems such as poverty and violent conflict on the continent. However, what is not clearly articulated is how the lack of good leadership impacts a country at a theoretical level or capacity building level for creating and sustaining peace. In working toward peace, that which distinguishes a successful, selfless leader from a self-serving leader is based on what she or he accomplishes or fails to accomplish for the constituents, communities, countries and humanity as a whole. Power, resources and identity can be mobilized by the leader's ultimate interest for the common good.

As we narrow our focus of discussion to look specifically at theories of leadership and the study of conflict and conflict resolution in sub-Saharan Africa, there is a significant lack of literature that intersects the two fields. John Paul Lederach (2004), Susan Collin Marks (2015) and Wallace Warfield (1995) are among the few scholars who have linked the two in their research. In *The Moral Imagination,* Lederach narrates a story of a university professor, Abdul, in Tajikistan, who was tasked by the government to convince Mullah- Commander, a warlord deemed key to successfully negotiate peace, to participate in negotiations with the government. The commander asked the professor, Abdul, if he could guarantee his safety because he feared if he put his guns down he might be killed. Professor Abdul responded honestly, "I cannot guarantee your safety…but I can guarantee this… I will go with you, side by side. And if you die, I will die." The commander agreed to meet the government's commission and he told them, 'I have not come because of your government. I have come out of honor and respect for this professor" (2004, p. 18-19).

Such stories demonstrate how leaders in different places and within a variety of contexts make choices and decisions that can lead to peace and de-escalate protracted violent conflicts. Is it possible these examples can be studied and emulated to determine the characteristics and styles of leaders at top-level leadership? Can moral imagination be encouraged and leaders made aware that they have the power and ability to heroically choose peace? By moral imagination Lederach refers to the capacity to perceive things at deeper level, for instance imagining ourselves in the web of relationships, creativity and the quality of transcendence (p. 26-27).

Wallace Warfield (1995) argues yes, leaders can make such choices. He notes, "Leaders are likely to have access to various types of power in differing degrees – structural/ procedural, relational, and economic and other substantive power – and will use them in combination, and will often use them to gain more power for themselves or their groups." He adds, "Leaders help create the very definitions of their groups and group identities, and symbolize these identities in their person" (Warfield, 1995, Class outline: Leadership /Conflict Connection, p. 1).

The Sub-Saharan African Leader

Context matters for leaders in this region. Much of Western literature paints a dismal, dysfunctional picture of the African leader as someone who possesses a need to achieve and maintain power, who is distrustful of others, who sees his or her nation or group as superior and whose scope of vision is task-oriented (J.A. van Wyck, 2007). Furthermore, and highly unflattering to African leaders, is Rotberg's (2004) caustic description of a majority of African leaders as: "predatory kleptocrats, military-installed autocrats, economic illiterates, and puffed-up posturers" (para 1). This dissertation research went beyond the negative use of power and leadership influence to identify evidence of the positive use of power, influence and actions by leaders who are identified as those who have led for peace during violent conflict or in post-conflict states. According to Warfield and Ashad Sentongo (2011), Paul Kagame is an example of an African leader who attempts to balance the desired "constitutional democracy" with

"utilitarian democracy" or "pragmatic realism." This type of democracy within the local Rwandan context, "values the role conflict mitigation can play in managing this tension and building a nation's capacity for sustainable peace and development" (p. 94-102).

In his book, *The Hybrid Leader*, Irving H. Buchen notes the importance of attending to "context". He states we can "never minimize contexts" (2011, p. 261). Following its historical, geographical, political, economic and the social-cultural context, the Sub-Saharan region may need "the hybrid" leadership style that will be open to "evolve, adapt, and be unfinished", the model that "embraces them all" (p. 267). For example, Sub-Saharan African peace leadership must be willing to change the narrative of Sub-Saharan Africa and create a new image of the region that is at peace with itself and others.

In order to understand the complex intersection of leadership, conflict and conflict resolution, one must first recognize the unique context and situational challenges facing African leaders and the practice of good governance. For the past fifty years, leadership in postcolonial Africa has been characterized by "Big Men," a few altruistic and others, nefarious. Overall, the sources and root causes of conflict in Africa can be attributed to "the traumatic experience of state-formation, national-building and identity issues, colonial policies, lack of or an over-abundance of natural resources, and misuse and abuse of power" (Deng, 2013, p. 325- 332) by leaders. As Zaccaro et al points out in their article, "The Attribute of Successful Leaders: A Performance Requirement Approach," what distinguish successful from unsuccessful leaders is simply that " successful leaders would likely possess combinations of cognitive, social and self-motivational attributes.

The complexity and the breadth of these requirements suggest that leaders would need multiple attributes from all these sets to be successful" Zaccaro et al (2011: p. 20).

The majority of first generation sub-Saharan African leaders following independence in the 1960s were educated in the West. While they were a byproduct of colonialism, they were also a product of historical times. The last century represented a time in history when powerful presidents were great men in Europe, Asia and America: Stalin, Krushchev, Nehru, Franco, Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Zedong, Nasser, de Gaulle, Churchill, Truman and Eisenhower. These men were the presidential role models for young Africans who assumed positions of leadership in their countries following independence. Within the global context, the Sub-Saharan African "Big Man" as leader seems less of an aberration and more in line with the status quo of the time. The notion of the "Great Man" theory of leadership fit easily within existing African patriarchal socio-cultural mores, and in the absence of or near absence of functioning institutions in postcolonial states, many leaders become paternal figureheads (Ayittey, 2005: p. 187-191 & 315).

African leaders continue to be entrenched in the belief that as the "Big Man," the country and its resources are an extension of themselves and their family (privately), rather than belonging to the people as a whole - public (Ayittey, 2005 p. 316). This type of leadership risks being in conflict with constitutional democracy and regional efforts and trends to promote accountability, especially among the political and military elite. For African leaders to change and succeed they need to heed and commit to living and

practicing seven attributes of successful leaders: "cognitive capacities, social capacities, personality, motivational qualities, core beliefs, knowledge, and other variables" (Zaccaro et al 2011, p. 20).

Causes of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa

There is a growing body of African authored literature on causes of conflict in Africa. Ayittey (1992) and Ikejiaku, et al. (2011), blame African leaders as the culprit for many of Africa's problems, while others, such as Moyo (2010), Mamdani (1996) and Uvin (1998) point to the international community, colonialism, donors, and international institutions as contributing factors to conflict and slow progress in African development.

Ayittey points to African leaders' lack of political skills and bitterly reproaches postcolonial leaders for forcing socialism and communism; "culturally alien political ideologies down the throats of the African people" (p. 10-11). Leaders lacked the foresight to see that their rejection of capitalism and eager adoption of eastern political ideologies would place them squarely in the middle of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union (p. 11).

Ikejiaku et al. note, "The primary source of conflict in Africa is the weak institution of governance and the inability or neglect to meet the needs of people" (p. 81). Corruption by elites is prevalent and organizational ethics virtually nonexistent. Citizens are immobilized and unable to make progress as their governments engage in self-serving exploitation; claiming land, natural resources and foreign aid for their own. Weak

institutional infrastructures and lack of enforcement of existing laws, allows corruption and violation of human rights to continue (Ncube, 2010: p. 77).

Notable authors on conflict in Africa such as Donald Rothchild (2013), Jeffrey Herbst (2000), Mahmood Mamdani (1996), Gilbert Khadiagala (2008), Terrence Lyons & Peter Mandaville (2012) and Mohammed Ayoob (1995), have extensively analyzed theories and causes of violent conflict from pre-colonial times to the present day in Africa. Although the authors differ in their perspectives, they would agree that the causes of conflict in Africa are varied and complex. The amalgamation of factors such as Africa's colonial and neo-colonial past and present extraction economy and politics of exclusion, the role of diasporas, social media and globalization, and internal dysfunctional cultures, customs, traditions and beliefs, create intersecting and complex issues.

While root causes of conflict remain the same globally: power, resources and identity variables (Bujra, 2002, p. 14-15), the *modus operandi* in which they occur is uniquely different. Different conflicts emerge under various political, social and economic conditions.

Bujra (2004) suggests a framework to examine the interaction between the causal and contextual factors for African conflicts. Such conflicts are not uniform though they share a commonality with conflicts around the globe. These conflicts range from boundary and territorial conflicts, to civil wars, to succession conflicts, to political and ideological conflicts (p. 3). Bujra claims this has contributed to the present situation in which few strategies, policies or mechanisms have been put in place that will allow states

to deal with on-going conflicts as well as for developing strategies that will tackle the long-term causes and conditions of conflicts (2002, p. 5).

Furthermore, Bujra adds that numerous authors have examined conflict in Africa through the lens of etiology and typology. He identifies two overarching categories of conflict: inter-state caused by external factors and intra-state caused by internal factors, which he claims represent the majority of conflicts in Africa, especially since the end of the post-cold-war period (2002, p. 15). External factors, such as globalization, colonization, and international institutions, in addition to internal factors such as ethnic divisiveness, an overabundance as well as a scarcity of natural resources, and unemployment have all had a significant impact on leadership in African states.

Collier and Hoeffler (2002) primarily attribute Africa's slow economic growth and "mass exodus of capital," to African governments' lack of openness to international trade, a high-risk environment, a low level of social capital and poor infrastructure (p. 15). They classify conflicts in Africa into two categories; "loot seekers and justice-seekers" (2002, p. 3). Heads of state who amass assets for themselves, their families and their entourage have highly concentrated polity power because their desire for personal financial gain is not widely shared. The dictator has little incentive toward long-term growth of the economy because he is aware he will not be in power indefinitely and economic growth may strengthen competitors' positions against him (Collier and Hoeffler, 2002, 14-15). On the contrary, leaders who guide their countries toward peace, have little incentive to intimidate or take advantage of others since the end goal is peace and reconciliation, rather than personal power or financial gain.

Burton's (1997) theory of basic human needs states the needs most salient to an understanding of social conflicts are not only material (food and shelter), but also include the needs of identity, recognition, security, and personal development. Ikejiaku (2009) strongly resonates with Burton's needs theory as a way of understanding conflict in Africa. He states that Burton's theory provides a crucial way to move beyond theories that "blame conflicts in Africa on a primordial past, such as colonialism or neo-colonialism, the global market or Africa's failure to follow Western development culture. It is also different from the theories that attribute the causes of conflicts to the inherent aggressiveness of man (2009, p. 18). Within the intra-state category of causes of conflict, Ikejiaku (2009) lists four major types: secessions, civil wars, regional conflicts, and internal crises, which include riots, violent demonstrations, and communal clashes. (p. 18). However, Oyeniyi (2010) adopts a broader perspective and identifies both intra-state and inter-state causal factors such as: boundary conflicts, militarization of the society, foreign intervention, economic conflict and governance conflicts (p. 127-153). It should be noted that the militarization of a society may be more likely linked to unethical leadership that has caused a group or sector within the country to reach the point where they feel it is necessary to arm themselves in response to a perceived threat by the government or other predatory groups.

Linking the causes of conflict and leadership in Africa, Jude Mutuku Mathooko (2013) addresses African leadership from the perspective of organizational ethics (p. 14). He notes the organizational environment in Africa is complex and compounded by intra-tribal divisiveness, self-serving leadership, economic inequalities, and extreme rates of

unemployment. Mathooko states African leadership and ethical practices tend to draw upon the moral inter-relationship between the social relations and natural events that occur within the environment in which they have interacted for many years.

Within the communitarian context of African organizational development, ethical development is based on a paradigm in which the communal culture dictates that the greatest good should go to the largest number of people and the individual must put the needs and interests of the group above his or her own, which in some cases, results in "duties trumping rights." The communal nature of African ethics gives considerable weight to the importance of obligation to the group rather than to individual rights (Mathooko, 2013, p. 14). The communal construct of "morality of duty" which requires the individual to demonstrate concern for others implicitly carries with it the potential to deny individual rights, and is often challenged by international human rights groups.

Kalu (2013) would disagree with Ikejiaku's eagerness to leave the colonial past behind when considering the current leadership. He posits the present state of mind of many Sub-Saharan African leaders is a mind-set that dates back to colonial times; an analysis he shares with other scholars such as Mahmood Mamdani (1996) who writes that both "direct and indirect rules" or what he calls "decentralized despotism" or "institutional segregation" left an indelible mark of bifurcated states where colonial legacy was reproduced (p. 3-17). Mamdani concludes that the way forward will not be to transcend the duality of either colonial or African states' ways or urban vs. rural, or coercive vs. non-coercive. It requires bridging both representation and participation (pp. 3-17). Kelechi Kalu (2013) adds:

Such an understanding requires the unambiguous clarification of the concepts of state and government and their mutually reinforcing capacities for advancing the individual and collective interests of citizens in each state… Also, rather than the politicized identity politics that most of Africa's post-independence leaders have relied on to govern, a more nation-state-oriented politics and people-oriented policies will have to be crafted for transformative change in Africa (p. 583).

Health Poverty Action, a British NGO, published a 2014 report, which challenged the UK and other Western countries to admit responsibility for their part in perpetuating the poverty in African nations and to do away with the "develop aid smokescreen."

The reality is that Africa is being drained of resources by the rest of the world. It is losing far more each year than it is receiving. While $134 billion flows into the continent each year, predominantly in the form of loans, foreign investment and aid; $192 billion is taken out, mainly in profits made by foreign companies, tax dodging and the costs of adapting to climate change. The result is that Africa suffers a net loss of $58 billion a year. As such, the idea that we are aiding Africa is flawed; it is Africa that is aiding the rest of the world (Jones & Martin, 2014, p. 5).

A failure in African leadership for peace ought to be perceived through the lens of a shared sense of ownership between industrialized countries that have taken advantage of African vulnerability and African leaders' failure to lead with integrity. Current and future leadership that will be effective in gaining peace must be an equally shared endeavor, with countries networking to hold each other accountable at the level of international relations.

African Leadership: Context Matters

Africa is comprised of fifty-four countries, all differing from each other in context and complexity. Most national leaders in Africa operate within an environment

constrained by colonial legacies, post violent conflict, war and genocide trauma or apartheid instability, massive poverty, ignorance, politicization of religion and ethnicity, a culture of impunity, and traditional rigidity of some leaders. Olayiwola Abegunrin (2009) states, "The place of Africa in world politics can be attributed to economic underdevelopment, political instability, technological underdevelopment, and military weakness" (p. 128). All these factors highlight the critical need to recognize the etiology of conflicts as they occur within the broader framework of a historical process of each country or counties with similar issues. The interplay of the political, social and economic environment of a particular historical era within a specific country and sub-region, are critical factors to consider within the discourse of African conflict, conflict resolution and leadership (Oyenini, 2010).

Contemporary African leaders are expected to have both feet planted firmly in two worlds simultaneously, while serving as a global broker between their country and the international community-at-large. A transition from the "Great Man" style of leadership by African leaders to a collaborative, Ubuntu-based type of leadership is long over-due. In today's world, the "Great Man theory" is ineffectual and limited in addressing conflict in Africa.

Leadership must move from being self-serving to collective; from local to global, from centralized to decentralized; from an uneducated to an educated and critically thinking civil society; and from control of information and lack of communication technology to information sharing with a strong emphasis on media, technology and constitutional democracy that reflect global trends.

The formation of regional bodies such as the African Union, African Bank, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East Africa Community (EAC), The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), are important indicators of a shift from the "Great Man" perspective to a more collaborative, global direction of African leadership. African presidential leaders are increasingly called upon to resolve internal conflicts, as well as those created by external forces. Effective African leadership must be adaptive so as to effectively mobilize people and resources toward a collective purpose; a purpose that exists beyond a leader's own individual ambition (Heifetz, Grashow & Linsky, 2009, p. 3).

Leadership in Africa is at the center of conflict and conflict resolution whether it is at the civil or military levels (Gerwel & Malan, 2005, p. 66-69). Millions of people have been internally and externally displaced. According to the UNHCR 2015 report for Africa, Sub-Sahara Africa hosted more than 26% (18 million) of the world's refugee population. Millions more have been killed following violent conflict linked to massive state failure and severe leadership deficiencies (Rotberg, 2007). Genocide in Rwanda and Burundi, post-election violence in Kenya and the ongoing crises in the DRC, Sudan and Nigeria exemplify cases where malevolent or ineffectual leadership and conflict intersect. Africa has also known good leadership, instrumental in unifying or economically bolstering countries such as J. K. Nyerere's post-colonial Tanzania,

Mandela and South Africa's apartheid, and Kagame in post-genocide Rwanda (Gerwel & Malan, 2005, 66-69).

Beyond Sovereignty: African Leadership in the 21st Century

Effective state leadership in the 21st century requires leaders to face regional and global issues past generations could never have imagined such as the current state of terrorism, environmental crisis and international crimes such as human, drug and money trafficking. They have to be "farsighted leaders" to paraphrase Kofi Annan (2015). Collaboration, cooperation and communication will be key forces in creating peaceful leadership.

In 2008, the violence that followed Kenya's elections was confronted by African political and religious leaders who gathered in Kenya to encourage President Mwai Kibaki and Orange Democratic Movement opposition leader Raila Odinga to seek a negotiated solution rather than continuing the violence that had already claimed 1,500 lives (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011, p. 142). This vivid example of collaborative leadership for peace ultimately saved the country from violence that was likely to escalate. It also highlights Major-General Romeo Dallaire's comment; "It may be easier to tackle conflicts early before they reach the point of mass violence. If the international community had engaged in collaborative and cooperative leadership efforts toward peace, a brigade of only 5,000 soldiers could have stopped the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of innocent people during the Genocide in Rwanda" (as cited in Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011, p. 142).

If one follows Burton's needs theory, leaders for peace understand the critical importance of listening earnestly to the needs of their constituency. Burton (1997) argues basic needs are "non-negotiable needs" which primarily require "structural change" (p. 35). For Burton, "If needs are not satisfied there will be costly conflicts. Inherent needs for recognition, identity and security" (p. 35) cannot be ignored and they have to be satisfied.

Additionally, Burton's needs theory becomes a moral basis for trust, loyalty, social interaction, cooperation and responsibility; all factors inherent to sustainable peacebuilding. Burton submits that aggression and antisocial behaviors are stimulated by social circumstances such as exclusion from national economic and political processes. Johan Galtung (2010) points to similar issues with his structural theory, which attributes violent conflicts to the failure of laws and policies. Thus, those people excluded from access to basic needs, upward mobility and modernity matter in conflict resolution and creating sustainable peace for Africa.

Mutual accountability is expected. Kofi Annan's letter on behalf of The Elders (2015) borrows from Franklin D. Roosevelt's words to remind us that leadership requires a commitment from leaders as well as followers to have integrity, accountability and to work together for social change. This has to be expected and communicated. Annan went on to quote Roosevelt and writes:

> …Courageous leadership requires the understanding and support of the people. We need to make clear to our leaders what we expect of them; we need to hold them to account; but we also need to let them know that if they have the courage to do the right thing, then we will support them. (2015, para.14)

It is through leadership that we participate in an organized society, in its culture and institutions. Nohria and Khurana (2015) question whether leaders today have the competence and character necessary to lead the web of complex institutions that have become so vital to the collective health of modern society that requires, "farsighted leaders." They assert, "Leadership categories are … shaped by environmental factors and are revised when contextually inappropriate" (Nohria & Khurana, 2010, p. 343). This concept brings us to the question of the intersection between malevolent or peaceful leadership within the cultural context.

If we are a product of our culture, then the leadership within that culture represents that which articulates the particular society's beliefs, behavior patterns, conflicts, and ways of resolving conflict. Mauro F. Guillén (2010) writes from an institutional and social integration perspective, "Leadership exists because there is a need for order and integration; absent leadership, there is chaos or anomie" (p. 232). Leadership therefore becomes the ultimate foundation upon which a society rests. Good leadership becomes a vital aspect in creating peace, while enabling institutions and cultural values and mores to function well for the benefit of all society.

While leadership matters at all levels and in all walks of life, Joseph S. Nye (2010) states that top level leadership, given it's positive or negative influence on a country's peace, may matter more in post-conflict countries than mid-level leadership which connects the grassroots to the top (p. 312-313).

In fragile post-violent conflict countries, there is a temptation for top-level leadership to take advantage of weak or absent political institutions, or to seek a new

constitution more in line with their own political agenda. Violent conflicts and genocide have erupted during the post-colonial era due to dysfunctional leaders abusing their positions of power. This misuse of power has become so firmly entrenched in many African states, that it has virtually become a cultural norm and the people automatically anticipate pre-and post-election violence.

In summary, leadership is a fundamental ingredient for conflict and conflict resolution in the hearts and minds of citizens. Leadership for peace is both a desired sign and symbol for conflict resolution in sub-Saharan Africa. The collaborative relationship between leadership and conflict resolution are crucial because to a greater extent "only leadership can overcome the abuses of leadership" (Burns, 2003, p.198) that in Sub-Saharan Africa include greed, corruption, identity inequality and power mongering of so called "Great Men." Such leaders are relevant but no longer very relevant since as Zaccaro et al (2004) points out "leadership presents a complex and multifaceted performance domain… (in Zaccaro 2011: p. 12). As a young and struggling continent and her countries, Africa need a shared leadership which has been defined as a mutual influence process around collective goal achievement (Pearce & Conger, 2003 & Day, G & Salas, 2006, in Zaccaro et al 2011, p. 31 & 32).

Chapter Three: Methodology

Overview and Research Framework

This study examined the role of leadership in the field of peace building and post-conflict reconciliation. The central question of this study asked what factors or forces shape the character make-up, and/or the leadership philosophy of a Sub-Saharan African leader who consciously chooses peace and reconciliation and demonstrates this commitment through his or her actions and decisions? The African continent has been torn apart by genocide, war and violent conflict for many decades. For this reason, as a Rwandan, I am specifically interested in the lived experiences of top-level leaders in sub-Saharan African countries to learn how leadership impacts the sustainability of peace now and in the future for Africa. I examined the intersection between top-level leadership styles, content and context for sustainable peace and reconciliation in post violent conflict Sub-Saharan Africa.

While there are innumerable factors that contribute to building peace, I surmised that the style and content of leadership at the top level is a key component in determining the course of the country: whether in the direction of corruption, chaos and becoming a failed state, or in the direction of increased development, rule of law, order and positive peace leading toward growing democratization.

When we know which kind(s) of leadership factors and forces typically affect leadership for sustainable peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa, we can subsequently consider "how" best to promote, build, nurture and support the development of those leadership styles. If indeed this is possible, then we can also allocate the necessary resources to sustain and reinforce leaders who lead for conflict prevention, engagement and conflict resolution and for peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa. The success of this project could ultimately save millions of people from being victimized, being killed and becoming refugees or victims of violent conflict, war and genocide. It is estimated thousands of women and some men are raped annually, hundreds of thousands of people killed, while millions of others displaced annually in sub-Saharan Africa due to violent conflicts.

My premise suggests that self-serving, irresponsible and un-principled leadership styles, unconcerned with actively leading toward unity, peace and reconciliation, likely contributed a great deal to the majority of these conflicts. Thus, it is important to learn how to encourage and invite future Sub-Saharan African leaders for peace to pay attention to context. Future leaders, especially the top-level leaders, must be mindful and aware that the people they lead are fatigued by violent conflicts and its painful consequences and they deserve peace, healing and reconciliation. Present and future African leaders need to lead with awareness that, according to the 2005 Human Security Report, "By the turn of the 21st Century, Sub-Saharan Africa had become the world's most violent region, experiencing more battle deaths than all other regions combined" (2005: 5). But the Human Security report of 2013 also reported a reduction in battle

deaths by 2011 in the Sub-Saharan region stating, "For instance, of 13 conflicts recorded in 2011, only two; one in Sudan and one in Somalia were high-intensity conflicts with 1,000 or more battle deaths for the year" (2013, p. 94). Leaders in Sub-Saharan Africa have to commit to making sure that violent conflicts and deaths continue to decline year by year; after all, based on the above example, it can be done.

Major themes and subthemes were derived from the analysis of my interviews with 20 high level political, civil society and private sector leaders and are presented in Chapters 4-7. The interviewees were selected on the basis of their experience as leaders who sought peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan African countries during times of violent conflict, war and genocide. While it is important to recognize the impact leaders at various levels make on society, for the purposes of this study, only top-level leaders with far-reaching influence were selected. The participants consisted of 10 Rwandans, five Tanzanians, and one each from Kenya, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Zanzibarian and South African. There were 18 males and two females, with an age range of 50 to 84 years. [Note: the gender gap is further addressed in the final chapter regarding limitations of the study.]

The following diagram, Figure III, was designed to create a framework for understanding the relationship between sustainable peace, conflict resolution and leadership.

Figure - iii - Historical Background and 'Be-Know-Do' Leadership Framework

I adopted the above words 'Be-Know–Do' (as coded themes) from the US Army Leadership Manual as one of my theoretical frameworks (FM 6-22, 2006: 1). I added 'Historical Background' (as emergent theme) to the diagram based on factors that emerged from interviewing the study participants. The words and the diagram help demonstrate visually the connection of how leadership for peace and reconciliation acts as a foundation for both the pillars of a competent leader and sustained peace and reconciliation on top.
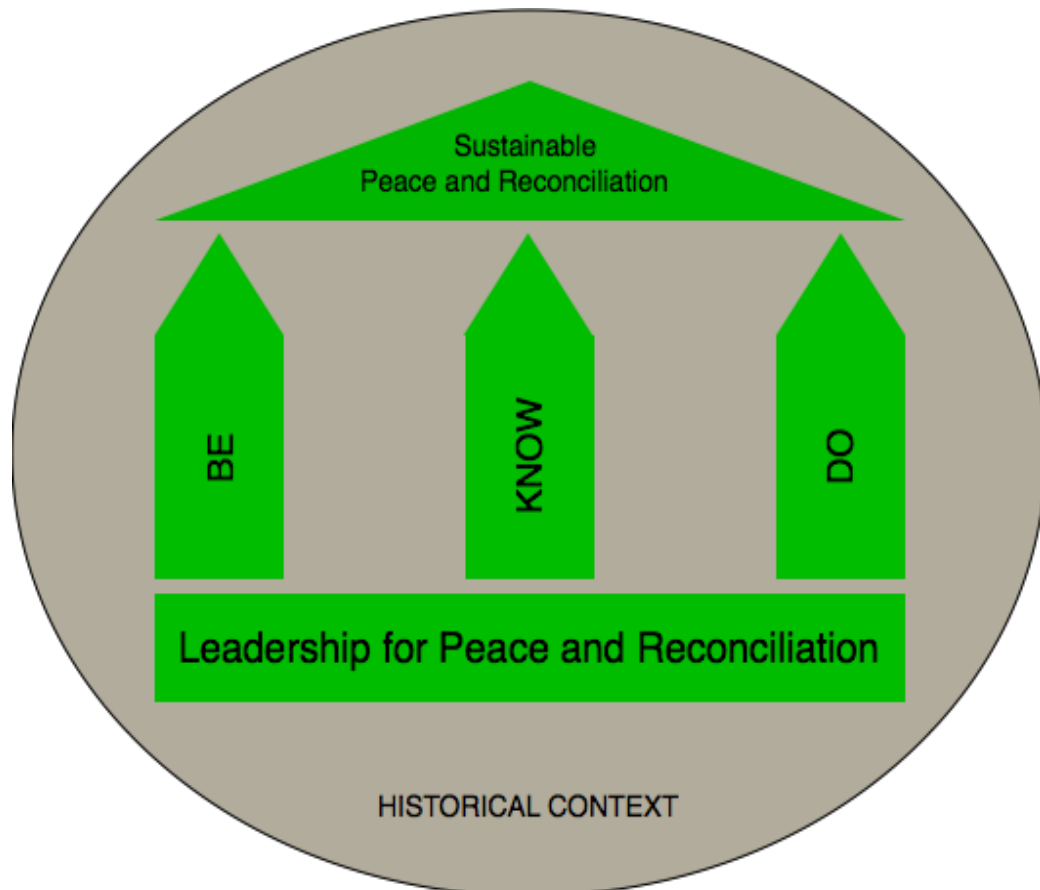

Figure – III- Leadership for Peace and Reconciliation: Be, Know, Do and Historical Context

When I started this research, my framework consisted only of "Be, Know and Do." After engaging with the data collected over months, I discovered another theme, which is important for a leader: the "historical background."

This research was based on grounded theory, which I will explain below in the research design section. It is data driven and it is further discussed in the section that follows, *Research Design*. I started with a wide coding and then I thematically grouped my themes to fit the description of the interviewees. However, the category of "historical context" is vital for leadership for peace and reconciliation within the Sub-Saharan African region. The key question we can ask as researchers is, does historical context matter only in Sub-Saharan Africa or is it something important on a global basis for leadership? Nelson Mandela determined to end the history of apartheid, segregation and violence said " I was overwhelmed with a sense of history" (Crwys, 2009:p. 2009). He added "the great lesson of our time is that no regime can survive if it acts above the heads of the ordinary citizens of the country" as most violent leaders do (Crwys, 2009: p. 137).

The objective of the current research study is to develop awareness of the intersection of leadership styles and peace and reconciliation. Additionally, this study points to the internal and external factors that influence the leadership styles of top-level Sub-Saharan African leaders in post-violent conflict countries.

In post- violent conflict countries, skilled leadership with an emphasis on obtaining and sustaining peace by establishing security, development, justice and reconciliation are highly needed to guide the nation through the post–violence experience, which is too often fraught with confusion, chaos and fear. Leaders must

determine which direction they will take in order to stabilize, rebuild the country and lead the people to peace and reconciliation.

The Venn diagram below, Figure IV, shows the intersecting relationship between leadership, peace and conflict resolution efforts. This dissertation research will emphasize the importance of Sub-Saharan African leaders with a style of leadership that enables them to lead their countries toward sustainable peace and reconciliation.
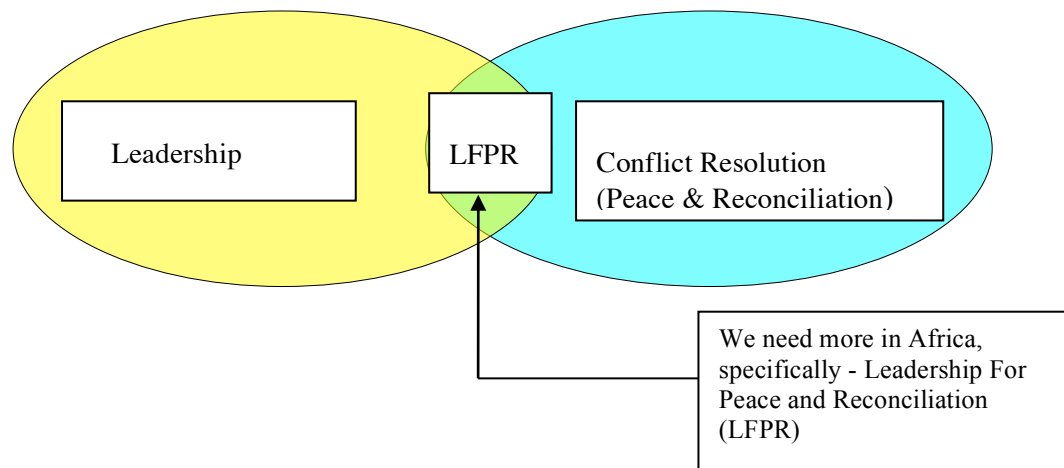

Figure – IV- Intersection of Leadership, Peace and Conflict Resolution Practice

Research Design

A qualitative research design based on grounded theory was used in order to best analyze the participants' lived experiences. Grounded theory is a data collection and analysis technique, inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. "That is, it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through the systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 23). In addition, Grounded theory (GT) "is qualitative research design in which the inquirer generates a general explanation (a theory) of a process, an action, or an interaction shaped by the views of a large number of participants" (Creswell 2013, p. 83). For Walsh et al (2015) GT is "the discovery of emerging patterns in data" and "generation of theories from data."

Qualitative methodology is ontologically and epistemologically grounded in specific case studies and context, and it emphasizes people's lived experiences while allowing exploration of new areas and hypotheses (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10). It is an appropriate option given the anticipated limitations of available resources as well as being a format that meshes well with the nature and objectives of this study. Qualitative data "rest very centrally on the competence with which their analysis is carried out" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10). The question: "What kind(s) of leadership are effective for peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa?" and its corresponding hypotheses, guided the research.

During the process of collecting data through interviews, observations, past literature and research, I utilized a method known as "constant comparison" which looks for patterns of similarities as well as outlying cases that may challenge my emerging

theory, but that will also ultimately strengthen it as well. I also maintained a field notes journal and a theoretical notes journal in order to closely follow and document immediately my field observations and thoughts as they occurred which helped in the development of categories, coding and a new theoretical approach to leadership for peace.

Initially, data were analyzed using open coding. Open coding is concerned with identifying, naming, categorizing and describing phenomena found in text. Data were analyzed in which word, line, sentence and paragraph segments of the transcribed interviews and field notes were reviewed to decide what codes fit the concepts that emerge from the data. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Codes were compared to identify similarities, differences and general patterns. A qualitative data analysis software program, called Nvivo was utilized. I found this software (Nvivo) to be helpful in organizing the data in a more systemic and clear manner.

Participants

My purposeful sampling set out to study 30 leaders. I was unable to secure 30 interviews, because I realized the data had reached data saturation after twenty interviews. Also, each interview took longer than anticipated to arrange, as senior leaders had difficulty pinning down specific interview times, and many interviews were cancelled and rescheduled several times before being completed. . In the final data collection, I was able to interview 20 leaders. Only two were women. Though my study did not set out to do a gender comparison, the small number of female participants reflects the challenge of

equal participation and opportunities for women to develop into leadership positions in the type of leadership I studied.

Table # 1. Demographic Features of Study Participants

Name	Age	Sex	Religious Preference	Education Level	Highest Professional Position Held	No. of Years as Leader	Nationality
1. Patrick M	68	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Government Minister, Presidential Advisor to the President of Rwanda on the Great Lakes Region & Deputy Chairperson of African Union.	30+	Rwandan
2. Seth K	68	M	Christian	BA	Presidential advisor, General Secretary in the ministries of Home & Foreign Affairs, Ambassador & Senator	30+	Rwandan
3. Cornelius K	66	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Catholic Bishop & President of Catholic Justice and Peace Commission of the Kenyan Conference of Catholic Bishops	30+	Kenyan
4. Ben R	50s	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Ambassador & CEO	25+	Rwandan
5. Genelari U	68	M	Christian	Post-Grad	National youth leader, mayor, parliamentarian, Member of National Executive Committee of the ruling party CCM & CEO	30+	Tanzanian
6. Alex H	77	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Bishop & President of Economic Commission of the Rwanda Conference of the Catholic Bishops	30+	Rwandan
7. James K	57	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Military General, Commander & Chief of Staff & Minister of Defense	20+	Rwandan

8. Jega A	59	M	Muslim	Post-Grad	Professor, Vice Chancellor & 4th Chairman of Independent National Electoral Commission	20+	Nigerian
9. Joseph W	77	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Attorney general, Minister of Justice, Prime Minister & Vice President	40+	Tanzanian
10. Salim A S	74	M	Muslim	Post-Grad	Mayor, Minister of Foreign affairs, Minister of Defense, Prime Minister, UN Perm. Rep. & Sec. General African Union	40+	Zanzibar/ Tanzanian
11. Ali M	56	M	Muslim	BSC	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Infotech Investment Group Ltd., Partner and Founder of East Africa Capital Partners (EACP). Chairman of the Africa Leadership Initiative. Founding Chairman & CEO Roundtable of Tanzania	40+	Tanzanian
12. Mathilde M	60	F	Christian	Post-Grad	Professor & community leader & Ambassador	25+	Rwandan
13. Andre K	70s	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Professor, Pastor & General Secretary of All Africa Conference of Churches	30+	Rwandan
14. Antoine K	57	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Professor, Caritas Rwanda Director, Rector & Bishop	20+	Rwandan
15. Ami MP	64	M	Muslim	Post-Grad	Diplomat & Business leader. Seconded to office of President of Tanzania; 1992-93, Lesson for Rwandan peace talk and deal Director, Africa and Middle East, Tanzania Ministry of Foreign Affairs; 1994-2000, High Commissioner to South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia. Chairman: Tanzania Chamber of Minerals and Energy	25+	Tanzanian
16. Pierre	80's	M	Christian	Post-Grad	Professor & Founder & CEO IRDP	40+	Rwandan

R							
17. Susan C	60's	F	Christian	Post-Grad	Senior Vice President of Search for Common Ground & Peace Leader	30+	South African
18. Tito R	72	M	Atheist	Post-Grad	Chief Ombudsman, Secretary General & co founder of RPF & Senator	30+	Rwandan
19. Bandora M	60's	M	Christian	Post-Grad	United Nations Resident Coordinator and UNDP Resident Representative, Country and African Union diplomat and Ambassador	30+	Tanzanian
20. Peter T	68	M	Christian	Post- Grad	Cardinal in Vatican	30+	Ghanaian

In order to study the role of leadership in peace and reconciliation, a purposive sampling of pre-selected individuals is naturally preferential over a randomized selection of leaders. By selecting top-level leaders based on specific criteria, I had the opportunity to interview leaders who have the experience of leading in violent or post- violent conflict situations. While it is important to strive to maintain gender and age category balances in research, in this case it was not possible to do so. Regarding the age, most of the people were over 50, because years of experience allowed for more credible documentation of their attitudes and beliefs about their commitments and the observable achieved results of their works in peace, reconciliation and leadership.

The pool of available females who met study criteria was too limited, primarily due to cultural and geographical barriers that tend to promote more males into top-leadership. This study focused on "top level" leadership regardless of gender. I selected twenty top-level leaders from government, private sector and civil society officials. Study

participants were known and recognized for their remarkable contributions in creating and/or maintaining sustainable peace attitudes and behaviors in their countries.

The interview process consisted of first identifying my interviewees based on their credentials of familiarity with African violent conflicts and their personal position or organizational contribution to finding peace. Secondly, in addition to interviewing them, I used their selected speeches, personal statements, examined archival material and coded it for leadership content. The archival materials were identified by the researcher, by the interviewees themselves, as well as by other people including families, media and professionals such as academics. These materials provided more information about a particular leader. While I used the network of friends and colleagues to help in identifying, recruiting and connecting with study participants, I also used the "snowball" approach to selecting participants once the study was underway. By snowball in this context, I mean I expanded my outreach to potential interviewees by contacting new people via phone calls and emails after early contacts and interviewees had recommended these new interviewees. My goal was to interview a total of thirty participants. I ended up interviewing twenty because I had reached data saturation (diminishing return) and there was no new thematic material being offered by new participants. Twenty is part of qualitative research reasonable number. Possibly 10 more interviewees might have or might have not produced new data about peace and reconciliation leadership.

Before interviewing individual participants, I prepared by reviewing electronically written materials including autobiographies, biographies and journalists' commentaries as well as videotaped speeches, i.e., YouTube and other visual and non-

visual interviews previously conducted by other people, related to the interviewee. This guided my ability to ask pertinent, open-ended questions during the interview and helped me to be familiar with them before I met them. I contacted the embassies of selected countries/ leaders including the embassies of Tanzania, Liberia, South Africa, and Rwanda in Washington D.C. This helped maximize accessibility. I did not have funds to pay participants but it would not have been considered appropriate to do so given their political and leadership positions. Most of my interviewees spoke of their own interests and love for creating a better leadership legacy in their own countries as well as Africa as a whole.

Data Collection

My primary data collection method was in-depth, semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, one of the strengths of using grounded theory. I had to shorten my questions from a previous interview when a person I interviewed said to me, I have only 45 minutes instead of 60 minutes for our interviews. Additionally, I collected secondary resources from community members who were likely to provide narratives about the leaders. I also reviewed archival materials, which included electronic data (internet), as well as hard copy documents such as newspapers, journals, letters and books. The aim was to make sure that I got as much information as I could get regarding leaders and leadership for peace. Open-ended questions were used to compare leadership styles and to gain as much information as possible on how leadership styles may or may not impact peace and reconciliation, in different contexts and at different stages during the post-conflict transition to peace and democratization.

Interview Process

As a result of the anticipated likelihood of time and geographic limitations on reaching some desirable participants, there were two options available for administering interviews. The first and most preferable option was conducting face-to-face interviews with participants, in which I as a researcher interacted with the participants by eliciting responses to the interview questions.

Furthermore, because of the nature of the research topic, it was imperative that I be able to personally interview my selected public figures rather than sending them a questionnaire to be filled out. I knew that the likelihood of an executive assistant filling out such a questionnaire was very high, given the busy schedules and priorities of top leaders. In one case, I traveled internationally to interview one of my selected interviewees, but when I got there, I was told he was not comfortable anymore to discuss the subject. But then I was encouraged to leave my questionnaires for him and to this day, his office has not gotten back to me.

Participants' responses were audio recorded, with the exception of one interviewee who did not feel comfortable since our interview took place in a large conference hall with many people. In that case, I took extensive notes. Additionally, for one respondent who could not meet in person, electronic social interactive media, Skype and the telephone, were utilized for our interview.

While the interview method had many advantages, it also presented some challenges: logistics involved in meeting in person and time commitments. Nevertheless,

it was selected for this study over other possible choices because it is a proven method; it is direct and taps into the phenomenological experience of the participant.

The questionnaire was formulated using a series of questions that helped me to gain essential information from the interviewees. Interviews were held primarily with African public leaders whose experiences and reflections in post-violent conflict countries may be helpful in shaping future leadership for peace. In addition, one non-African public leader, a USA diplomat with over four decades of experience in Sub-Saharan Africa and who worked to address some of the African violent conflicts, was interviewed to compare his thinking on the study questions but his interview was not included in the results so as to guard consistency with interviews from an all-African participant pool. This researcher conducted all the interviews and no assistant was used. Open-ended questions were asked in this study so as to elicit the needed information to answer the question. The entire interview questions are in the appendix I section after the conclusion of this dissertation.

Time Frame

My data collection took place in the period of 18 months. The time it took to complete the research was dependent upon being able to find my interviewees and funding my travel and living expenses while conducting interviews and collecting data. I used a Gantt chart to assist me in producing a realistic timescale as well as to structure the tasks involved in completing my research. It allowed me to clearly discern where resources needed to be anticipated, allocated or shared to maximize the use of those

resources. It assisted me in keeping project costs within budget, as I was visually aware of available resources as I proceeded with data collection.

The timeline following the defense of the research proposal was approximately 24 months:

- May 2015: completed and defended the dissertation proposal;

- June 2015: submitted the research request to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) committee for review to ensure my research complied with ethical and integrity considerations;

- August to December 2015: conducted the first phase of interviews with my sampling group plus phase one transcription and analysis;

- January to early May 2016: consulted with the committee chair for updates and feedback;

- June to November 2016: completed field research interviews and data collection processes, transcribed data and begin analysis of the collected data, Nvivo software training and use plus dissertation writing phase one.

- December 2016 to March 2017: completed dissertation writing phase two, met the committee chair after every chapter draft for feedback and guidance.

- March 18, 2017: sent the entire first draft to the committee for feedback.

- April –May 2017: defended dissertation and addressed final corrections.

Ethical Considerations and Issues

My dissertation gave ethical issues a serious consideration. Mary Anderson's (1999) "Do No Harm" approach when dealing with human activities and subjects was my maxim in this process. As a researcher, I agree with Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman (1994) that "we cannot focus only on the quality of the knowledge we are producing, as if its truth were all that counts. We must also consider the rightness or wrongness of our actions as qualitative researchers in relation to the people whose lives we are studying, to our colleagues, and to those who sponsor our work" (p. 288). This awareness helped me as a researcher to take seriously my thoughts, words, actions, attitude and behavior towards all the partners and stakeholders in this study project.

Though my interviewees were public figures whose leadership and work for peace and reconciliation are public, it was possible they may have shared sensitive information. All study participants signed a consent form which specified the limits of confidentiality for any data collected during interviews, field observations, and written communications. Standard procedures were used for disguising participants' personal information and all personal or sensitive information were coded using pseudo names instead of their real names to ensure anonymity, privacy and security. A separate notebook was kept for any data interviewees' request to be kept confidential, "off the record" or that might have put study participants at risk. Also, the interviewees were explicitly requested to check the box on the consent form that asked their permission to let the researcher use their actual names in his reporting since they are public figures. All of them had no problem their names appearing in the researcher's final report.

I always reflected on moral and ethical questions such as: "Is my research worth doing?" "Do my interviewees really understand what the consequences are for their participation if any?" "Am I exploiting anyone with my research?" "Is my research causing damage? Likely enough there was no physical damage. "Who will benefit from my research?" "Are my interviewees and their information protected, and will they have access to my dissertation?" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 288). In brief, the code of respect and protection as required by the George Mason University, Institutional Review Board (IRB, 2015) was strictly observed and obeyed in order to conduct ethical research with integrity and without causing harm to my participants, their extended family members, staff or myself.

While the privacy of my interviewees is taken seriously, there will be no confidentiality for their information that is already public and that they allowed me to fully use since they are public figures. However, in addition to the consent form which spelled out the limits of confidentiality and which each participant signed and consented. I will continue to honor each interviewee's wish. I also asked them if they wanted to review any information I will use from them for accuracy, to which they said it was not necessary and if I am in doubt, I can always check with them. Because my interviewees were public officials, their leadership philosophy, style, content and views are already public. That is why I chose to interview people who have been in public offices or who are currently holding public offices whose life and work are generally recognizable. The results of this research will be public, too.

Discussion of Coding

The results from the 20 interviews revealed four general thematic categories that I derived based on constructs of what constitutes leadership for peace. The four major themes that are discussed in this dissertation in Chapters Four through Seven are: (4) Historical Context, (5) Be, (6) Know, and (7) Do. "Historical context" refers to the socio-political and cultural environment or country in which a leader was raised during his/her formative years. The thematic category of "Be" describes the principled values and character of the leader. "Know" delineates what leaders for peace should or must know in order to function effectively and lead well. And finally, "Do" is the thematic category that examines the actions and behaviors of the leader and what he or she must do as a leader for peace in order to build and sustain peace and reconciliation. The hierarchy of coded nodes and child nodes found in the appendices show visually which themes and sub-themes appeared to be very important or less important for peace leaders to have. See diagram #1 below showing the 4 major themes for peace leadership that will be presented and discussed in detail as chapters. Each thematic category will become a chapter on its own.
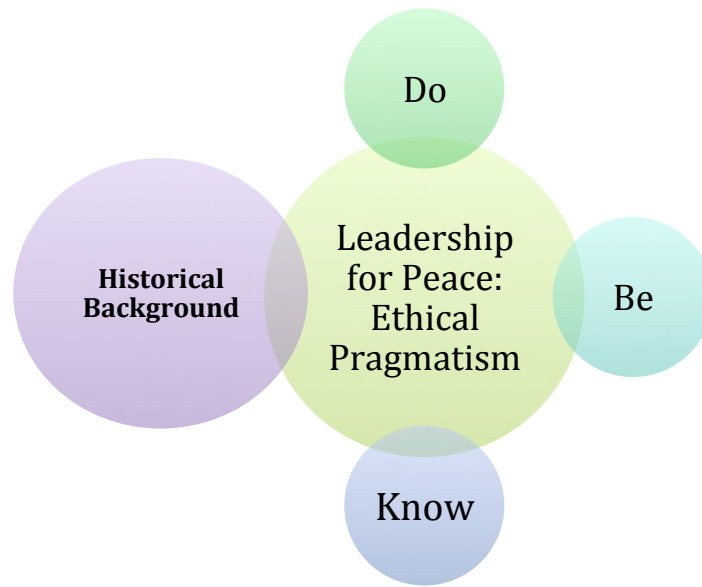
Figure - V- Four Themes of Ethical - Pragmatism Leadership for Peace

A significant amount of research has been written about the plight of African countries and their self-serving, corrupt leaders, whose ethics and pragmatism have been questioned (Haugen & Musser 2011: p.28 & 38). The current study seeks to bring to light the wisdom and rich, in-depth experience of leaders who have consciously chosen to lead sub-Saharan African countries, business and civil society toward peace and reconciliation. The major strength of this study was the opportunity to learn directly from leaders within the local African context who value Be, Know, Do and Historical background and who do such a good job. As Patricia Crisafulli and Andrea Redmond points out in their book Rwanda, Inc, " Rwanda's growing pains are far from over. But … the country is positioned to do well, indeed, provided it can maintain peace and stability and foster economic development for all… If that happens, decades from now people will point to one person who made all the difference at a critical time, a visionary

leader who empowered others to join his cause: Paul Kagame" (2012: p. 107).

A few of the major challenges for this researcher were last minute cancellations by interviewees after I traveled internationally to interview them, as happened with the former South African President Thabo Mbeki, others changed our meeting schedule many times and some simply canceled without rescheduling. Some participants were inclined to present only positive stories about their success, since they were partly doing self-reporting and self-evaluation of their leadership. Such ego problems, however, should be expected with some top-level leaders. But it appeared that for the most part, those interviewed were humble, collaborative, willing to go deep, and shared all lessons learned for present leadership that cares for its people and the future generations of young African leaders who can duplicate the same lessons and achieve the desired results.

The interviewees pointed out that such leaders with prime values and character, and who do a good job and communicate the right words given their historical context, such as Nelson Mandela, who was mentioned by many, are "the exceptional individuals in an equivocal situation in which followers would willingly follow to be delivered from their plight" (Hochschild, 2010, p. 16).

Learning from such leaders kept this study inspired, sustained it and energized this research to its completion.

From her, I learnt how to value human dignity and human rights of non-whites. So, I learnt that everything comes together at some point and that is when positive changes take place. – Susan C. Marks (Jan 28, 2016)

This chapter focuses on the theme of "historical context" which emerged from the interviews with leaders. Prior to beginning this research, I did not appreciate how much the historical context would play an important role in leadership. However, most study participants mentioned the historical context during their interviews and felt its relevance was pertinent to the leader they had become in post-colonial and post-cold war context.

In the Institute of Security Studies Paper 233 (2012), Francis Nguendi Ikome lists a number of the major African border-based conflicts to show the link between African history and context and the nature of violent conflicts that countries have experienced. These conflicts include conflicts between Cameroon and Nigeria (1963-2002), Ethiopia and Kenya (1963-1970), Ethiopia and Somalia (1962-1984), Ethiopia and Eritrea (1952-1992, 1996-1998 and then 1998 – 2000), Malawi and Tanzania (1967) and Ghana and Burkina Faso (1964-1968). (p.4). Other recent cases include Congo DRC and Rwanda (in 1990 & 2000's) and South and North Sudan, which ended over 40 years of civil war (1955-1972, 1983-2005) as Southern Sudan got her independence in 2011. Thus, we can see that historical context matters greatly in terms of the type of conflict since the above conflicts differs from conflicts in Europe or Asia.

On a personal level, Susan Collin Marks, a peace ambassador and co-creator of the NGO, *Search for Common Ground*, and a long-time peacebuilder, discussed how her birth in Apartheid South Africa to white parents, in a household in which her mother was a strong human rights advocate, shaped her trajectory in life and influenced the leader she has become. In addition to her family's influence, she was strongly affected by Nelson Mandela and her interactions with him when he was released from prison. Ms. Mark's historical background shaped not only the person she later became, but the studies she chose to pursue: conflict management and her current work, global peacebuilding through *Search for Common Ground* as its peace ambassador.

Though the theme "Historical Background" differs from the themes "Be," "Know" and "Do," all four intersect to mold the person who will reflect the essential elements of a leader for peace. The beliefs and values acquired from a particular culture and social environment shape the principled values and character that ultimately impacts one's fund of knowledge, actions, attitudes and perspectives on others and the world. Here is what Ms. Marks said during our interviews regarding how her mother's historical context influenced her:

> My mother, who was living her commitment to peace and a better South Africa… taught me to live out my convictions/dreams/vision for the end; you have to live in yourself. She taught me to be, to advocate for what I believe in. My mother was this tall white woman, married to a white man but who was un-stoppable. She would come to the police post /office and demand to see Mr. so and so (a black man who had been arrested) and the white police would not accept to address the blacks as Mr.! So they would say, "You mean so and so and not Mr. so and so!" And my mother would insist, "He is Mr. so and so, he is a man!" From her I learnt how to value human dignity and the rights of the non-whites.

Ms. Mark's mother, as well as icons like Mandela, instilled in her the importance of interacting in ways that were inclusive and respectful; behaviors that are characteristic of a leader for peace. The four pillars—historical background, be, know and do—are interconnected and the historical background of the person and the place/time/location in which the individual grew up, plays a very significant role in the development of their system of beliefs and values. The below table shows the themes for background context, with examples extracted from the interviewees.

Table # 2 . Background context and it's themes

History of the Place	History of the Person	Current Context
Example: I can say that the circumstances simply propelled me to that position. And the reality … African situation. You know no nation and no people suffered more than Africa. Through history, massacres, killings, genocides, all these things and so as Africans we have to take peace and security as a vital and crucial component of our daily life. And so, I would say, I did not choose, but circumstances put me there. And uh..I have been involved with this since as a young kid. I always felt that we must really try to keep our continent at peace.	Witness Example "I was born during the Manchester conference and my father was a teacher. So my family influenced me and particularly my dad. It was also a period of Pan African freedom movements… I was born during the Manchester conference and my father was a teacher. So my family influenced me and particularly my dad. It was also a period of Pan African freedom movements",	External factors Example "There is a problem of dependence of leaders in sub-Saharan leaders …leaders should be aware of this problem. When you see the aid we receive, there is a contradiction between the desire and the intention …sometimes the motives are not good and go against one's conscience as a leader. If you look closely we have patrons French, English Americans; almost all are the same ..some go to Canada, US , same patrons we need to be aware of this and our own context".
	War time Example "So as early as the age of 18, I was already involved in that struggle, in the fighting, so that shaped me"	

	Family Example My family was a place of everyone. My parents, even when they were talking about ethnicity, he was a Godfather to everyone. From my family, we transcended ethnicity to include everyone.	
	Education- example "Also the nature of my studies make me see value in doing so. Leading selflessly."	

This chapter addresses the construct "historical context" and the role it plays within its three subcategories: history of the place, history of the person and external factors. The general theme of this chapter, "historical context," highlights the important influence a country's cultural, economic and sociopolitical background has on shaping the vision, commitment, actions and results of its leaders. Table 2 below, *References to Thematic Content*, shows that the majority of the respondents (72.2%) stated the background context affects leadership, and 16 out of 20 respondents made reference to the importance of the historical context a total of 75 times during their interviews.

Table # 3. References to Thematic Content

Thematic Category	No. of respondents (out of 19)	No. of times reference made to theme or subtheme
Historical context	16	20
History of the place	12	19
History of the person	15	41
External factors	7	10
Current context	8	12

History of the Place

Without unity there is no future for Africa – Julius K. Nyerere, (Ghana, 1997

Sub-Saharan African leadership, like most other African leadership, is born from post-slavery, post–colonization, post-cold war, post inter- and intra-state violence, and pre-western democracy as we know it and practice it today. Most of the post-independence and post-cold war civil wars in sub-Saharan African countries have historical roots. These countries did not inherit nor develop their own geographic or national symbols of liberty or freedom that clearly stated the desire, the will, the commitment and the hopes of the people to be free, independent and at peace with themselves and others. Though most of Sub- Saharan African countries got their political independence in the 1960s and 1970, their colonial masters and the two Cold War masters—the USA and USSR—continued to exercise control over how these young nations were governed and led. They gained independence- in their dependence and became "client states" without "sovereign statehood," "unfinished decolonization" and "self-termination" (Williams, 2011, p. 112).

In other words, most of the top-level leaders were seen to be pawns in the post-colonial and post-cold war era. They understood their role to be leaders for "client states," states that funded them, brought them to power and sustained them, sometimes for decades. For example, in former French colonies, government leaders in these countries knew that their political and economic survival depended on how well they represented, promoted and protected the interests of France, regardless of their poor performance and poor record in peace and reconciliation leadership. Meredith writes that leaders like Togo's, Eyadéma Gnassingbé, who held on to power for 38 years until his death in 2005 is an example of a French-supported leader (2006: p. 611).

Other examples are in Rwanda and Congo, where Belgium and France, former colonizers, continued to control and influence the post independent top-level leadership. Similar patterns were seen in French West African countries, Madagascar and of course the British in Kenya and Zimbabwe, to mention but a few. Even during the Cold War, it was common for the USA (pro- capitalism) and USSR (pro- socialism) to pick sides that promoted their ideological retentions and interests. One example is Namibia's civil war in the 1980's, when the USA supported one side while the USSR supported the opposing side.

Though the post–colonial and post-cold war African top-level leaders and elite's irresponsible politics cannot be exonerated, the power and influence exercised by the former mother colonies or allies in the Cold War over Sub-Saharan African countries, also cannot be over-looked. Paul D. Williams in *War and Conflict in Africa* writes, "Especially within Africa, colonialism is often identified as the root cause of the

continent's current wars." (2011, p.7). Zeleza adds, "There is hardly any zone of conflict in contemporary Africa that cannot trace its sordid violence to colonial history." (Zeleza, p.1 in Williams, 2011 p. 7). The causes of violent conflict in Africa cannot be limited only to colonial roots, but also the historical context of slavery, colonialism and post-cold war political ideologies provides a very different foundation, from the United States' context in which the post-independence leaders cut off ties from their former colonizer, Great Britain. Contextually, the USA is founded upon the principles of liberty, justice and freedom for all, which is not the case with Sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, equal liberty and opportunity are inscribed in the United States Constitution and in the Declaration of Independence. And, USA leaders, time and time again, from the founding fathers to Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King and current the Congress, Senate and Supreme Court Justices, return to these principled documents to steer the political, policy and legal direction of the country.

Unfortunately, Sub-Saharan African countries did not start with such strong moral and philosophically principled foundations. Instead, the culture, politics and economics of exclusion and exploitation made it possible for leaders to come to power and to use divide and conquer tactics to split communities and countries for their own interests and the interests of their past or present colonizers and controllers mainly through economic, political and military aid. Contrary to establishing individual interests above national or state interests, I am struck by the fact that the USA representatives who signed the Declaration of Independence concluded this vital document with the following fervent words of commitment to unity in their final sentence: "And for the support of this

Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor," USA Declaration of Independence (July 4th, 1776, last para). This is contrary to Sub-Saharan African presidents who never made such promises, with exception of very few such as Nelson Mandela and Julius Nyerere. Instead, we have witnessed predominantly the politics, policies and economics of ethnicity, race, religion and negative nationalism that have caused thousands of deaths in such countries as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa, Congo, and Angola. Meredith (2006) writes that according to the Economic Intelligence Unit in 2003 report:

> there were thirty- nine individuals in Angola worth at least $50 million and another twenty reportedly worth at least $100 million. Six of the seven wealthiest people on its list were longtime government officials, and the seventh was a recently retired official. Overall, the combined wealth of these fifty- nine people was at least $ 3.95 billion. By comparison, the total gross domestic product of Angola, with a population of about 14 million, was about $ 10.2 billion in 2002" (p.616).

Meredith adds that such extremely wealthy individuals are in the midst of the most extremely poor individuals, like street children, street beggars and the half of the city's population of 4 million who have no access to clean water. Most Angolans subsist on less than seventy cents a day (Meredith, 2006, p. 616). The same thing can be said about the extreme corruption in blood diamonds in Sierra Leone in 1991-2001, blood gold in Liberia, blood minerals in Congo, blood oil in Nigeria and list can go on and on. This theme of the history of the place resonates with the situational, contextual or contingent theory of leadership.

Situational or contingency-based leadership theories were developed in an attempt to address a number of situational variables, with the exception of gender, that influence the emergence of leadership. When factors such as the work or political environment or the organizational value system, intersect with the individual's personality traits, the opportunity for leadership either arises or it does not, as a result of the synergistic relationship between the individual and the situation (Tang, 2015). People may perform optimally at certain times, in certain situations or places; but when taken out of their element, or faced with a specific type of task or situation, they may not perform optimally.

Fred Fiedler's Contingency Theory states, "There are two types of leaders; relationship-oriented and task-oriented." (Fiedler, 2012: p.16). Leaders who focus on relationships tend to maintain a certain amount of social interaction with group members. They strive to cultivate trust and respect within the group, and they value the critical role of effective communication. Task-oriented leaders emphasize the plans and actions required to meet goals. They tend to prioritize and assign tasks to group members and are governed by an overarching objective to boost a group's productivity (Fiedler, 2012). According to Fiedler, there is no ideal leader for "both task-oriented and relationship-oriented leaders can be effective if their leadership orientation fits the situation." (2012, para 8).

Nick Petrie (2014) adds that contingency factors tend to focus on the dynamic relationship between a leader and his/her followers. This relationship is important because as the situation changes for example, from war to repatriation, reconstruction and

reconciliation, a leader must be able to change as well, or a new leader should emerge so as to fulfill the follower's expectations and the global expectation for peace.

In his book "The Hybrid Leader," Irving H. Buchen notes the importance of attending to "context." He states we can "never minimize contexts" (2011, p. 261). Following the historical, geographical, political, economic and social-cultural context, the Sub-Saharan region may need "the hybrid of moral imagination" leadership style that will be an open model that "embraces them all" (p. 267). For example, Sub-Saharan Africa needs dynamic educated leaders who can understand and play a significant role in regional, continental and global vision, mission and desires such as working together on climate change, inequality and security. As part of a globalized world, they must be on par with their colleagues in Africa and leaders of developed countries such as the USA, Europe, China, Japan, and Russia.

Returning to my interviews, of the 20 respondents, 10 mentioned the history of the place or country being a vital reflection on their leadership philosophy. During the interviews, it was mentioned 13 times that the historical place had a major bearing on how they developed as a leader. The former Tanzanian parliamentarian and ambassador Generali Ulimwengu, one of my interviewees pointed to the larger and lasting effects of the colonial presence in African countries and to the construction of artificial national boundaries as factors that have directly contributed to violent conflict in Africa. He stated:

> …The conflicts that we have seen in various countries of sub-Saharan
> Africa are conflicts that have in a way, been caused by our history. The
> fact is that the colonial presence in Africa did not necessarily serve the
> interests of the people of Africa. The boundaries of the [constructed]

nations did not take into account the sensibilities or sensitivities of various ethnic or religious groups that found themselves within that enclosure that was declared to be the country.

Tragic historical events such as the Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda left a lasting mark on individual leaders and permanently impacted their philosophy of leadership. Several Rwandan leaders discussed their leadership philosophy and style in reference to the pervasive impact the genocide had not only upon them as individuals, but also the permanent scar it left upon Rwanda as a nation. Andre Karamaga, a Rwandan professor and the General Secretary of All Africa Conference Churches, emphasized this point not only for Rwanda but for Africa as a whole. He stated during our interview, "The history of Rwanda, the history of the continent: colonization, slavery and all the misery the continent has gone through as well as the Rwandan genocide, are factors which had a permanent and profound impact on my leadership style." He believed that the context, the time and the circumstances that he lived in, which included decades of violent conflict and genocide, caused him to desire to lead differently.

He chose to lead for peace rather than the violent conflict he witnessed while growing up. His experience draws attention to a poignant fact that the political and cultural climate of the country intrinsically shapes the character of a young person growing up in the midst of political chaos or violent conflict. Growing up as a refugee because of violence in his homeland country shaped his desire to fight for peace.

Pierre Rwanyindo (2015), an interviewee too shares the same historical context. Reflecting why he was considered a successful peacebuilder and reconciliation promoter he said the following during my interview with him:

> The second thing that helped me was that when I started that center, I started it immediately after the genocide but I based it on the history of the country. Fortunately, I had the privilege of knowing Rwanda throughout and I was 25 when we got independence and the king was kicked out. I remember all the crises in the country and that gave me the advantage of linking the history of Rwanda and events. I know when Rwanda goes down and when Rwanda comes up.

Rwanyindo is convinced that had it not been the history of his context, he might have turned to be a different leader, maybe not as sensitive to peace and reconciliation, justice and forgiveness as he currently is.

This view is shared by other leaders who led with strong awareness of their own connection to their history of the place such as Nelson Mandela. In his biography by Barry Denenberg entitled "No Easy Walk to Freedom," over and over again Mandela demonstrates his strong connection with his history of Apartheid South Africa. For example, in January 1985, after spending 21 years in Prison, President Botha offered Mandela his freedom with some conditions. But Mandela, knowing that his own freedom would not mean the same thing as he had envisioned and committed to, the freedom of South Africa, refused Botha's offer for freedom. He refused to be set free with conditions when his country was not free. In the letter published in his book *No Easy Walk to Freedom* (p. 140-141), Mandela responded in the following words which were read to fellow South Africans by his twenty-five-year-old daughter Zindzi Mandela:

I cherish my own freedom dearly but I care even more for your freedom...
Not only I have suffered during these long lonely wasted years. I am not
less life - loving than you are. But I cannot sell my birthright of the people
to be free… what freedom am I being offered when my very South Africa
citizenship is not respected… I cannot and will not give any undertaking at
a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine
cannot be separated. I will return.

With such a strong connection to the history and the reality of the place, Mandela

remained in prison for another six years and until he was able to finally return to society

as he promised, after 27 years of imprisonment. After he was released, he worked hard to

heal his divided country while the apartheid regime was dismantled. Mandela was

convinced that "National Unity" was the way forward for South Africa. In *No Easy Walk*

to Freedom, Mandela is quoted addressing over 100,000 demonstrators immediately after

his release in 1991. Mandela said, "Let unity, discipline, and peaceful action become the

hallmark of everything we do. Viva peace! Viva democracy!" (1991: p. 165-6). Despite

the segregation and discrimination by the apartheid regime, as a leader, Mandela was able

to symbolize and signify freedom, democracy and peace in the eyes of most South

Africans and the world. Barry Denenberg said, "Under Nelson Mandela's leadership the

democratic movement in South Africa had become like a train on the track to freedom.

Regardless of the obstacles it seemed nothing could stop or derail it" (Mandela, 1991: p.

167). Unlike leaders such as Mandela, in "The State of Africa: A History of Fifty Years

of Independence," Martin Meredith (2006) noted, "Africa by the end of the 1980s, was

renowned for its Big Men, dictators who strutted the stage, tolerating neither opposition

nor dissent, rigging elections, emasculating the courts, cowing the press, stifling the

universities, demanding abject servility and making themselves exceedingly rich" (p.

86

378). They lacked discipline and led their countries into civil wars and interstate wars that could have been avoided had the countries been governed with justice and fairness where each citizen had equal liberty and opportunity as guiding political and moral principles.

Meredith adds that following the African political and economic leadership crisis, a seminal report published in 1989 with a title, "From Crisis to Self-Sustainable Growth" he acknowledged, "Africa's economic malaise had political as well as economic roots. What Africa needed, said the Bank, was not just less government but better government." (p. x) The report added, "Efforts to create an enabling environment and to build capacities will be wasted if the political context is not favorable… Ultimately, better governance requires political renewal. This means a concerted attack on corruption from the highest to the lowest levels." (p. X) The President of the World Bank then, Barber Conable added:

> The development of many Sub-Saharan African countries has been quite unnecessarily constrained by their political systems. Africans can and must tackle this issue… People need freedom to realize individual and collective potential … open political participation has been restricted and even condemned and those brave enough to speak their minds have too frequently taken grave political risks. I fear that many of Africa's political leaders have been more concerned about retaining power than about the long-term development interests of their people. The cost of millions of Africans … has been unforgivably high (p. 376-377).

What Meredith highlights above is what has led some Africans to take up arms against their governments and start civil wars that have claimed millions of lives and caused millions of others to become refugees or internally displaced people. These disturbing data coincide with some of my interviewees' experiences of either being

refugees for decades or losing loved ones due to violent conflict, which resulted from political and economic crises in their own countries.

It became apparent to me following the interviews with study participants, that the historical context both internally and externally influenced some of the best leadership for peace in Sub-Saharan Africa. Salim Ahmed Salim former Prime Minister of Zanzibar and Secretary General of the AU, credited the circumstances of African nations' experience with conflict as the source of his desire for leadership for peace.

> I can say that the circumstances simply propelled me to that position. And the reality is the African situation. You know, no nation and no people have suffered more than Africa. Throughout history, massacres, killings, genocides, all these things and so, as Africans we have to take peace and security as a vital and crucial component of our daily life. I would say I did not choose, but rather circumstances put me there. And, I have been involved with this since I was a young kid. I always felt that we must really try to keep our continent at peace.
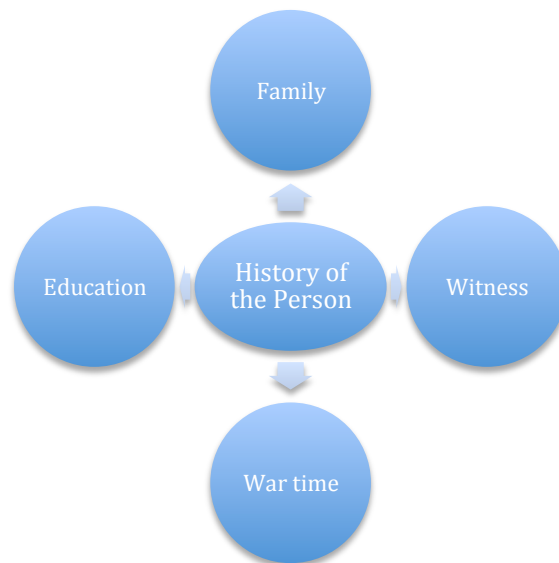

Figure –VI- Four Pillars of the History of the Person

The history of the person refers to the cultural, religious, educational, and familial factors that impact the individual during his or her early formative years. The developmental forces are at play in shaping the individual's character make up and philosophical orientation. Environmental factors, especially trauma, pain and suffering, have a major influence on character development and leadership development as James Kabarebe states during our interview (2015), "The environment that you are going through. The environment and the circumstances shape you as a leader. It may start as early as your childhood stage; you may go through it as you grow and then you develop those leadership qualities" (August 30, 2015).

Andre Karamaga affirmed during our interview:

What is clear is that I witnessed a miracle of the story of the dry bones in the Book of Ezekiel. Before the genocide, we had 65 pastors and after genocide we had only 25 and 20 were killed and others left in exile or died. I cannot speak of my efficiency, but in this witness, I think I grew and gave myself as a leader. So I witnessed the dry bones working together and flesh growing on those bones to give life again. Being part of that witness for me was a time I was most effective as a leader for our church.

Karamaga is referring to a biblical story in which Ezekiel tells the story of a valley of dry bones, which represented the vision of the destruction of Jerusalem and subsequent restoration of the land and the holy temple. The story is a prophesy of hope and a vision of peace that God had not abandoned Israel forever (Ez 37:1-14).

The impact of family, role models, and witnessing or experiencing war or violent conflict, were noted 39 times by 13 of the 19 study participants as significant events that shaped who they became and affected their beliefs, values, critical thinking skills, and ethical decision-making style of leadership. Furthermore, constructive and pragmatic knowledge, fear or anger at unjust systems or people, commitment to fairness, having an inclusive vision and mission, were also noted as being vital for shaping leadership for peace. Mathilde Mukantabana, Rwandan Ambassador to the USA attributes her family's attitudes about inclusivity to her current leadership style. Mukantabana says:

> My family was a place for everyone. My parents, even when they were talking about ethnicity, he [dad] was a Godfather to everyone. In my family, we transcended [the issue of] ethnicity to include everyone. [That is why] I have been a leader since I was young – first a scout, then I became a leader of a community. It was because of a [leadership] vacuum. Since I was young, I always wanted to study peace and reconciliation not only because of Rwanda's history as a country, but also because of Africa and her history.

One of the lessons we can learn one of my interviewees Mathilde Mukantabana's experience is that education as a part of lived experience matters a great deal. Children who are born and educated in violent conflict environments are likely to be adversely affected for the rest of their lives, or some are more resilient than others. Having lived through a time of war, Seth Kamanzi commented:

> My subjective experience shaped me as a leader. The problems that the leader has undergone in the day-to-day life/ experience of the individual leader would be a good suggestion of how experience becomes a pre-request for leadership. For example, one's educational orientation…determines his capacity for one to come to lead on the basis of a vision.

One hears in Mukantabana's statement how her personal history resonated in her choice of seeking to study peace and reconciliation. Perhaps if she had been born in a peaceful, secure country she might have chosen to study poetry, medicine or engineering, instead of peace and reconciliation. Several other study participants referred to the impact their war experience had on their leadership style and which caused them to deeply appreciate the importance of working for peace. Witnessing violent conflict, being a refugee as a result of violence and genocide, made them desire to end the cycle of violence that causes people to lose their land, their communities and their humanity. Reflecting on his own experience, Kabarebe James, Rwandan Commander & Chief of Staff & Minister of Defense pointed to the impact being a refugee has upon children growing up without a country. Kabarebe said:

> The environment and the circumstances shape you as a leader. It may start as early as your childhood stage; you may go through it as you grow and then you develop those leadership qualities. Of course, in our case as Rwandans, especially of this generation, we were shaped by the environment we grew in – the refugee status of being stateless in countries that are not necessarily well-governed, that victimize you for who you are from the time of childhood.

Unfortunately, Kabarebe's story of growing up as a refugee or a displaced person is not unique in countries like South Sudan, Central Africa Republic, Congo DRC, Burundi, Somalia, and Nigeria. It's a sad reality shared by millions of citizens in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to UNHCR Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015, "Sub-Saharan Africa had the largest displacement totals in 2015 after the Middle East and North Africa." Together, this part of Africa "produced 18.4 million refugees and

internally displaced people as of year's end …and hosted some 4.4 million refugees in all

– more than any other region (UNHCR: Global Trends, 2016: 4 #2)."

Furthermore, Ali Mufuruki, Chairman of the Africa Leadership Initiative also expressed concern regarding the far-reaching post-violent conflict consequences on future generations of children. Mufuruki said:

> And the complex part of it, is that even the children born today or after the genocide, gets to inherit the problems and challenges of their parents. For example, those children who are born in exile, or as refugees, or children who grow up to feel they have to be guilty of the crimes they never committed although they belong to the parents in that group.

To conclude this section, I would like to reiterate the wisdom of George Santayana who is believed to have said: those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it (Santayana & Cory, 1954, p. 407). World leaders such as Winston Churchill, George Washington and Nelson Mandela as well as local leaders who are parents and school principals, all have a history that needs to be taken seriously. Our history as humans sometimes becomes the most powerful lens that influences how we see ourselves in relation to others who think or look like us and has far-reaching implications for national and world peace.

A leader stands between the past and the future, bridging and reconciling the two
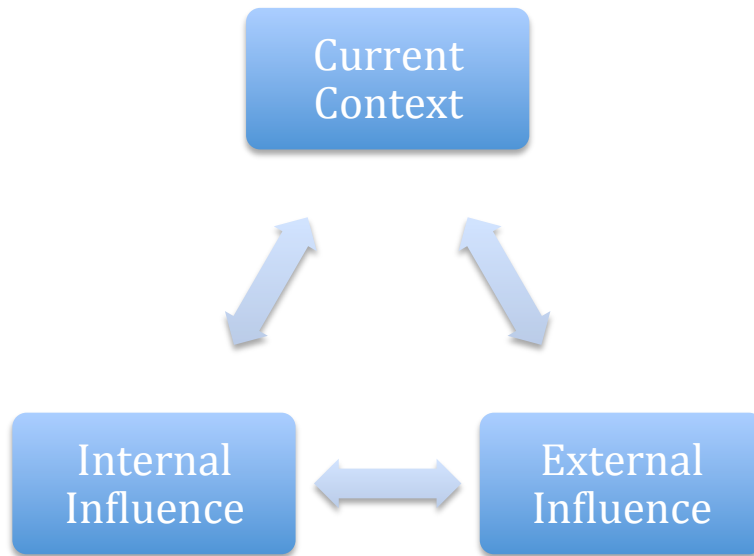
Figure –VII- Current Context

Current context refers to the present time opportunities and challenges that a leader comes to lead. Such context often influences the leader the followers desire to have in order to achieve a desired way of life or in order to solve a -particular existing challenge or problem. Current context is often influenced by two pillars namely the internal and internal influences.

Internal Influence

This pillar, internal influence is vital and too broad. It includes almost every aspect of people and their culture such as economy, politics, social, ethnicity, race, gender and religion among others. Given it's broadness, I will not discuss it here, but I will simply argue that leaders have to have a clear grasp of internal factors that influences

their leadership. It is vital for leaders, be it at the grassroots level or national level, to immerse themselves into the internal context of their leadership. The followers often want a leader whom they feel confident understands their lives internally and s/he is able to either keep and protect their ways of life if they are satisfied or bring the needed changes for them to flourish that includes having sustainable peace.

For example, during our interviews (2015), Jenerali Ulimwengu said this referring to internal influence:

> The abilities would include things like awareness of situation, where such groups happen to be, what the constraints are in that society, that community, the challenges but also the opportunities that offer themselves to that kind of society. To see how those opportunities can be used to end those challenges or face up to those challenges. That is one of the major abilities. So it is self-realization of a person and his surroundings.

External Influence

Leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa has been strongly influenced by external factors. The most striking negative factor is the lack of freedom African leaders have in creating themselves as free leaders for their countries, without control and negative influence from powerful countries. In Walter Isaacson's book, *Einstein: His Life and Universe,* Einstein stated, "freedom is the lifeblood of creativity (2007: p. 550). He believed all development, including science, creative activities, academia, institutions, governance and leadership, "Requires a freedom that consists in the independence of thought from restrictions of authoritarian and social prejudice" (p. 550). Nurturing that freedom should be the fundamental role of government, and the mission of education. With regard to leadership, external factors such as colonialism, neo-colonialism, cold

war, global financial instructions and the global market that includes military industries, have placed most Sub-Saharan African top leaders in environments, requiring them to conform to their western master's will or face punishment by financial and military sanctions, imprisonment, risk being overthrown, facing a coup d'état or assassination. In such conditions, leaders tend to lack the moral imagination and creativity in order to create the proper conditions necessary for sustainable peace and reconciliation. Undoubtedly, very few would be willing to emulate the discipline and moral power of Nelson Mandela by enduring years of imprisonment, punishment or even death. And since most of them are caught up in the web of immense wealth for themselves, they are unwilling to emulate African leaders for peace and unity like Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, who was highly respected and famously known to be a non- materialistic president. He never accumulated wealth for himself and his family while he was in office. Challenging his fellow African and future African leaders regarding unity and ultimately peace, he said, "Unity will not make us [Africans] rich, but it can make it difficult for Africa and the African people to be disrespected and humiliated, (March, 1997, p. X).

Nyerere's statement is still relevant today as millions of Africans are refugees and displaced people; thousands dying while trying to cross oceans to European countries in search of a better life rather than living in fear and destitution in their own countries with corrupt and malevolent leaders.

A number of my interviewees emphasized external factors as a vital influence for African top leadership. Being former colonial territories, Sub-Saharan African countries continue to depend on financial and military aid, and development assistance from the

developed countries which in turn, tend to exert some control over the country and expectations that the developing country or former colony will remain loyal to its external supporters.

Of 20 respondents, 7 mentioned the impact of external factors on leadership 10 times during their interviews. External factors such as globalization, residual colonialism and other countries' sovereign interests, directly impact Sub-Saharan African leaders' leadership style.

Mathilde Mukantabana, Rwandan Ambassador to the United States, referred to the power of globalization and the need for African leaders with a clear and accurate vision for African countries. "We are globalized countries for better or for worse. Other countries still try to take advantage of Africa and the southern borders. So, Sub-Saharan African countries have to be able to create a corrective vision – out of desperation (2015)." reference

Mukantabana's point makes sense within the field of conflict resolution. Since Sub-Saharan Africa is part of a globalized world, top leaders should strive to learn from the Western world, and then apply those factors that have the potential to enhance peace and reconciliation. This means intentionally emulating and practicing values and principles such as respecting human rights, human dignity and life, social and cultural transformation, religious tolerance, waging peace instead of war, democracy, rule of law, institution building, justice for all and inclusive economic development policies.

In addition, Antoine Kambanda, a bishop and a former director of Caritas Rwanda, shared Mukantabana's sentiment regarding the influence of external factors on African leadership.

> They are [some sub-Saharan leaders] interested in their political interests, economic interests, and appeasing their external powers. So the external powers are the ones who create a lot of the problems...Colonial powers have been replaced by new colonial powers, which continue to undermine the situations that lead to reconciliation and peace and national understanding. Those interferences continue to perpetuate violence in various countries… in Africa where the top-level leadership continues to be accountable more to powerful countries such as U.S.A, Russia, China, U.K and European countries with financial and military muscles rather than to their own constituencies.

Kambanda concluded, "I think another thing is that external influence may not be necessary for the good of the people or for the good of the country, but rather it leads to the insecurity of the leadership which is there." Kambanda's view is seen in some of the Sub-Saharan countries like Rwanda where the government tends to have the USA as a close ally while it is believed by the government that Rwandan political opposition leaders have European countries such as France, Belgium and Spain as allies. Such alignments tend to raise distrust and at times insecurity, especially among the political leaders.

Other vital concerns were pointed out by the other interviewees. For instance, during his interview James Kabarebe, Rwandan Minister of Defense raised many rhetorical questions, which will be discussed based on the analysis of the data. He remarked:

> The problem starts with how those leaders become leaders. How do they become leaders? What do they go through? What are their experiences?

How prepared are they for the task? Who has prepared them… what has prepared them? And what are the bases of their choices as leaders: their characters and background? What influences them? All of this matters.

Kabarebe's questions lead this chapter to transition into Chapter 5, which focuses on "Be." By "Be" I refer to the fundamental values and character that makes or defines an individual person. What the person is is also defined by the place in addition to the core values and character. I would like to reiterate that the history of the place, person and external factors, all matter for peace and reconciliation leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, top-level African leaders must find ways of using historical components for the good of their followers. For example, the pain and challenges they and their followers have experienced should be remembered as a motivating force to build a better and peaceful continent.

An excerpt from the Millennium Commission report 2001 in the book *Of Africa* (2012:53) by Wole Soyinka summarizes well, the critical importance of acknowledging Africa's tortured past with her present-day conflicts:

> Africa [Sub-Sahara included] must come to terms with her past. Only this will enable her to establish an honest and mutually respectful relationship with the outside world enabling all parties in this dismal history to inaugurate a new era of interaction. To this end, we must establish the total truth on slavery – both the Trans-Saharan and the Trans- Atlantic; the partition of the continent; colonization; even the secretive dumping of toxic wastes on the African continent, and call attention to the deleterious effects of these experiences on Africa's present.

To Summarize this section, "When the leading animal is lame, the herd fails to get to the pasture" (Stewart, 1997). This Kenyan proverb symbolically represents the lens with which this chapter addresses Sub- Saharan African leadership. Countries in this part

of Africa, have a history of disunity with leaders crippling the progress of their people as a result of their own greed, manipulation and corruption. The politicization of ethnicity, religion and culture have continued to make the task of attaining sustainable peace difficult and at times, impossible. Many self-serving leaders have led their countries into chaos and violent conflict, which ultimately has prevented them from achieving peace, national and regional healing, reconciliation and development.

Leaders for peace ought to engage techniques and practices of conflict transformation, prevention and resolution. Leaders should be aware of and respond to the needs of ordinary women, men and children in Sub- Saharan Africa. These are the people most affected by the politics and policies associated with the success or failure of the leader.

Despite many historical and contextual challenges, both internal and external, peace leadership can improve millions of lives in Sub- Saharan Africa where domestic and national political and economic violent conflicts continue to threaten millions of lives. This chapter on the history of the place and that of the leader, as well the current context, remains crucial for understanding peace leadership and the difference such leadership can make in Sub-Saharan Africa.

As a Rwandan whose family and country have known violent conflict, wars and genocide, I am acutely aware and appreciative of how leadership for peace in this part of the world has transformed lives within the context of post-genocide Rwanda. As a participant observer in this research, I have heard and witnessed how peace and security becomes a critical priority to millions of citizens in the post violent conflict context.

What we take for granted during peacetime becomes particularly precious during wartime. The desire to live normally, without the fear of being killed while one sleeps or walks to school, to go about one's daily routine of going to work and being with family, all become the most important determining factor for how the rest of one's life is experienced or lived.

Without peace first, other initiatives such as economic projects, reconstruction efforts, innovation and technology policies, mean very little and ultimately, they end up being destroyed by corrupt leadership. Additionally, external or international efforts, policies and politics lead nowhere without African leaders who are committed to practicing integrity and leadership for peace as we have witnessed in Burundi and Zimbabwe.

In conclusion, "A house cannot be repaired when the owner is destroying it." –a Kenyan proverb. Sub-Saharan Africa cannot be redeemed, repaired or healed by top leadership that continues to destroy it. A new type of leadership, peace leadership, has to be shaped and promoted for the wellbeing of the people.

Chapter Five: BE

Being a leader is like being a parent – Simon Sinek

Introduction - (yes sub-heading added as recommended)

This chapter presents the general theme of "Be." By "Be" I mean the core values and character makeup of a leader. What type of person embodies the notion of a leader for peace and reconciliation? How do one's values and interactions with peers and followers demonstrate actions that are inspired and led by leadership for peace? Having ethical values and behavioral characteristics such as being just and fair, being honest and inclusive, being trustworthy, having integrity, possessing empathy and respect for others, respecting the rule of law and being accountable, all matter for being a good leader for peace. A leader with strong values and an ethical character pays off in the long run, in leading for peace and is a far better leader for post violent conflict societies. An ethically pragmatic leader cares deeply about the people he or she is leading in much the same way a good parent cares for his or her children. [I further discuss this new theory of leadership "the ethical pragmatic leader" in the final chapter.]

Often good leaders are referred to as the "founding fathers or mothers" of their countries. Donald T. Phillips describes Abraham Lincoln as, "…a father figure to many people of his day" (1992: p. 76). Phillips, quoting James MacGregor, added, good leader qualities include: "An emotional bond between leader and led; dependence on a father

figure by the masses; popular assumptions that a leader is powerful, omniscient, and virtuous; imputation of enormous supernatural power to leaders (or secular power, or both); and simply popular support for a leader that verges on love" (Phillips, 1992: 76-77). A similar expression is used in many sub-Saharan countries when referring to peaceful leaders such as Nelson Mandela and the founding fathers of the African Union; Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana and Modibo Keïta, the first president of Mali. According to my study participant, Salim Ahmed Salim, these leaders came out of the "freedom struggle and they felt a need to assert Africa's identity: her personality and her independence, and they did just that" (Ndlovu and Miranda 2016: p. 76). They truly saw themselves as parents to their newly born nations. As parent figures to their nations, they believed they had the moral obligation to lead with integrity toward the unity, peace and prosperity of their countries. The following figure shows two major pillars of the "Be" theme as vital components of leadership for peace.
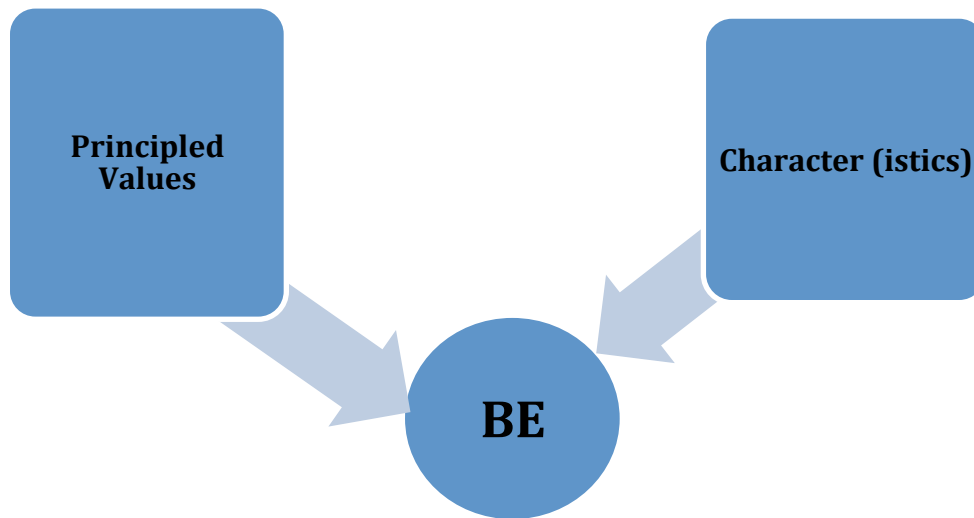
Figure - VIII – Two Vital Pillars of Be

Table # 4. References to Thematic Content: Be

Thematic Category	No. of respondents (out of 19)	No. of times reference made to theme or sub-theme
Be	20	233
Principled Values	19	123
Characters	19	107

It was frequently mentioned during the 20 interviews that values and character play a critical role in the success or failure of leaders. Using the analogy of the house, values and character are the foundation upon which the house stands. Interviewees stated repeatedly, that without women and men of sound character and good values, leadership collapses as negative behaviors and characters such as corruption and greed blinds them from focusing on the aspirations and lived reality of their followers. Top leadership that lacks core values and character can be likened to a house without a proper and solid foundation. As John McCain writes, "Our character will determine how well or how

poorly we choose," (2007:xi). Choices made by top leaders have serious consequences that may include national, regional or global peace or war and subsequent casualties such as refugees and internally displaced persons, the large majority of which are women and children.

This fifth chapter describes the thematic categories under the overarching theme of "Be" while demonstrating the categories' connection and significance to leadership for peace. The focus of discussion in this section is on sub-themes that are referred to numerous times by respondents.

Leaders, who demonstrate their strong belief in the importance of living by their values, are the foundation of successful institutions found in government, the private sector and civil society. Though they may use different approaches: an individual approach versus a more communal approach or top –down versus bottom- up approaches, they arrive at the same results, which is the unity, security, peace and reconciliation of their countries or communities. These leaders behave and interact in ways that help them maintain a moral compass and transcend situations, events or other people that might lead them into making detrimental decisions based on a need for greed, power or control.

Figure VII, Essential Parts of principled values and character below, presents an overview of characteristics and principled values under "Be."
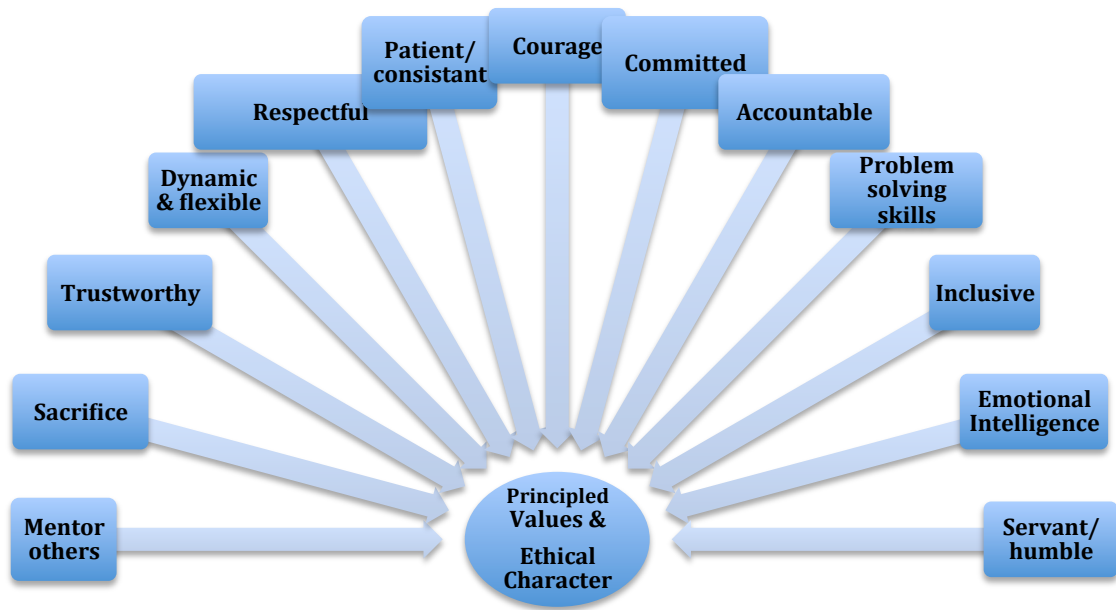
Figure – IX – Essential Parts of Principled Value and Ethical Character

Table # 5. Be Theme and its two pillars with examples

Be	Principled Values & Character	Examples
	Values	A good leader prays for unity and inclusion. Always cultivate good values. People should be able to value your value and believe what you say.
	Sacrifice	And leaders should also have the interests of his followers. Has to be wiling to die for his followers. One has to love his followers to the point of giving ones life for them.
	Respect	He or she has to have a deep respect of his people and love them. A leader should not manipulate or force his followers. He or she has to Respect their power.

	Inclusion – justice	Be a leader of all people and not some, leader has to put people first: be impartial, fairness, just, promote life, promote openness and open hearts, inclusiveness.
	Integrity	You have to have integrity, you have to be a person of integrity... you have to be dependable. Your personal integrity, you say what you mean and you mean what you say. So, it's important. People must be comfortable with your integrity, your persona
	Humility	Third factor is humility. Leaders who lack humility always have been problematic. Leaders who think they have every truth, they monopolize the truth, …has everything…should avoid arrogance of thinking they have everything.
	Trust	A leader has to be fair, just, trustworthy, honest, truth telling and lead by example. ..you can create that atmosphere of trust and confidence with people
	Honest /Transparency	Leadership means transparency, leadership means working for the benefit of the people.
	Personable	An emotional connection is very important for a leader. Personally I feel I have an emotional connection and vice versa. And he has to know the various paces of the people he is leading. Another quality is the ability to have empathy so when a leader is able to empathize with the people he is leading, he asks things that are realistic because he understands the situations of the team or of the people he is leading.

You have to be people's person. You lead people and not projects. You need to understand people you are working with |

	Care / passion	I strive to have a brotherly and fatherly relationship with my followers and my team. I try to have a very collegial and brotherly/fatherly relationship. When one forgets his own suffering..because… he thinks of the other.
	Courage	Leaders also need to be courageous in taking decisions b'se a leader who procrastinate under mine peoples initiative in development. So with courage and conviction, a leader has to take decision and stand by them.
	Consistency commitment	A leader needs to have consistency about the issues he cares about and the vision he wants to achieve. Must have the ability to transform his dreams and vision into a reality. He has to be pragmatic.
	Commitment	peace and reconciliation frankly requires first and foremost a commitment on the part of those trying to help to restore peace and security in place.
	Dynamic	So, I was dynamic to follow wherever the peace process led. Go in with open heart, mind, alms – being dynamic

Principled Values

The first sub-theme, the possession and practice of principled values, emerged from each of the interviewees. Collectively they talked about this trait 123 instances. By

principled values I mean the core foundation of one's beliefs, what builds one's character and the inner goals and standards of who one aspires to become. A top leader for peace and reconciliation must have principled values such as integrity, inclusion and justice that governs their self-disciplined life and influences the manner in which they interact with those they lead individually and collectively. The second sub-theme under the large category of "BE" is character. Collectively 20 interviewees mentioned 107 times that certain personal characteristics are vital for leadership for peace. By character, I mean the result of already internalized values and achieved virtues, who one is already. The American Heritage dictionary defines "character" as the "public estimation of someone; reputation." It can be negative or positive and that is why it matters for leaders to have positive characters. Character can lead us to respond or behave in ways that may be automatic, without much forethought. Values require a conscious effort and choice. If leaders lack a stable, ethical character makeup, peace and reconciliation becomes difficult to obtain. The following are some of the major characteristics that were mentioned in interviews as necessary for peace leadership.

The concept of principled values was demonstrated in the comments of interviewee James Kabarebe, a high-ranking military and government official in Rwanda. He is well known for being a deeply respected general and a leader of character. He said during our interview, "I think to be a good leader, first and foremost, you have to understand that being in a leadership position, is described as being a servant. So, in any case, you must be the most humble." As a top military and government leader, Kabarebe is often considered to be a tough military general, very loyal, consistent, very

competitive, very well-respected and above all fair. When I asked him about his perceptions of himself as one of the top leaders for unity, peace and reconciliation in the country, he responded, "For me, the most important thing is to be humble, to be modest, because there are people who confuse leadership and power." While the two are intricately interrelated, the former is the ability to influence the followers without coercion, the latter is the ability to act or not act in ways that may include coercion. Kabarebe adds:

> I always take what I have achieved or what I am doing with modesty and I believe it's nothing much to be proud of. I simply believe anyone, given the opportunity will still do what I'm doing or will do what I have done. I don't take it as something really out of the ordinary.

Hearing him speak reminded me how the current governmental leaders in Rwanda have strongly discouraged leaders who want to be recognized by the public as rulers or bosses (umutejyetsi) while encouraging public officials to see themselves as they really are, leaders (umuyobozi). While the former expect to be served, the latter expect to serve.

Sacrifice

A second value is "sacrifice." It is noteworthy because 10 interviewees made reference to the importance of the value of sacrifice—18 times, collectively—during their interviews. Ten respondents stressed that any good leader, especially for peace and reconciliation, must be willing to sacrifice for those they lead. Kabarebe emphasized that leadership for peace, "…Involves a lot of self-sacrifice because leadership means servitude; it means you are a servant. You are ready to serve and sacrifice some of your personal interests, your ego and possibly, everything." Looking back on his experience,

Kabarebe reflected on a time when he and his peers were ages 17 and 18 years old. They sacrificed their school education to become fighters against the unjust government and leadership that did not reflect peace and reconciliation. During his interview, he stated that the love for peace and justice caused him to willingly sacrifice the comfort of the classroom and the likelihood of a white-collar job upon graduation, to instead join the rebel fighters in the bush. He viewed this as an act of great sacrifice and called it committing "classroom suicide," giving up the dream of an education for the sake of peace and going to fight in the bush with those who were ordinary peasants.

Another interviewee who spoke strongly about the importance of sacrifice is Alex Habiyambere, a famous Catholic bishop. He led the Nyundo diocese in the Northern Region of Rwanda during a very difficult period following the Rwandan Genocide. When he took office as a bishop, the country and the diocese were still very divided. Given the fragility of the context, he knew that at any time he could mistakenly be killed either by the defeated ex-army and militia who fought against the new government, or by the government since the war in his diocese and that part of the country did not end until 1998. I suspect he is right in his assessment of his situation as I remember how cars used to be shot at, overturned and burned, and people were killed on the roads from Kigali, while traveling from the capital to the Northern towns of Ruhengeri, Gisenyi and Kibuye, all places Bishop Habiyambere traveled to regularly for his work.

Based on his experience, Habiyambere believes that leadership for peace and reconciliation is about sacrifice. Without sacrificing to find common ground, peace and reconciliation cannot be attained. Habiyambere stated:

This type of leader must believe what he or she says. They really must believe their words; they have to be willing to sacrifice for what they believe and say. They should also have the interests of their followers in mind. [Such a leader] has to be willing to die for his followers. One has to love his followers to the point of being willing to give one's life for them.

The notion of a leader for peace being willing to make significant sacrifices, including his or her own life if necessary, showing commitment, and consistently demonstrating the same clear message through his or her actions and words, helps followers feel the leader is trustworthy. When I matrix coded or cross tabulated the sub-theme of "sacrifice," it was interesting for me to find that people who thought it highly important were from a variety of professions, historical background, geographical locations and held different kinds of leadership positions. For example, Jega Attahura, a Nigerian academician and former country electoral chairman remarked, "… the nature of my studies makes me see value in doing so. Leading selflessly."

Furthermore, Kabarebe emphasized that a leader for peace is "ready to serve, sacrifice and to be consistent. Be consistent because someone who is not consistent cannot be a good leader. You have to be consistent; you have to be yourself. What you said yesterday should be the same as what you will say tomorrow and the next day. You have to be consistent and predictable." One can see his consistency through his actions and beliefs. One cannot be consistent and predictable if one lacks pivotal values and characteristics such as respect—which was mentioned 8 times by 7 interviewees—and accountability—discussed 9 times by 8 interviewees, along with other traits mentioned including responsibility, integrity, commitment, excellence, being personable, having trust and then back to sacrifice and humility again. All of these sub-themes were

discussed by interviewees as very important principled values and characters for peace leadership.

Inclusive – Justice

Thirteen interviewees mentioned "Inclusive - justice" and they referred to this value for effective leadership for peace 27 times. The issue of inclusivity is more unique to African leadership because of the politics and economics of exclusion and the historical tribal politics or politicization based on ethnicity and religious divisions due to differences in religious beliefs and practices. Western leadership does not face these tribal or religious challenges in the same manner as African countries. Leadership of exclusion has been seen as a huge obstacle for the well-being of the African countries (Lumumba May 19, 2015). Unethical and non-pragmatic leaders have been destructive and exploitive of African people and their natural resources. For examples, the corrupt political class that steals from the public even when the majority of their constituent are poor. These leaders clearly lack the sense of integrity and courage to govern ethically and with transparency or honesty.

Again, when I cross tabulated the results by combining inclusion, integrity, humility, respect and accountability, I got the following results. Inclusion was number one with 11 interviews, followed in order, humility, accountability, respect and integrity. Lack of inclusive leadership may affect other theories such as collaboration which is a vital element of collaborative leadership theory and interaction theory which are often used in peace building and reconciliation.

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The collaborative theory of leadership emphasizes that the more inclusive leaders are, the more collaborative they will be. As I noted in my review of the literature, various literatures support this point. Burton's (1997) theory of basic human needs, states that the needs most salient to an understanding of social conflicts are not only material (food and shelter), but also include the needs of identity, recognition, security, and personal development. The lack of the inclusive provision of basic needs, has been one of the sources of tribal politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. Ikejiaku (2009) strongly resonates with Burton's needs theory as a way of understanding conflict in Africa that emanates from politics and leadership of exclusion. That is why inclusive leadership has to be at the center of conflict resolution in Sub-Saharan Africa (Gerwel & Malan, 2005, pp. 66-69). Leaders whose exclusionary practices and policies have caused situations in which millions of refugees flee their countries or are internally displaced or killed, could be avoided with a different type of leader (Rotberg, 2007). Malignant, divisive leadership and violent conflict intersect to create chaos and death for people in countries like Southern Sudan, Sudan, Burundi, Zimbabwe and Somalia.

Furthermore, linking the causes of conflict and leadership in Africa, Jude Mutuku Mathooko (2013) addresses African leadership from the perspective of organizational ethics (p. 14). He notes the organizational environment in Africa is complex and compounded by intra-tribal divisiveness, self-serving leadership, economic inequalities, and extreme rates of unemployment. Mathooko states that African leadership and ethical practices tend to draw upon the moral inter-relationship between the social relations and natural events that occur within the environment in which they have interacted for many

years. Secession conflicts, boundary conflicts, militarization of the society and internal crises, including riots, violent demonstrations, and communal clashes were seen during the violent conflict in 2007 in Kenya and as what we witness now in Ethiopia where after the death of Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, the new Prime Minister and government have been seeing protesters almost every week demanding more inclusive and just policies and politics as reported by the Telegraph: Death of Ethiopia's Meles Zanawi plunges country into uncertainty (August 21, 2012 and Journal sage Jan 6, 2017).

As I discussed in Chapter 3, it should be noted that the militarization of a society may be most likely linked to unethical and divisive leadership that has caused a group or sector within the country to reach the point where they feel it is necessary to arm themselves in response to an actual or perceived threat by the government in power or other greedy and exploitative groups.

This element is very fundamental for any type of leadership for peace since some violent conflicts are caused by politics and economics of exclusion, and injustices that tend to favor individuals or groups based on ethnicity, race or religion, while excluding others. Particularly in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s and early 2000s, most civil wars were driven in part by the leadership of exclusion and failure to lead with integrity. According to Ben Rugangazi, one of my interviewees:

> A leader has to be inclusive. A leader has to dialogue and converse with his or her followers… and also be willing to create consistency in working toward building peace and unity. A good leader has to engage other key players: the African union, EAC, SADCC, faith based organizations, woman, youth etc.

Seth Kamanzi who said during his interview, "Inclusivity should be part and parcel of reconciliation regardless of the competing ideologies shared similar sentiments. The acceptance of the interests of others and sometimes of the many, becomes very important."

Pierre Rwanyindo also believes strongly in being inclusive in the leadership for peace. He asserts that:

> The truth is, exclusive leadership has to be avoided. And inclusive leadership has to be encouraged for the sake of peace and participation. The advantage of including everybody regardless of geographical locations or professions is that it gives you a wide variety of views. For example, locally you may get to know how they; diaspora and east, west or south think about it…non-Rwandans abroad think about it…their experiences may help in the process. In building peace, one has to be able to integrate all these experiences and ideas. In short, it is leaders who destroy peace and it is not leaders who build peace alone. And the method I suggest is a participatory approach. The process has to be very inclusive. For example, I find foreigners have a wide range of reflections and experiences, but also Rwandans in the diaspora have interesting views, given that some left during the crisis and they never were able to have a different experience.

Lastly, James Kabarebe, one of the top-level post-violent conflict leaders commented on the importance of the good leader being inclusive. "The visionary leadership, the leadership that makes correct decisions must be inclusive." As a Rwandan, this resonates with my personal experience not only in Rwanda but in other African countries where I have lived which include; Zimbabwe, Burundi, Kenya, Ivory Coast and South Africa where the cry for just and inclusive vision in political processes have been a concern for many.

Mentorship

Another fundamental value mentioned by respondents was mentorship. Seven interviewees mentioned the importance of mentorship a total of 11 times. It is defined by one of the interviewee, Attahura Jega, Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission in Nigeria, as "educational opportunities for the young ones to learn and practice such leadership. [He added], we need to expose our young ones to the countries that are led well." I expand on his concept of mentorship to go beyond the young, and to include all people in leadership. This is what Susan Collins Marks believes; she says that mentorship is about fostering the notion that a "leader's legacy is defined by how they deal with conflicts."

Susan Collin Mark's understanding is shared by other interviewees such as Rwandan Ambassador Mathilde Mukantabana (2015) who said, "First, you can't [just] wish something to happen or believe that people will be working for you. You have to be an example. People have to be inspired by your own work first and then they have to recognize you and follow you as a leader." Her point is echoed by Joseph Walioba's remarks during our interview: "The situation and context, in addition to receiving good mentorship, led me to become the leader I became." Hence, mentorship and other principled values are indispensable aspects of leadership for peace.

Trust

Another character ranked highly by the interviewees was "trust." Almost half, 8 of the 20 interviewees mentioned that trust is vital for good leadership. Leaders must

have the ability to be trustworthy and followers need leaders they can trust. For example, when referring to the leader's values that are important, Antoine Kambanda said:

> As long as it [the leadership] has gained the trust of the people, that is the key. The leader has to realize that in order to gain the trust of the people, their trust only comes when his or her leadership is working for the good of the people and when the people are convinced that the decisions being made for them, will lead them in a direction that will be for the betterment of all the people.

Kambanda added that a leader has to demonstrate that he or she has self-confidence and is secure in their position as a leader. "I think real security, for a leader to feel secure about his or her role as a leader, comes from people trusting him or her to lead them in ways that shows he or she understands them and their needs as a people."

Being dynamic and flexible were mentioned also as important values in leadership. According to Tito Rutaremara, one of the interviewees, "First, to be a good leader, you need to be constant for the people and willing to change as needed." This is an interesting point because we can examine Sub-Saharan African top-leadership by looking at their tendency to be either constant which would be stable or the extreme which would be rigid and unwilling to change or to be dynamic. Being dynamic implies a willingness to be flexible or to change for the sake of peace as the ultimate and most important goal during their tenure as a leader. Rigid leaders are those who cannot or will not change even when the country's peace depends on them doing so.

Dynamic

Another important quality for leaders for peace and reconciliation was the significance of "being flexible or dynamic" referred to by 6 interviewees 13 times. The quality of being flexible and dynamic refers to the personality of the leader and how s/he responds to others and works with others. For example, Presidents Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania and Nelson Mandela of South Africa, chose to retire even though they were very much loved in their countries as fathers of the nations and most people wanted them to continue. But being dynamic enough to read and discern the signs of the times, both leaders retired citing the changing nature of their countries that needed more young and dynamic leaders to move the countries to the next level of success. This dynamism also confirms Travis Bradberry and Jean Greaves' ideas about leadership in *Leadership 2.0: Learn the Secrets of Adaptive Leadership,* that "leadership challenges build character, and adaptive leaders make sure the character they build is sound" (p. 205). In other words, such leaders are aware that "what you can accomplish now and in the future has everything to do with what you can accomplish through others. It's just not about you anymore" (p. 224). A top-level leader for peace responds to others and works with others towards resolution or what Alan Briskin, et al. call collective wisdom. This type of wisdom: "emerges over time in relationship to immediate needs and larger visions [such as peace]. It is a way of working with others that integrates what is practical, tangible, and resilient with the twists and turns that constitute the road to life", (Briskin et al., 2009: 169-170). Such a road to life in violent conflict zones can be complex and there is no one individual who can address all the challenges such as rebuilding post- war Sudan or Somalia or addressing the problems because of terrorism in Nigeria. As H. E Luccock

states, "No one can whistle a symphony. It takes an orchestra to play it." (2008: 123) That is why "collective wisdom invariably involves possibilities, opportunities barely glimpsed and some yet to be imagined. [It] is a deepening of collective understanding; it is the way we can come together to address our social world and the need for its repair", (Briskin et al., 2009: 170). This makes sense since violent conflicts are dynamic and they involve multiple parties, for instance the wars in Congo DRC. They also change quickly, for better or for worse. Hence, leaders for peace, which becomes leadership for conflict resolution, have to be dynamic and flexible enough to reflect the reality of the change and changing circumstances. Reflecting on how dynamic such a leader ought to be, Mpungwe remarked during our interview:

> We need transformative leaders that include (a) universal values (b) national boarders to be transformed into a market (c) leaders who can embrace IT, science and global reality (d) concern and care for environment (e) coordination, production and distribution across the global economy of scale.

The same sentiments were echoed by Bandora Musinga, reflecting on his experience as a senior official in the African Union. He categorically said leadership for peace has to be dynamic. He gave the following example:

> When I was with the OAU for example, it was a time when the world was going through fundamental changes. The Soviet Union had just collapsed, the African political scene was changing, the Cold War had ended, and of course, the configuration of global powers had changed as well. Africa had relevance within the context of the Cold War. With the end of the Cold War, Africa had to rediscover itself, to find a new relevance outside the politics of the big powers. Secondly, all the conflicts of Africa that were subsumed, that had been contained because of the Cold War, started emerging. So we saw serious outbreaks of conflict at that time. We saw Liberia, we saw Sierra Leone, we saw Rwanda, etc.

Hence, the principled value of being dynamic remains very crucial for peace leadership as Susan Collin Marks—a senior leader in conflict resolution for over 25 years—stated: "I was dynamic enough to follow wherever the peace process led."

Commitment to Serve

"Commitment" was another value that was mentioned by 7 respondents and referred to 7 times during their interviews. These interviewees thought it was extremely important for peace leadership to be committed to peace and reconciliation because commitment would be communicated through their concern and passion for peace.

Salim Ahmed Salim, a prominent national and international senior leader and diplomat for many years, stated, "Leadership failure has been the cause of African paradoxes – so rich and yet so poor. Hence, [we need] genuine commitment to good governance that is value based. For example, rule of law, peer review mechanisms, democracy, human rights promoter, dignity for all and no short cut (corruption). Such leaders must have a vision and commitment for unity. For example, Nyerere [first Tanzanian President] and his vision for unity and peace policies for the region and the continent."

Furthermore, one of the interviewees pointed out that once a leader is committed to leading for peace, others would see and likely follow suit. Reflecting on his own experience as an academician and state official, Jega Attahura reported, "I didn't choose any of the leadership positions I have held. They chose me. This made me feel free to

serve my country on my own terms and nobody controlled me since I had not sought these offices. I have a passion for contributing in my country."

One of the major lessons learned from Attahura's notion of "freedom to serve" when invited is that, many top-level leaders do not wait to be invited to serve in their various positions, but they lobby, bribe or even kill to obtain and maintain their positions. It is time for Sub-Saharan Africa to embrace a new way of doing leadership; lead when invited to do so, and be free to leave if required to do so.

Respect

Other principled values that were mentioned by interviewees as vital for peace and reconciliation leadership included "respect" which was mentioned by interviewees seven times and referred to a total of eight times and "adaptable and dynamic" which was mentioned by six of those interviewed and referred to 14 times. Though all seven individuals who referred to respect came from diverse backgrounds, I noticed that the majority of them were members of civil society rather than affiliated with government departments or organizations. Of the seven, Cardinal Peter Tuckson was the exception as he was a religious leader who also holds a government leadership position in the Vatican. The Vatican is both a religious institution and a government. All in all, they all agreed with Pierre Rwanyindo, an interviewee who said, "Respect is very important." Without respect, other values and characters may not hold since a leader lacks enough regard for his followers. Tuckson extended such respect to the rule of law and institutions, too. He

said during our interview: "When the rule of law, constitutions, people and society are respected, then peace becomes visible."

Cornelius also strongly emphasized that a leader for peace and reconciliation, "…has to have a deep respect of his people and love them. A leader should not manipulate or force his followers. He or she has to respect their power."

Regarding adaptability and dynamism, all six individuals who referred to this characteristic 14 times agreed that leadership for peace had to be dynamic and adaptable to the changing context especially during or after violent conflict where the environment is very unpredictable and requires leaders who can adapt and remain dynamic to change as needed.

As a former diplomat in the UN and in Africa Union, Bandora Msinga simply said, "Flexibility as you approach leadership is very important." Similarly, Ami Mpungwe, a diplomat in Southern Africa, who dealt with a lot of violent conflicts including the Rwandan war, apartheid in South Africa, most of the Southern African countries pre-independence movements, and now representing the Tanzanian government, advised:

> We need transformative leaders with 5 drives of global leadership that include (a) universal values (b) national borders to be transformed into a market (c) leaders who can embrace IT, science and global reality (d) concern and care for environment (e) coordination, production and distribution across the global economy of scale.

Similarly, Susan Collin Marks, speaking in the context of South African Apartheid agreed that Sub-Saharan African leaders for peace and reconciliation have to be dynamic. Speaking from her own experience, she said, "I was dynamic to follow wherever the

peace process led. If you want to make God laugh, make a [solid] plan. Go in with an open heart, mind, and alms – being dynamic to work with political leaders to consolidate the base. Have charisma."

It makes sense for Sub-Saharan Africa to use dynamism as a litmus test to determine if African leaders are still fit to lead the young, fast- changing and dynamic populations in their countries and to find their place in the world of modern global politics. Perhaps the fundamental question every top-level leader should ask him or herself, especially when tempted to circumvent the term limit for holding office: Am I dynamic and adaptable in the best way possible to lead the country in its present and future aspirations? If the honest answer is no, then staying becomes irresponsible and lacks accountability ethically and pragmatically.

Accountability

Accountability is another principled value worth discussing. A failure in African leadership for peace ought to be perceived through the lens of a shared sense of responsibility between industrialized countries that have taken advantage of African vulnerability and African leaders' failure to lead with integrity. Current and future leadership that will be effective in gaining peace and prosperity must be an equally shared endeavor, with countries networking to hold each other's leaders accountable, and to allow the public to hold elected and appointed officials accountable at the level of community, national and international relations.

Emotional Display

Another characteristic that was frequently mentioned as important for leaders to have was "emotional display," mentioned 24 times by 9 interviewees. Leaders—especially top-level—hold, carry and display their followers' and constituencies' emotions. They show and share their emotions either for pro- peace or violence with the public, which can be good or bad for peace and reconciliation. The term "emotional display" as discussed by Daniel Goleman and others includes emotional intelligence, stability or instability (Goleman 2013). By emotional intelligence, I refer to one's ability to be aware of one's emotions in relation to other people and use this awareness of other's feelings and needs, to solve life challenges and problems that include conflict prevention, management and resolution. We have seen leadership fail in Africa due to an apparent lack of emotional intelligence that as 'theory of mind' argues imputes one's mental state and others (Tuke 2014).

In other words, a good leader has to imagine, recognize and form correct opinions about oneself and others. We can question the emotional intelligence of leaders who have a fleet of fancy cars, multiple homes or who amass great wealth in spite of their people starving and being unable to find employment. We have also seen leaders use fear, anger, and violent language to incite violence and ideological manipulation to sway their tribes or supporters. We witnessed this in South Sudan in 2013 and 2014 when President Salva Kiir and his vice president Rick Machar had fallout and ended up dividing the generals, army and people, leaving thousands of people dead. Similar negative emotional displays by leadership have been used in many countries to promote politics of ethnicity. On the other hand, positive emotional displays have been used for peace and reconciliation such

as in South Africa under Nelson Mandela or in Tanzania under Julius Nyerere, whose government was synonymous with not only his country's unity, but African unity as well.

Almost 50% of the participants interviewed referred to "emotional display" 24 times. Top-level leaders for peace and reconciliation must be stable and have emotional maturity which allows peace and reconciliation processes to take root and to be embraced. In a balanced manner, they must be able to represent the emotions of their communities or countries, hold multiple views, interests, relationships and have an open, meaningful dialogue that is critical for peace, especially in post violent conflict or war torn settings. Senator Tito Rutaremara, a former national ombudsman and secretary general of the Rwanda's ruling party remarked, "In a country like ours that is transitioning from violent conflict, a good or a great leader has to be emotionally mature in order to read people's emotions. My ambition has been and is always to change the condition – the society that I live in." Making such a significant and meaningful contribution requires "emotional intelligence" as Susan Collin Marks pointed out during our interview. In cementing these views, Ali Mufuruki concluded:

> An emotional connection is very important for a leader. Personally, I [must] feel I have an emotional connection and vice versa. And he [the leader] has to know the various paces of the people he is leading. Another quality is the ability to have empathy so when a leader is able to empathize with the people he is leading, he asks things that are realistic because he understands the situation of the team or of the people he is leading.

Problem Solving Skills

"Problem solving skills" is another characteristic that was noted by nine of the interviewees who referenced it 16 times. They told me that a good leader for peace has to

have abilities to solve problems that require his or her leadership to do so. He or she has to perform optimally in order to raise followers or the society to a higher level; to the level that includes resolving conflicts and restoring peace and unity.

Seth Kamanzi, a diplomat explained the role of problem solving in leadership:

…Efficiency in performing the work has been guided by the motive behind. I tried to impart knowledge and the same vision to my subordinates; to have similar courage to face the challenges and solve problems. That is what a good leader does to prepare the young generation to be able to respond to the problems and impart the same vision for the uplifting of humanity. Now, when you find solutions for certain problems…so you start with a problem and then you go to the phase of trying to find a solution. You have to make a proper analysis and evaluation of such problem in relation to the solution one is using in a particular circumstance.

Courage

"Courage" was another characteristic that stood out as a crucial element for top-level leaders for peace. Eight of my interviewees referred to courage 11 times. They said that a leader for peace has to have the courage to do what needs to be done for the sake of peace and reconciliation. Often, the former South African President, Nelson Mandela, was mentioned as a man who exemplified courage in his quest for peace and reconciliation in South Africa. Salim Ahmed Salim, former African Union chairman and deputy UN general secretary to Mandela mentioned Mandela as a leader who "was larger than life." (Ndlovu & Miranda 2016:77).

Integrity

Close to courage was "integrity" with seven respondents mentioning its importance eight times during the interviews. During the interview, Bandora Musinga eloquently summarized the importance of this characteristic:

> You have to have integrity; you have to be a person of integrity; you have to be honest; you must be dependable. People should be able to appreciate your values and believe what you say. Your personal integrity: you say what you mean and you mean what you say. So, it's important. People must, must, be comfortable with your integrity, your persona so that they can work, they can trust.

Ami MPungwe, one of the interviewees pointed out, "Personal integrity and ethics are key" for peace leadership and conflict resolution. When reflecting on his own leadership experience he added: "Yes, I did [lead] by being fair and impartial to both parties and by encouraging the parties that it was possible to resolve the conflict at hand. I deeply believe that Africans should be resolving their own problems."

Personable

Other key characteristics that were mentioned as vital elements for leadership for peace included "being personable" which was noted by seven interviewees who referred to it eight times. For the interviewees who thought being personable matters, they argued that a top leader for peace has to have human qualities that enable him or her to relate with other fellow humans. This point is relevant in Sub-Saharan Africa where genocides, massacres and inhuman treatments such as torture and other human rights abuse have been committed or commissioned by top-level leadership. For example, Idi Amin Dada, the Ugandan President in the 1970's, ordered Indians in Uganda to be expelled or face

threats and consequences that included being killed and one's property destroyed. There are other similar cases such as Charles Taylor of Liberia and Mabutu of Zaire where top level leaders cared little about respecting the human rights and the dignity of their country's citizens.

Extraordinary Abilities

Another key characteristic is "excellence and extraordinary abilities" which was mentioned by five interviewees, referring to it six times. Leaders at this level are highly appreciated most of the time because they strive for the excellence in promoting the interests of all, and use their extraordinary abilities to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts. They are also flexible enough to lead their followers toward achieving results in peace and reconciliation by promoting excellent policies and extraordinary measures such as inclusive and fair government or leadership.

Transparency

An additional characteristic referenced by four interviewees four times is "transparency or accountability." Salim noted with certainty during our interview that "Leadership means transparency, leadership means working for the benefit of the people." Many top-level leaders, instead, work for themselves or for the special groups they have connections with. Most genocides and crimes against humanity are committed when the top-level leadership is in favor of such actions and when they promote the politics of a lack of accountability.

For example, during the Kenyan presidential election violence of 2007 and 2008, the opposition leader, Raila Odinga, and his political party, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), took to the streets, claiming that they had won, but President Mwai Kibaki and his government argued to the contrary. This lack of transparency by leaders seemingly in both sides and direct accountability almost led their country into a civil war and left over a thousand people dead and many wounded, while causing enormous property loss.

One outlier that is worth mentioning is how infrequently the concept of transparency was said to matter time and time again. Africa is infamously known for corruption due to historical, cultural and traditional reasons. A top leader is expected to be a king or a colonial master and he or she has to award his or her family and friends with goods and finances that come with one's position of leadership. Political power fluctuates with economic power: one's status or political position equals one's increased wealth and individual or family's economic power. It is also important to recognize that strong independent institutions can help suppress corruption. The absence of an independent judicial system, independent media and rule of law contribute immensely to lack of transparency and widespread corruption. Extreme poverty in the extreme wealth and lack of strong moral and ethical commitment has been cited as one of the major causes of lack of needed accountability for peace and reconciliation.

Returning to the outlier, I also think that my interviewees might not have given sufficient thought or attention to the characteristic or value of "transparency" due to not

wanting to point fingers at colleagues or even themselves as it was assumed they were chosen to be interviewed for the study based on their leadership skills and "moral values." On the other hand, they may indeed have been completely transparent in their daily undertakings and transparency was something they took for granted. This quality in a leader needs further exploration especially in Sub – Saharan Africa. Effective peace leadership has to stop having a client-centered approach to resource distribution that tends to favor some individuals or communities while excluding others, which in return become a recipe for conflicts, ineffective governance and policy making.

In his book, John Maxwell stated, "The development of character is at the heart of our development not just as leaders, but as a human being." Maxwell adds that character is a choice that brings more success to people. He noted, "Followers do not trust leaders whose character they know to be flawed, and they will not continue following them" (Maxwell 1999: 5). Related to the point made by Maxwell, this lack of trust by followers could be one of the main reasons why some leaders use excessive force to coerce their country men, women and children to remain under them even when the people can no longer trust them and want different leadership.

Maxwell remarks, "leaders do not rise above the limitations of their character" (Maxwell 1999:5). He quotes Steven Berglas, who strongly emphasized the necessity of leadership by writing that "people who achieve great heights but lack the bedrock character to sustain them through the stress are headed for disaster" (Maxwell 1999:5).

Both commitment to action and results signifies one's character as Maxwell points out on page 4 of the above book. He as a leader:

> Your character determines who you are. Who you are determines what you see. What you see determines what you do. That's why you can never separate a leader's character from his actions. If a leader's actions and intentions are continually working against each other, then look to his character to find out why.

This section looked at the personal characteristics and principled values a leader for peace should possess and be able to demonstrate through his or her interactions with others. Cornelius, one of the interviewees, summarizes what he believes to be the ideal leader. "In short, the key characteristics [of an effective leader for peace] include: trust, impartiality, patience, love, friendship, a person who is dynamic and able to be flexible, who can change and relate with power, has an in-depth understanding of culture, and finally, understands the context of the conflict and the values of the people.

Reflection on This Chapter

Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as all of Africa, has been known as a land of paradoxes. A land of many natural resources, and yet very poor; a rising continent and yet a land of despair; a land of rich cultural values and yet home to some of the most corrupt governments; a land of hope and future promise and yet a land of tragedy, refugees and multitudes dying of curable diseases; and finally, a land of violent conflicts and a land with the future promise of change. From my interviewees and from my own experience as a Sub-Saharan African, positive changes have to include having practical ethical leadership that respect and value lives of their followers and fellow citizens. A

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Zambian proverb states, "a tree is strong because of its roots." One can say the same thing regarding the leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa; the leadership will be strong if it is rooted in firm principled values and positive character.

Leaders such as President Thabo Mbeki, have championed for an African Renaissance in the holistic sense of the word. However, an African Renaissance and particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, cannot occur without a firm foundation of principled values and character, both moral and secular which allow for inclusive peaceful and pragmatic leadership.

Without leaders who believe in principled values and character for leadership, there is little hope Sub-Saharan Africa will succeed in ending the cycle of manipulative and corrupt top-level leaders. As a Rwandan and a participant observer researcher, the saying, "a fish rots from the head" makes a lot of sense in governments I have seen fall. It is crucial for this aspect of Sub-Saharan African leadership to change first before it can realize its full potential. The African leaders interviewed for this study overwhelmingly agreed that the values and personal characteristics of the type of leader required to bring this African Renaissance to fruition are those who lead with integrity, justice, sacrifice, inclusion, trust, courage, dynamism, accountability, rule of good law/order and whose lives are a role model for others to follow. It's from this tool of leading by example that Pope Francis is famously known for (Krames 2015:19). As a global leader and a leader of an institution, Catholic Church, Pope Francis is famously known to lead by example.

His approach can be benefit most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa that rise or fall depending on their leaders especially given the frequent absence of well-established institutions.

A further reflection on this chapter, is the importance of conflict prevention in the process of peacebuilding. Sub-Saharan African countries, through individual countries and collective regional bodies such as SADC, ECOWAS and the East African community, must work toward strengthening existing initiatives, creating new initiatives to address the gaps and monitoring centers for early warning and conflict prevention.

Such efforts, initiatives and centers should be deeply rooted in and operate from the principled values and strength of character we have witnessed in ethically pragmatic presidents such as the former presidents of Namibia, Hifikepunye Pohamba, Festus Mogae of Botswana and Pedro Pires of Cape Verde. In addition to Presidents Nelson Mandela and Joaquim Chissano, all three of the former presidents have achieved the Mo Ibrahim prize for excellence in African leadership (Mo Ibrahim 2017). The politics of exclusion, corruption, greed, rigidity and tyranny that most of Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed, must change. There is no better way of changing this but through embracing the positive principled values and character that my interviewees in this project discussed as a precursor for peace leadership and that are exemplified by the former heads of states previously mentioned.

Lastly, Sub-Saharan African leaders should emulate the leadership qualities that ditto president, Sir Ketumile Masire of Botswana saw in his colleague President Thabo Mbeki. As a colleague in mediating and facilitating Inter-Congolese Dialogue, Masire

believed Mbeki had an awareness and conviction that, "The time had come for Africans to take the lead in rebuilding Africa" (Ndlovu and Miranda 2016: 68). Salim Ahmed Salim shared a similar view of Mbeki. He refers to him as a leader who is "one of the most outstanding emissaries of Africa in dealing with African problems" and a leader who "will go down as one of the most outstanding leaders of our continent [Africa]" (Ndlovu and Miranda 2016: 77). Still appreciating Mbeki's greatness as a value guided leader for peace, Masire stated in the above book (p.68):

> Regarding Mbeki as a person, he has always been a very articulate person. He puts his points clearly and forcefully without appearing to be coercive. As a public speaker, he is an orator of great note. I believe one of his best speeches was when he stepped down from office. Here was a man who accepted his fate with grace. It was a telling moment; a great example to the rest of our continent that a leader, even a president, must always subject himself to the will of those he leads.

In sum, it takes a leader of great character and high principle to free oneself from the negative attraction and attachment to power which one has easy access to especially in top-level leadership positions. The theme of "Be" matters a great deal in nurturing and building ethical pragmatic leaders for peace and reconciliation in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Chapter Six: Know

According to Harvard university center for public leadership, there are "seven essential competencies for public leadership: personal, interpersonal, organizational, systemic, catalytic, contextual and theoretical" – Kellerman 2012:193).

Barbara Kellerman, in her book, *The End of Leadership,* highlights the importance of leaders possessing knowledge. The philosophers Plato and Confucius believed that leaders should not only possess knowledge, but should also be able to apply that knowledge in their manner of leading such that it allows their constituencies and followers to benefit. Plato encouraged leaders to develop a wide fund of knowledge and to be well rounded in the arts (Kellerman 2012, p. 177-178).

This conviction of the importance of knowledge to human endeavors that include sustainable peace and reconciliation is shared by other great thinkers such as W.E.B Dubois, an African American intellectual and society reformer who advocated for leadership training among African Americans. DuBois argued, "The Talented Tenth" (leaders) should be educated in a 4-year university program in liberal arts. "The Negro race is like all races. It is going to be saved by its exceptional men – that is by its leadership possessing enough knowledge and vision to self-govern themselves and their communities" (in Kellerman, 2012: p. 178). The late Nelson Mandela, former South African president, emphasized, "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" (Hub, 2017: p. X-introduction).

Mandela expands on this concept of educated leaders to include the importance of educated followers. With knowledge put to work, educated followers are likely to follow educated leaders with useful knowledge to their aspirations and goals. Together, leaders and followers can transform their society or country through a shared vision, commitment, and goals for a future life that includes sustainable peace and preventative mechanisms for conflict resolution. Similarly, Kellerman remarked, "We need to think of leadership as a creative act, for which leaders and followers both are educated, for which leaders and followers both are prepared over a life time of learning" (Kellerman, 2012: 194). In the world of peace building and reconciliation, learning and implementing one's knowledge often takes many years.

In the same way, all 20 study participants unanimously agreed a good leader must have the requisite knowledge for the task of leading and more importantly, be able to share or communicate that knowledge in ways that are clear, understandable and demonstrate that he or she is listening to the needs of others. What a leader knows or does not know, may make one successful or not. As Wendell Willkie (1966) states, that education is the mother of leadership (Barnard, 1966). It is difficult to imagine a leader who can succeed without having or knowing how to benefit from the knowledge of others in his or her team or constituency. Kellerman (2012) quotes Jeffrey Gandz and his colleagues stating good leaders must know and be able to achieve the following five things: "analyze the environment, formulate winning strategies, execute brilliantly, evaluate outcomes and build for the future" (p. 193).

The theme "Know" of this chapter was mentioned by all 20 of the study participants, a total of 166 times throughout the interviews. Analysis of the data showed that this concept of "knowing" involves not only the acquisition or possession of knowledge, but also the transmission of that knowledge or wisdom to others in ways that inspires confidence, builds trust, success, continuity and feeling understood. Therefore, to highlight these aspects, "Know" is broken down into 5 subcategories which are discussed in the following sections: (1) vision, (2) skills to become a public figure, (3) peace technicians, (4) expectations, and (5) discourse. The subcategory "discourse" has been further divided into 5 components: (a) communication matters, (b) communicate peace, (c) analytical thinking, (d) culture, and (e) continuing education. Table 3, below provides data for each subcategory, how many numbers of interviewees who referred to each of them. The table is followed by figure VIII that presents visually those subcategories of Know.

Table #6. Subcategories, number of respondent and number of time mentioned

Subcategory	Number of respondents	Number of times Mentioned	Example
Vision	14	44	Leaders need to be enlightened, need to be visionary
Skills to become public figure	8	9	I have developed my own understanding of leadership in three (3) ways through – leadership wisdom initiative
Peace technician	11	18	Have knowledge in conflict resolution for leaders' legacy should be determined by how a leader has not to escalate conflict but to de-escalate it.

|			
Expectations	11	17	Know, respect and respond to their context, for example their interest. National leaders should think nationwide and have national vision instead of tribal or ethnic or a particular religion.
Role model	5	7	
			You cannot convince people to achieve if you as a leader have not achieved. Lead by example
Discourse/ Communication	16	48	Ability to communicate and connect & See things through multiple lens
Matters -Analytical	14	26	
Culture	6	11	- fix this
Continuing Education	7	10	– understand people and their context
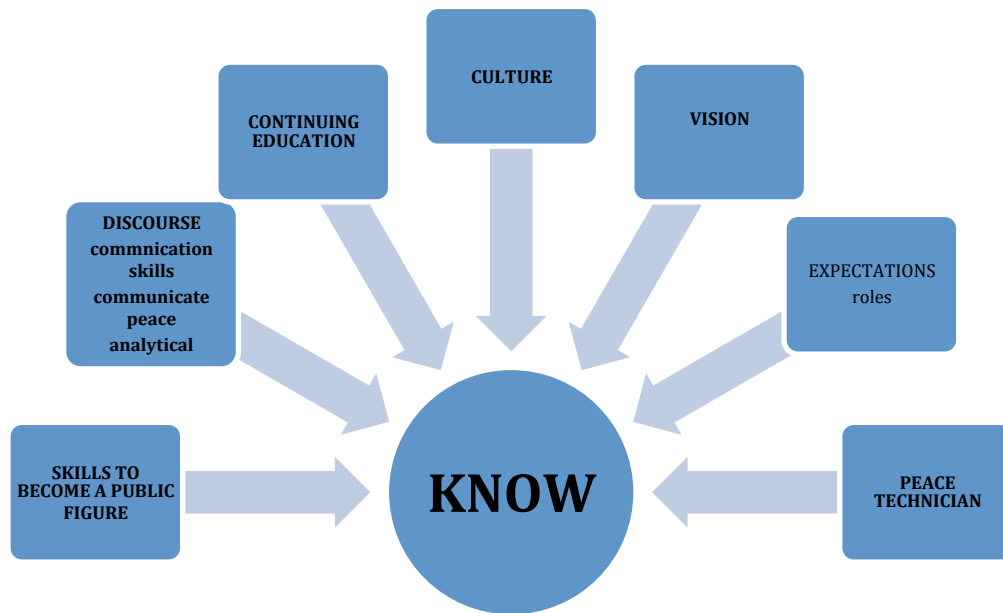
Figure - X - Essential Parts of Know

Vision

Where there is no vision, people perish- Proverbs 29:18

Peace and reconciliation are processes that require a leader to have a comprehensive vision that takes into consideration the times (current situation); both in a global or universal sense as well as a specific awareness that understands the needs of a people and their history; where they have been and where they need to go as a culture or as a nation. When asked about her approach to leadership for peace, Rwandan ambassador Mathilde Mukantabana responded:

> My approach to leadership is to set a vision. As a leader, you need to establish a vision and then you bring the people around to that vision and they work around that vision, which becomes a consensual action plan. People have to own whatever changes or happens, but as a leader you come up with a vision plan. A leader has to [first] imagine the vision, the program and then the followers have to implement the vision – they have to become the agents of change.

This ability to imagine the vision for peace should be done by every leader and his or her followers. The shared vision should lead to peace and prosperity.

Respondents noted that leaders must have foresight in developing a vision and as Rwandan Ambassador and Senator Seth Kamanzi noted, the goal must be toward uplifting the wellbeing of the people that the leader is serving. Leaders must take into consideration short, mid and long-term plans and strategies that will help them achieve their vision. It is essential for leaders to be able to communicate authentically their vision to followers as well as taking responsibility in the planning and implementation of that

vision. In post-violent conflict, vision should always aim at improving inclusively the variables of peace, security, unity, and reconciliation, if the country or the community is to succeed.

To be inclusive, the vision should be larger than the individual's self-interests, and should generate ideas that transform society, for example, how to build national peace or a how to build a cohesive national identity and unity. Rwandan General and Minister James Kabarebe, emphasized the importance of recognizing that a leader's vision not only affects immediate followers but their children and future generations. Personally, living in post-genocide Rwanda helped me understand that violent conflict effects many generations. A successful vision focuses on building for the present, while also having long term plans. That will ensure the sustainability of the vision into the future. Kabarebe emphasized:

> Visionary leadership makes correct decisions at the right time, looks at the interests of everybody in spite of how divided the society might be, and it must be inclusive. In the case of Rwanda, the leadership has been very instrumental. It is a very strong pillar of our success. Today the future of Rwanda is in the hands of our grandchildren. The leadership has to put conditions that will make that generation succeed. Leadership is about implementing and achieving goals as well as facing the challenges of achieving those goals.

I must note that as a participative researcher, I agree with the above quote. I watched Rwanda fall into the deep hole of genocide due to the politics of exclusion. I vividly remember how personally I agonized when the future seemed impossible to think of, when the country lived by surviving a day at a time during the period following the genocide in 1990's. But also, I have witnessed leaders organize and rally Rwandans around the country's "vision 2020", and now "vision 2050" (Gatete 2016) that inspires

Rwandans to dream big, plan their lives, participate and walk toward achieving the projected national vision by the national leadership that includes unity, equity, national stability and greater peace.

Skills to become a public figure

When one wants to become a judge or a medical doctor, one goes to law school or medical school. Therefore, shouldn't one who wants to become a public figure acquire the appropriate knowledge and skill set? (Rugaragu, 2017)

The concept I introduced above, was also noted by respondents during their interviews, insisting that leaders must have practical skills that would enable them to be competent in the execution of their leadership goals as public figures. Good communication, diplomacy, critical and strategic thinking, conflict resolution capacities, relationship skills and experience were noted by 11 out of the 20 respondents that are vital for a public figure or leader for peace to possess.

Again, emphasizing the importance of having the right knowledge and skills, Nannerl O. Keohane (2010) lists the following: knowing how to get and use information appropriately, rhetoric and communication skills competence, the power of knowing how to use appropriate cultural symbols, the knowledge of good decision making, and finally, the role of knowing when to compromise in order to achieve the desired common goals such as peace and reconciliation (p. 95 -104).

Peace Technician

A car technician takes care of car problems, shouldn't peace technicians take care of peace problems?

In general, a "technician" is a person who is an expert or specialist in a given field. In her book *Thinking About Leadership*, Keohane writes:

> Plato often used the image of the navigator or ship's captain to describe the ideal statesman or a leader. An experienced captain uses his knowledge to navigate and seamanship to deal with each practical problem, rather than applying a rigid code or consulting the crew and following the advice of the majority. In Plato's view, the best political leadership should work in the same way. The cybernetic expertise of the political leader encompasses and surpasses the expertise of the persuasive orator, military general, or judge. It supervises and controls each of these and "weaves all into its unified fabric with perfect skill. It is a universal art and so we call it by a name of universal scope: … statesmanship" (p. 183, also cf Plato, Statesman, 304e – 305e).

I coined the term "peace technician" as a result of 10 out of 20 respondents pointing to the necessity of a leader having the expertise of knowing how to create peace and reconciliation as well as being a role model for others. Within the African context, Nelson Mandela was referred to as the iconic peace technician by study participants: someone who had the ability to put into practice his beliefs and convictions about peace and reconciliation. One of his famous leadership quotes is, "It is better to lead from behind and to put others in front, especially when you celebrate victory, when nice things occur. You take the front line when there is danger. Then people will appreciate your leadership" (Mandela 2017). Mandela was born and lived under apartheid. His 27 years in prison ironically gave him the opportunity to cherish his own freedom and security in the same way he cared about the freedom of others. Mandela said, "For to the free, it is not to merely cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the

freedom of others" (2017). Mandela also believes that "freedom would be meaningless without security [and peace] in the home and in the street" (2017).

It is not common to find political top leaders in sub-Saharan Africa who are closely connected to peace and reconciliation. During my interviews, respondents noted that if a leader did not have the qualities of a peace technician, he or she should be savvy enough to use someone else who had the expertise as a peace technician to move the nation ahead when dealing with post-violent conflict, peace building, national unity, and healing from war and genocide. For example, post-violent conflict governments in sub-Saharan Africa could consult with conflict resolution and peace building experts to integrate peace mechanisms that prevent the reoccurrence of the violent conflicts, war and genocide into the new government regime. By being inclusive, ensuring the equitable distribution of resources and power, and creating opportunities for young children to receive conflict resolution education, the leadership ultimately ensures the unity, security and protection of all citizens.

Musinga Bandora, having served as an African Union and UN diplomat and ambassador, described the importance of instilling confidence and trust among people and taking the time to develop relationships as a leader for peace and reconciliation.

> You have to invest time in knowing the conflict, understanding the dynamics of that conflict, and knowing people who are involved in the conflict. What moves them, you know? What doesn't move them? The leader for peace and reconciliation must be a patient person. A person who can instill confidence and trust among the people they are trying to help resolve the conflict. But to be able to do that, it takes time, it takes patience, and it takes you investing time, knowledge and [building] interrelationships with those people you are trying to reconcile.

Study respondents also pointed to the need for leaders to be open to learning from others and to having knowledge of conflict resolution skills. Pierre Rwanyindo, founder and CEO of the Institute for Research and Dialogue for Peace, who is well into his 80's, indicated that he believed what helped him as a leader for peace was to "learn every day of my life. I learned from young people, children, adults. Yes, I learned from everyone"(Rwanyindo, 2015: Interview). This quality of seeking knowledge from culturally appropriate solutions to post-violent conflict environment can be seen in Rwanda's use of the Gacaca courts which were set up to cope with the overtaxed court systems and a lack of legal professionals following the decimation of almost 1 million Tutsi. This form of restorative justice provided amnesty to many genocide perpetrators in exchange for truth telling, healing and reconciliation.

Susan Collin Marks, Senior Vice President of Search for Common Ground, suggested it was crucial that a top-level leader's legacy should be determined by how well he or she dealt with conflicts (Marks, 2016: interview). The importance of a top-level leader having expertise in conflict resolution is exemplified in the case of South Africa with Nelson Mandela, in Mozambique under Joachim Chissano, and in Kenya during the Kibaki – Raila government after the 2007-2008 violent conflict. The sacrifice one makes in favor of national healing initiatives, lasting peace and reconciliation, should be one of the primary frameworks in which post –violent conflict top- level leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa is judged. Without security, peace and at times reconciliation, the country is likely to slip back into chaos as we have witnessed in Burundi, Congo DRC and Somalia.

Expectations and Roles

My People Are Destroyed for a Lack of Knowledge – Hosea 4:6

In addition to having an inclusive, far-reaching vision and being a peace technician, the expectations of the people for the leader in whatever particular job capacity he or she might have, is another subcategory under the larger category of *Know* that emerged from analysis of the data. It was identified by 11 of the interviewees and referenced 17 times in their interviews. More than 50% of interviewees believed that it is critical for leaders to understand the expectations that others have for them (as a leader) and live up to those expectations. Constituents feel cheated when the top-level leadership whom they expect to promote peace, national development and security instead becomes oppressive and exploitative, as has occurred in countries like Sudan, Gambia and Burundi. Followers doubt whether their president understands what his office requires and if he has the ability to lead people. The element of *listening to others,* which ties in with understanding the expectations of others, is more closely examined in the next section under *Discourse.* Closely connected with a leader meeting the expectations of others, is the understanding that one must have of one's particular role as a leader for peace, which was mentioned by 5 respondents and referred to 7 times in their interviews.

The President of the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission of the Kenyan Conference of Catholic bishops, Cornelius Kipng'eno Arap Korir, believed that it is vital for peace leadership to "think [in terms that are] nationwide and to have a national vision instead of a tribal, ethnic or particular religious perspective" (Korir 2015: interview). He

spoke of this in light of Kenyan politics which are highly tribal while making reference to the violent and bloody 2007 -2008 presidential election. He is convinced that top-level leaders ought to be thinking of Kenya as a whole instead of being caught up in ethnic or religious politics. This requires the leader to step outside of his or her personal zone of comfort or familiarity and embrace diversity and possibly accept opposition to his or her own beliefs. During my interview with him, Cornelius called upon the leaders to see themselves within the wider identity tent of the human family such as 'being a Kenyan' or a 'human being' and viewing others through an inclusive lens.

Given that Sub-Saharan Africa has been crippled by ethnic politics or politicization of ethnicity in countries like Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa and many more, it is time to follow Cornelius's recommendation that inclusive identity and leadership be really promoted and implemented nationally and even at the African Union level. If successfully followed, according to the interviewees, the inclusive leadership approach can save most African countries from further ethnic violent conflicts.

James Kabarebe, Rwandan Minister of Defense, shared a similar understanding when he said that as a leader, "You must understand why you are there as a leader, what you are to confront, how you will confront it and what the challenges are that are involved. You must understand what others expect of you and what the job as a leader expects of you" (Kabarebe, 2015: interview). For example, one of the efforts to be inclusive and widen the identity tent by the current Rwandan government has been an effort to re-create a national identity and create a sense of nationalism by defining "Rwandan," no longer as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa, but rather simply "Rwandan"

(Ndumunyarwanda, 2014). Such efforts have been welcomed by those who favor the politics of inclusion but have also faced considerable criticism from those who favor the ethnic distinctions resulting in the politics of exclusion. However, considering where divisive politics have led the country—violent conflicts, war and genocide—any efforts that widen people's imagination and helps them to embrace a wider identity versus a narrow one, easily manipulated by politicians who thrive on divisive politics, is good for peace leadership. As President Paul Kagame of Rwanda says, "We cannot turn the clock back nor can we undo the harm caused, but we have the power to determine the future and to ensure that what happened, never happens again" (2004).

Seth Kamanzi, who has held many top-level posts such as Rwandan Presidential Advisor, General Secretary in the Ministries of Home and Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador and Senator, strongly believed that flexibility in one's identity and understanding of other's perceptions are crucial to being a good leader. He said during our interview:

> I was dealing with bodies of people that tended to pull in all different directions. As a leader, I had to adopt a position, one that tended to harmonize those differences. As a leader, I had to sometimes educate people about the different ideologies within our own work and that was part of my life as a leader. I tried to reconcile competing perceptions within the government and within the institutions, and sometimes at the level of individuals. It is important for a leader to be able to have the qualities that may reconcile those differences (Kamanzi, 2015).

Mathilde Mukantabana, Rwandan Ambassador to the United States, reflected on her style of leadership and the importance of understanding that different job capacities may require different ways of leading. "For me as a community leader – I tried to

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maintain equality but now as ambassador, there is a hierarchy of leadership. I do a hybrid of both consultation and non-consultation; you kick in when you have to make decisions as a leader" Mukantabana, 2015: interview). Mukantabana is a democratic leader who cherishes equal participation whenever the situation allows. By ensuring that many voices are heard and encouraging diverse groups of people to participate in the process of decision making, Mukantabana is role modeling for sub-Saharan African leaders a type of leadership that is creative and innovative enough to respond to the daily challenges to peace and security.

Another participant who shared a similar view is Antoine Kambanda, a Rwandan Professor, Caritas Rwanda Director, Rector & Bishop. In an eloquent reflection on his personal approach to leadership he remarked, "As a leader you need to go ahead and show the way, but at the same time, you need to be with them [followers] and march together and also to be behind them so that nobody remains or is left out"(Kambanda, 2015: interview). Such complex skill in leadership is similar to Keohane's (2010, p. 181) comments regarding the desirable skills of top-level leaders:

> It is desirable, surely, that all members of democratic community exercise good judgment when thinking about matters in their common life. Yet it is especially important that those responsible for interpreting and implementing decisions and enforcing rules and policies have sound judgment. A community can proceed effectively when some of its members have poor judgment, as long as others do better. But if those in charge of overseeing and carrying out the political activities lack good judgment, the common life is undermined and other citizens are at risk.

Discourse

A leader has to keep the message clear – Musinga Bandora (2015)

Discourse is a subcategory under the major category of Know and was mentioned by 16 of the 19 respondents who referenced it 43 times during their interviews. Elements involved in discourse include the ability to communicate clearly, the ability to communicate with others about a vision or strategy for peace, and the ability to employ analytical/critical thinking.

Aware that discourse matters for leadership, Aristotle, the famous Greek philosopher, outlined three rhetorical models of persuasion, which every successful leader must have. First is ethos, which refers to the moral character of a speaker. The followers or constituents want to know if they can trust the leader's words. Second is pathos, which, refers to the emotional connection between the followers and a leader. And the third is logos, which refers to the reasonableness of a leader. He or she has to be logically sound, consistent and reasonable, (Aristotle:ethos-pathos-logos discourse) .

Throughout the interviews, study participants emphasized the importance of leaders being able to engage in discourse with those that they lead. Good discourse goes hand in hand with the ability to communicate clearly at many different levels with diverse groups holding different perspectives, while communicating a vision of peace and unity. Such leaders must be able to analyze both violent and non-violent conflict and peace processes and have a clearly stated vision, plan and goals. These qualities are vital for leaders of peace and reconciliation in Sub-Saharan African countries. As Keohane (2010) emphasizes,

getting and using information is one of the fundamental resources and skills for leaders to succeed (p. 95).

Bandora, international diplomat and leader, highlighted the critical importance of listening to others.

> Well I suppose the most important value is being able to listen because whatever else you may know, somebody knows something that you don't know. Being able to listen, being able to include others in your ideas. To value their contributions because, again, you need everybody. But above all, if you are going to carry a team, you need to inspire them to come with you (Bandora 2015).

Furthermore, Bandora is convinced that a good leader for peace and reconciliation "must articulate clear objectives, be inclusive, and be able and willing to dialogue and converse with his or her followers. A leader has to listen carefully."

By listening carefully, a leader connects with his followers and constituents at a deeper and caring level. Since most of sub-Saharan African countries would like to see themselves as democracies or emerging democracies, knowing how to listen becomes a fundamental skill since the democratic leader promises to be faithful in fulfilling the common needs and priorities of his or her constituency. Kellerman (2008) reminds us that it is in the act of listening that a leader and a follower can cultivate a healthy relationship and abuse of power can be avoided (p. 61-74). Good leadership and good followership base their mutual relationship on mutual respect and pursuit of a common good that include respecting human rights, human dignity, the rule of law and promotion of peace. (Kellerman, 2008: p. 213-230)

According to Cornelius, a leader for peace has to have the "willingness to help, and to be able to facilitate dialogue. He or she must have the ability to address root causes of violent conflict, facilitate peace, protect, influence people positively, listen carefully and perhaps most importantly, allow other people to talk exhaustively."

Tanzanian parliamentarian and mayor Jenerali Ulimwengu has advice for a leader for peace:

> You have to listen to other voices. You have to be careful about what you say. You have to be sensitive to people's needs and requirements, some people need to be assured that their interests are being taken care of … and you have the ability to listen to all sections in any given situation of conflict (Ulimwengu 2015).

According to Alex Habiyambere, one of my interviewees, peace and reconciliation leadership "must communicate clearly where they want to take people. So, where does one want to take them and how does one prioritize his or her visions and clearly communicate that to one's followers?" He added that; "You can't succeed in reconciliation without listening to different opinions and positions. [One] has to be willing to listen" (Habiyambere, 2015).

I concur, given my experience of living in Rwanda after the genocide and participating in Gacaca courts, listening was an important aspect. As Keohane describes in her book *Thinking about Leadership (2012) and* Kellerman's book *Followership* (2008), it is through listening that one is able to identify different types of followers. They are not all the same. For example, in the Rwandan genocidal government, there was a wide range of followership: some were

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isolated, some were bystanders, while others were participants, activists and diehards. And as she rightly proclaims, it was not Hitler himself who executed the holocaust nor presidential top leaders who slaughtered Tutsi and moderate Hutus with machetes during the genocide in Rwanda. It was "executioner" followers who were motivated by the love or fear they had for their leaders or for their fellow followers (Kellerman, 2008, p. 61-62).

Furthermore, Kabarebe highlights the importance of sound discourse and communication. He said during our interview (2015), "Leaders need to listen rather than to be patronizing and 'know it all' kind of leaders. They have to lead by example because it is important for the people to learn from their leaders."

In addition to sound communication, leaders must have the ability to analyze problems, situations, perspectives, and anything related to the process of resolving conflict and establishing peace. Kamanzi stated, "Proper analysis, evaluation, and proper application of solutions to the problems are fundamental principles when addressing divisive ideologies." Careful analysis helps the leader to identify the problem and as Kambanda pointed out, "You must understand the problem of the people and to do this you need to listen to people and when you listen to people to the point that they feel that you have understood them, problems can easily be solved." Listening is an indispensable quality for leaders as Kambanda emphasizes:

> I insist here on listen, because one of the keys to reconciliation is listening. Because in reconciliation, each one takes a defense; defends himself, defends his position, he does not listen to the other. The other also takes the defense, defends his position. But in listening, you will come to known that the other has some truth. He has a reason why he did that, which perhaps you didn't understand if you are closed to yourself, you will not know why he does that.

When you listen, you will know. And also, when the other listens, he feels that he has been understood. He gains confidence and trust that are important components for reconciliation.

Furthermore, Andrew Karamaga noted that a leader for peace needs to have "the ability to negotiate, consult and dialogue within a culture and within the context in which one leads. Rwandan Ambassador Mathilde added, "You have to be open to work with external factors – consultation is the key in this globalized world of peace" (2015). Like Mathilde, Ali Mufuruki also thought it is very important for a leader to know how to communicate well. Reflecting on his own experience, Mufuruki said, "A leader has to be able to explain things to different levels of people" (2015). For Mufuruki, clarifying the mission or purpose must be able to be clearly explained and connected to the needs or interests of the followers. The ability to engage in active listening was mentioned frequently during the interviews. And finally, Patrick Mazimpaka highlighted the key points by stating:

> You listen to them as I said before, when they want to see you, meet them and when they have a conflict between themselves, let them know they can come to you for help. Then you have to have ability to clearly communicate your advantages for peace. Make peace out there… You must understand what you are fighting for. You must understand what you are facing and what you need to start with that kind of operation to negotiate peace, and then lead your own organization in a way that peace is more profitable than war. And you must show how peace will win the war, how you will reach your objectives.

Listening is complemented by critical thinking as Rwanyindo Pierre (2015) pointed out:

> Peace leadership has to critically think about what caused the violence or war: was it exclusion or exploitation, was it injustice? So what really was the cause for the violent conflict and what took away the peace? RP's experience is that "From the intellectual point of view, I can always do analysis and I can tell whether the leaders are leading toward peace. The second thing that helped me was to know that the country has a vision to

follow for peace and reconciliation. I would observe and analyze what really slows down the Rwandan society from reaching peace and reconciliation.

Furthermore, still highlighting the importance of listening, Rwanyindo added (2015), "if [people] only listen, most of the time they don't listen and if they listened, things would be different" less division, exclusion and even violent conflict and more sustainable peace. Salim (2015) also commented on the importance of listening and mentioned that with the presence of social media such as Facebook, negative stereotypes can be minimized while increasing mobilization for peace and the resistance of abusive and violent leaders.

Culture

Understand the culture and values, promote good relationships, start from the grassroots, and then move to the political level, then to government – Cornelius, (2015)

Knowing the culture is another category of the larger theme of Knowing. Since culture is a way of life, promoting the culture of peace from childhood to adulthood should be a priority if we treasure peace. Schwartz 1992) defines culture as constituting "…the derivatives of experience, more or less organized, learned or created by individuals of a population, including those images or embodiments and their

interpretations (meanings) transmitted from past generations, from contemporaries, or formed by individuals themselves" (p. 324). Kevin Avruch (2013) adds three more elements to complement this definition: first, culture is distributed across individuals, secondly, these individuals internalize culture differently and finally, culture is the derivative of experience connected to the ongoing past experiences (p. 10-11). Cultural values matter in shaping leadership for peace. For example, in post-genocide times, we found ourselves returning to cultural values and traditions such as solidarity, "umuganda," where people work together as a community to solve the most pressing issues or problems. Another outstanding cultural value that has energized leadership is the pledge "imihigo," a process whereby each public official pledges to the president and his or her constituency what the leader plans and desires to achieve each year. Such cultural values have been vital in encouraging a leadership – followership relationship that brings about mutual accountability.

During the interviews, 5 of my interviewees referred to culture 17 times as one of the categories peace leadership should take seriously. Those who mentioned this category talked about the importance of not only understanding the culture in which peace and reconciliation takes place, but also building the culture of peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa. The following are some of the excerpts from the interviewees.

According to Bandora (2015):

We need to invest in building the culture of good leadership. They say leaders emerge but I also say leaders are made. I think we need to invest more in building leadership and growing leadership in Africa so that we have younger people who don't have the political baggage of the past, who are able to embrace new ideas, to actually be taught leadership. And there also needs to be [something] beyond investing in leadership, the

ability to bring together those leaders who are actually active in peace and reconciliation and learn from them as role models.

Another interviewee who talked about the importance of knowing and having the right culture for peace and reconciliation leadership was Rwanyindo:

It's really hard to get a single leader who has all these qualities [of a good leader for peace and reconciliation] or the things that I mentioned. But the leaders who have this type of character and values, is the one who understands the culture of peace. It's a leader who desires peace for all, not for just a few. It's a leader who really has a [peace] vision which he follows and can communicate that vision clearly to his followers in their culture.

In addition, Mukantabana, reflecting on her own experience, emphasized the importance of building a culture of good leadership for peace and reconciliation. She said:

… a leader has to inspire the followers, people to do good. To do what you are intending them to do. An inspiration comes from many different qualities. First, understanding of other people, secondly, ability to take people from where they are, not from where you wish them to be and many different things. It means having an intimate knowledge of your people is very important.

Continuing Education

We could teach more about peace in our schools and university curriculum -Bandora (2015)

The last category presented under the theme of Knowing is the need for continuing education for peace and reconciliation leadership. The importance of continuing one's education was mentioned by 7 of my interviewees 11 times in their interviews.

According to Cornelius, one of my interviewee (2015), leading "people to create and own good solutions, developing a vision for short term, medium and long term plans and strategies, education is key." Thus, the post –violent conflict countries in Sub-Saharan Africa need to practically and innovatively come up with education for leaders for peace and reconciliation. This education should be able to respond to the challenges of building an inclusive, united country, able to heal and reconcile.

Likewise, Bandora strongly emphasized the point of continuing education for the peace and reconciliation leadership.

> You have to invest time in knowing the conflict, understanding the dynamics of that conflict, and knowing people who are involved in the conflict, what moves them, you know?...what doesn't move them. The leader for peace and reconciliation must be a patient person. A person who can instill confidence and trust among the people they are trying to help resolve the conflict. But to be able to do that, it takes time, it takes patience, and it takes you investing time, knowledge and interrelationships with those people you are trying to reconcile.

Still, Bandora stated in our interview (2015), "I think we need to invest more in building best practices. For instance, bringing together all those who are doing peace and reconciliation in Africa, to build better practices among them, to build more effective coalitions."

Furthermore, Bandora said:

> We could teach more about peace in our schools and university curriculum. Actually, for people to be taught about the virtues of reconciliation and the virtues of peace should be taught from a very young age. Because if you instill a culture of peace and reconciliation in our youth, you grow knowing that actually, reconciliation starts not only within countries, it starts with the individual level. You let peace grow at the individual level. If you're able to reconcile at the individual level, you can also extend that to the political level. You should also be able to learn

across the continent what has worked, because there are good examples of peace and reconciliation in other countries and other continents. To be able to go and learn, to see what has worked, and see whether you can use that in Africa and not transplanting it, but getting the best elements of it and adapting them to our own national context.

Reflecting further on this chapter about know, Kellerman (2012), writes, "We need to develop a higher level of contextual intelligence to practice as well as preach international cooperation – intergroup leadership and followership, as well as intragroup leadership and followership" (p. 199-200). Also, emphasizing the primacy of knowledge, Benjamin Franklin is believed to have said, "an investment in knowledge pays the best interest." (a quote from away to wealth 2017). Franklin and Kellerman's understandings capture the complex reality that faces sub-Saharan African leadership for peace: the culture of education and knowledge. While it is true that "understanding the concept of culture is a prerequisite for effective conflict analysis and resolution" (Avruch 2013, p. 9), such culture has to include knowledge for peace. As Avruch asserts in his book, *Context and Pretext in Conflict Resolution* (2013), the sub-Saharan African leaders for peace must acquire more knowledge. This would permit them to effectively be reliable and competent players in both national and international arenas that include how to build sustainable peace and reconciliation. In other words, leaders seeking "knowledge" and surrounding themselves with aides who are constantly learning is no longer something they can ignore if they wish to succeed. High-level leaders have to make constant efforts and take necessary initiatives to seek relevant knowledge in politics, economics, law, governance and conflict resolution, among other fields, so as to minimize national, regional and international conflicts.

Furthermore, Kellerman makes reference to three imperatives for becoming a great leader. These three must be "known" to a leader for peace and reconciliation, too. They are: "managing yourself, managing your network, and managing your team" (Kellerman 2012, p. 193). Leaders in sub-Saharan Africa need to be taught and they have to learn how to achieve these three important pillars in their leadership endeavors. Increasingly, the world is appreciating the trend of self-governing. The logic of self-governing is that one cannot successfully lead or manage others if he or she can't lead or manage oneself first. Gradually, it's from self-governing values, knowledge and skills that the followers recognize a competent and reliable leader such as Nelson Mandela; a leader who is leading the followers because s/he knows the way and has successfully walked the way or the road before inviting others to do so.

Finally, I conclude this chapter with this wisdom from Seyla Benhabib referenced in the book *Thinking about Leadership* by Nannerl O. Keohane. When discussing leadership and expertise in many domains, Benhabib remarked, "We seem to be ready to admit that those exercising judgment are in possession of a special body of knowledge. This is true, for example, of legal or medical judgments" (Keohane 2012, 181). She adds, "we should ascribe the expertise of political judgment [conflict resolution included] to certain special individuals" like "states people, diplomats, elected representatives, administrative officers and the like" (p. 181). For her, "a critique of the culture of experts, and the transfer of the power and prerogative of judgment from experts to the public, are thus viewed as essential to the constitution of a democratic ethos" (p. 181). As Kabarebe, one of my interviewees, said, "You need to be humble and have adequate

preparation [knowledge and experience] to do your job." If we expect our public leaders to have knowledge about governing and managing people and resources, should we not expect them to also have knowledge of conflict resolution with regard to violent conflict and the impact violence has on peace building and reconciliation following our experience in sub-Saharan Africa?

Chapter Seven: Do

"If your actions inspire others to dream more, learn more, do more and become more, you are a leader" – by John Quincy Adams (in Mluttrel 2011).

Table # 7. Do theme, its core subthemes and examples

Do	Building - Trust, - Intuitions - Unity - Legacy Collaboration e.t.c	Examples: Democracy is where we based our leadership. If other nations can do it, why can't we do it? So if you go through the RPF …program…national unity and democracy are key. A leader has to work hard in building relationships, decisive, consultative and ensure security A leader has to set agenda for peace, truth, reconciliation
	Commit to work hard for peace	Leaders need to be aware that they need or have to take responsibility of their own society.
	Create safe space for peace	Ability to address root causes of violent conflict, ability to facilitate peace, ability to protect, ability to influence people positively
	Dialogue	Ability to dialogue and facilitate or mediate between opposition… ask why they are fighting and respond to that,
	Solve problems	A leader is a 24/7 task. He or she is a problem solver, a solution
	Distribute	In addition, you can't talk about lasting peace if people are desperate – hungry, no education, basic health care and social economic empowerment. That is why in Rwanda we some how became successful.

	Make Decision	Leaders that are able to lead people in such extreme struggles. Part of the leadership quality is to provide a decisive decision about the existing problems and how to proceed given the common experience.
	Mediate and negotiate	We need leaders who can mediate people to reconcile. The parties have to be able to trust you.
	Practice what works	Leadership is accepting responsibilities and being able to ask the following questions: who are my people, what do they need, how can I help them to use their resources for the common purpose? And also another quality is being practical.
	Accountable and responsible	A leader has to know where to start and where to end.

During my interview with Cardinal Peter Turkson, he provided a rather dour assessment of sub-Saharan African leadership as being either one of two types: "national builders and national wreckers." Turkson was the former prefect for the Vatican Council for Peace and Justice and is currently the prefect of a new Vatican dicastery or department for Integral Human Development, which includes peace, justice, migrants, victims of torture, the victims of armed conflicts, the marginalized groups and care for the environment. Cardinal Turkson's comment on leadership demonstrates the intersection between "leadership" and "doing," or getting the job done. However, the manner in which one leads or executes their leadership is a major determining factor in effective leadership. According to Brown, leaders are helped to become transformational

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leaders by the "time, place and circumstance that put them in a position where they had just a chance, which they seized, to make the decisive difference in changing the system" (Achie, 2014 p. 193).

Appreciation is given to leaders in sub-Saharan Africa whose actions and words are consistent and their leadership results in positive tangibles such as sustainable peace and development. Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary General chastised African leaders at an African Union summit in Lome, Togo (July 10, 2000). He told them, "You are to blame for most of our continent's problems" (Ayittey 2005: 44). At the same summit meeting, former South African President Nelson Mandela weighed in, urging Africans to "take up arms and overthrow corrupt leaders who have accumulated vast personal fortunes while children have gone hungry" (Ayittey, p. 44). One of my interviewees, Ali Mufuruki, a very successful leader in the private sector stated, "I lead by example." The same appreciation with attention to role modeling is said to be true with transformative leaders such as Pope Francis.

This seventh chapter covers the theme of "Do." This theme has 11 subthemes which were identified by the 20 study participants as being part and parcel of actions taken by strong, effective leaders. All study participants agreed that a good leader must have visible positive actions and results that communicate, represent and demonstrate vividly that he or she is doing what ought to be done for those he or she represents. What a leader does or fails to do, may make one successful or not. During his reflection on the Rwandan Genocide, interviewee Alex Habiyambere, a Catholic Bishop and head of the Rwandan Catholic Bishops' Conference, Economic Commission recalled:

When people sat down and shared what they went through, it was very obvious that the leadership had deceived us. When we looked back and reflected on that, it didn't help us. But by becoming brothers and sisters, that could help us build the country and work on reconciliation. Another thing that helped was the Justice and Peace Commission in the dioceses. This commission helped people to live together. It helped people to not continue to be divided but rather to become really invested in what the new leadership was asking us to do.

The general theme "Do" was mentioned by all 20 of the study participants, a total of 117 times throughout the interviews. Analysis of the data showed that this concept of "doing" inspires confidence and trust in followers. The sub-themes are: (1) provide an example or role model, (2) take responsibility and be accountable, (3) act pragmatically (with what works), possess the right experience as a leader and be dynamic, (4) mediate and negotiate, (5) make decisions, (6) distribute resources, power and knowledge fairly, (7) be an active problem solver, (8) engage in dialogue, (9) create a safe space for reconciliation (10) be committed, and (11) build unity, trust, institutions and collaborations. See Figure IX below:
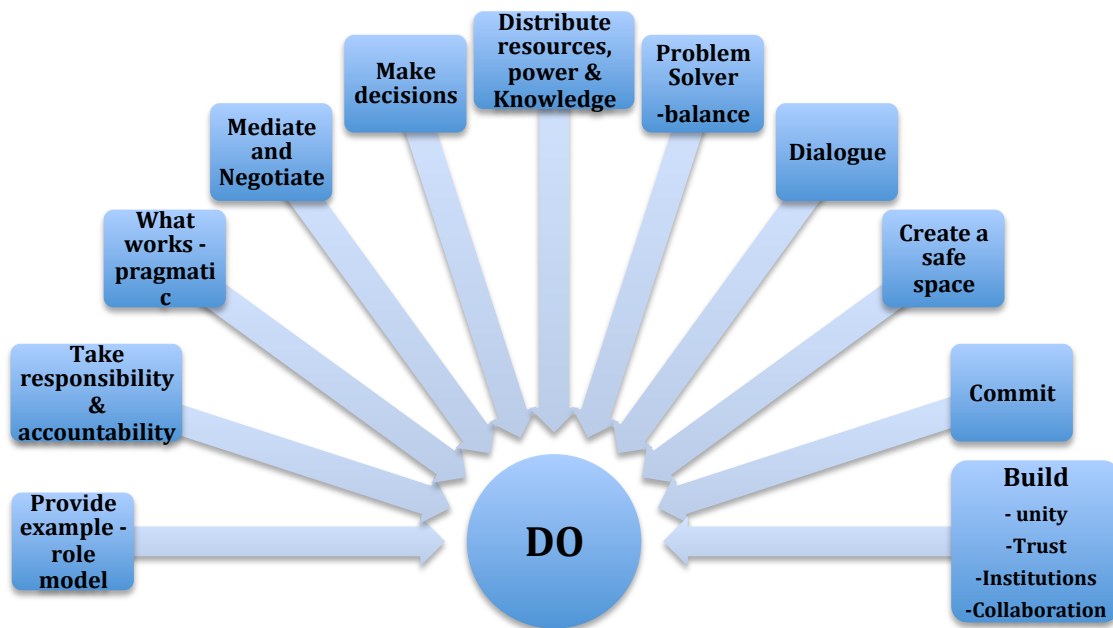
Figure – XI - Essential Parts of Do

The first sub-theme is the importance of leaders "being an example or becoming a role model" within their leadership position. This category, "leading by example" was referred to 26 times by 12 interviewees. Participants quickly pointed to the fact that in the sub-Saharan region and in other African countries, only a small number of political leaders could be considered as truly leading by example. While the first generation of post-independence leaders were generally credited for leading their communities and countries against colonialism and toward independence, most of them and the generation of leaders that followed, did not demonstrate this ability to "lead by example." Ayittey emphasizes, "As such, the poverty of Africa is not due so much to the "backwardness" of

the peasant majority as it is to the intellectual backwardness of the leadership and the elites" (Ayittey, 2005, date, p . 92).

With respect to national development, Ayittey points out;

Africa's postcolonial development effort may be described as one giant false start. The nationalist leaders with few exceptions, adopted the wrong political systems, … the wrong economic systems… and took the wrong path. Equally grievous, perhaps, was the low caliber of leadership… the leadership lacked basic understanding of the development process…" they copied blindly" and they ended up with "development – by - imitation" …instead of "organic development," "participatory development," grassroots development," or bottom - up development. (2005, p. 91-92)

Noting the failure of leaders to consider the stake of future generations, Ayittey makes a reference to the BBC News website, May 10, 2002 and remarked, "At the United Nations Children's Summit held in May 2002 in New York, the youngsters from Africa ripped into their leaders for failing to improve their education and health. 'You get loans that will be paid in 20 to 30 years … and we have nothing to pay them with, because when you get the money, you embezzle it, you eat it,' said Joseph Tamale from Uganda" (2005, p. 42-43).   Ayittey quotes Nigerian, Horace Awi, a member of a professional group writing to lament about the state of African leaders in general, with the exception of a few. "The more you read about Africa, the more it becomes evident that African leaders are a strange lot. These guys are stranger than space aliens. And somebody wants me to believe our problem is the white man? Rubbish" (p. 42-43).

Interviewees, who made reference to the importance of leaders for peace being role models, also mentioned these leaders should be pragmatic, practical and embrace what works. In sub-Saharan Africa, people want to see positive results from leadership.

"The absence of mechanisms for the peaceful transfer of power, leads to a struggle over political power which often degenerates into civil strife or war. Chaos and carnage ensue. Infrastructure is destroyed. Food production deliveries are disrupted. Thousands are dislocated and flee" (Ayittey, p. 48-49). Both the positive and negative impacts of leadership are obvious to most. On one hand, when a leader is leading by responding to the aspirations of the community or country, it is quite different than when a leader uses his or her influence to accumulate more power and resources for him or herself. The promotion of an authentic leader who does not exploit his or her position and authority of leadership remains the main challenge of those involved in promoting accountable, transformative and ethical pragmatist leadership in sub-Saharan Africa.

Other key conditions that were seen to be important for leaders who are role models was for them to have the expertise and experience to be able to lead within the context of sub-Saharan Africa. Leaders should be able to demonstrate how their style of leading connects with the issues or problems to be solved and can demonstrate they have the necessary experience and, if possible, formal education or life experiences. Three leaders, referring to it 4 times, mentioned this. For example, there is no South African who doubted that Nelson Mandela or Desmond Tutu were qualified to lead the truth and reconciliation processes given their history, previous experience, education level and competence. In the Rwandan context, few doubt Paul Kagame's ability to fight for the cause he believes in and, if need be, to sacrifice his own life for the country because that is what he has lived since his youth. Such experience gives assurance and trust to the majority of followers that when a leader says, "Follow me," they must know the way and

they have already "walked the walk." This type of leader was seen to have the ability to "act dynamically," reading the "signs of the times" accurately since conflicts are dynamic. Finally, knowing the context of the place was mentioned by 5 of those interviewed, referring to it 6 times. They emphasized that the actions of the leader must take into consideration the context, the time, the people and their lived experience.

Based on his experience leading in a post-violent conflict environment, Alex Habiyambere, a Rwandan Bishop explained during our interview (2015):

> People below me did a lot of practical reconciliation work. I encouraged them to reconcile with themselves, with others and I had to reconcile with myself and with my priests in the dioceses and parishes. I also shared my vision and orientation because charity begins at home. So, I tried to be an example. If I encouraged a follower to reconcile, I had to reconcile myself first. For example, the question of ethnicity; if I was not seen to have transcended that, there was no way I could encourage followers to transcend that. My priests and all the religious in my dioceses had to embrace this and be part of this.

A leader with both the formal authority and the moral authority has an advantage when he or she is a role model, because followers want to follow him or her out of conviction rather than because of coercion. A leader represents the desired values, choices and decisions that invite the followers to have courage and to follow suit, to emulate the leader's actions. The followers must be persuaded, trust and feel convinced that to follow the leader is in their own self-interests and the leaders who invite them to do so, are genuinely committed to their well-being.

As interviewee, Cornelius Kipng'eno Arap Korir, a Catholic Bishop and chairman of the Kenyan Catholic Justice and Peace Commission pointed out in 2015 during our interview, a leader must demonstrate:

> …A willingness to help, to dialogue, to facilitate, be able to address root causes of violent conflict, have the ability to facilitate peace, possess the ability to protect, to influence people positively, to lead people to create and own good solutions, to negotiate and facilitate or mediate between opposition leadership, to ask why they are fighting and respond to that. A good leader has to be a symbol of peace, a bridge of friendship. He or she promotes security through friendship. A good leader is a role model; for example, Jesus Christ. Like Christ, a good leader is at the center of his or her people. A good leader prays for unity and inclusion, always cultivating good values. A good leader has an independent courageous mind like Christ – free from government or other forces.

Ali Mufuruki, a prominent businessman in Tanzania and a pan-Africanist, shared a similar emphasis during his interview in 2015. Mr Mufuruki is also a co-founder and chairman of the CEO Roundtable of Tanzania, a policy dialogue forum that brings together more than 100 CEOs of leading companies in Tanzania. This group engages regularly with the senior government leadership of Tanzania to find solutions for the country's economy.

> You cannot convince people [followers] to achieve what you as a leader have not achieved or cannot achieve. You have to be able to demonstrate, that what you are asking them to achieve, is doable. And people have to tell themselves; what he/she is asking us to achieve, he or she has already achieved it and so it's possible.

The demonstration of such power, by leading from example may be the most important approach or pedagogy in building sustainable peace and reconciliation. Followers easily connect with a leader who shares their experiences and who understands where they have been, where they are and where he or she wants to lead them.

Ami Mpungwe (2015), a retired successful diplomat and government official, diagnosed the cause of African leadership failure, in part, as a result of having leaders who do not lead by example. He said:

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Leadership failure has been the cause of African paradoxes – so rich and yet so poor. Hence, genuine commitment to good governance that is value based, for example; rule of law, peer review mechanisms, democracy, promotion of human rights, dignity for all and no short cuts (corruption). Such leaders must have vision and commitment for unity; e.g., Nyerere and his unity and peace policies for the region and the African continent.

Another sub-theme that was mentioned and referred to 18 times by the interviewees was "build." By this, they meant many different types of building: "build peace," "build bridges of relationships," "build teams," "build partnerships," build consensus," and "build institutions." 7 interviewees made 8 references to the importance of peace and reconciliation's eldership being able to "build peace and unity" for a country. The ability to "build institutions" was important and mentioned 14 times by 8 of the interviewees. Generali Urimwengu, a former government official in Tanzania and now one of the leading voices in civil society through printed media and one of the interviewees said:

[We must] have proper constitutions, constitutions that are built to serve the people not the leadership in their positions. We need strengthening of institutions such as: civil societies' organizations, which can speak out every time there is injustice or exclusion, so that we strengthen the human rights in the country. Of course, all these are not easy things. They take time and energy. Sometimes they cost people's lives. But it is something that needs to be done.

In the book *Why Nations Fail*, the authors argue that in developing countries nations fail because of a lack of necessary and needed inclusive economic and political institutions that act as a foundation to support the country (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012, p. 368). Therefore, leadership for peace must know how to build such institutions or at

the very least, know how to put together a team of collegial women and men with the expertise and skills to do so.

Interviewee Ben Rugangazi (2015), a former ambassador and now a prominent businessman adds, "A leader has to honor the followers' desire to be one- unity. A leader has to work hard in building relationships, must be decisive, to be consultative and to ensure security. A leader has to set the agenda for peace, truth, and reconciliation." Similar understanding was discussed by early Greek philosopher, Socrates and one of the founding fathers of political statehood discussion who concluded, "the greater the unity of the state, the better" (Jowett, 2005, p. 24).

Aristotle argued for the unity for the polity, because a disunity can be exploited to create dysfunctional institutions or governing systems. A similar thought was shared and raised by Bandora Musinga (2015), He pointed out: "Bad leadership can be used to create chaos or to actually accentuate existing chaos." He added that on other hand, "Good leadership can be of use … about everything…especially in our continent, African countries where institutions are still in formation." Musinga added, "reconciliation has to be accompanied with building institutions of democracy and building national cohesion. In concluding his interview, Musinga remarked:

> We need to build the culture of good leadership. They say leaders emerge but I also say leaders are made. So, I think we need to invest more in building leadership and growing leadership in Africa so that we have younger people who don't have the political baggage of the past, who are able to embrace new ideas, to actually be taught leadership. And there is also a need to go beyond investing in leadership to having the ability to bring together those leaders who are actually active in peace and reconciliation and learn from them as role models and bridge builders in post violent societies.

Lastly, the majority of interviewees under the "build" subtheme, pointed to the leader's ability as vital to "build collaboration" amongst various stakeholders and actors. In Brown's book, *The Myth of the Strong Leader*, he argues that, "The most effective leader in a given context, is the group member who is best equipped to assist the group in achieving its objectives" (Achie 2014, p. 354). In a complex globalized and highly specialized world, collaborative leadership becomes one of the best models of leadership not only for peace and reconciliation but virtually every field or venue. A good leader must know how to put together the best team of highly motivated and driven individuals with values and skills and then lead such a team of collaborators to achieve the desired goals or aspirations.

As a researcher, I was encouraged to see 15 interviewees in this study refer to building collaboration 44 times, showing its prominence. As I mentioned previously, Musinga, a senior diplomat, remarked on the importance of being able to build constructive leadership, versus destructive leadership, which can lead to chaos. Musinga adds that building institutions with sound leadership would be good for Sub-Saharan Africa. In his view, "Those leaders reside everywhere, not only in political institutions, but in civil society and in the business community, who also play a key role in peace and reconciliation."

Additionally, the "ability to act responsibly and to be accountable" was seen as an important category. Seven interviewees referred to this vital category 8 times. The action of taking accountability seriously included the ability of leaders to "self-govern" before they governed others. "Self-governance" is vital for a value-based and principle-driven

type of leadership. These leaders are "self-disciplined," and choose to do what ought to be done even if they don't like it or they feel uncomfortable about it. Peter Turkson added that it is also vital for such leaders to allow themselves to be subjected to checks and balances. He added "A leader should always be asked: Are you doing well or not? Political leaders in Africa should be subjected to community evaluation because there has been a betrayal of – anthropological leadership anatomy, which equates to the well-being for the followers, for example, the security and development of people." But one of the challenges that make the sub-Saharan leaders less accountable, is to some extent due to external influences (for example, international funding) that increases the gap between leaders and their followers. When the followers are too poor to pay taxes and illiterate, they cannot be in a position to hold their elected leaders accountable.

This gap stems from the historical financial reality of most post-independence sub-Saharan African countries. Their budgets continue to be subsidized by the developed countries since most of their citizens are too poor to pay a sufficient amount of taxes necessary to run their own governments. As a result, their national leaders don't believe they need to be accountable to the people since they have no idea about the national budget or what is actually in the budget. Therefore, many of the top-leaders feel drawn to be accountable to the external donor who expects the financial report but not to the followers who can't pay taxes, who are illiterate and lack sufficient skills and mathematics to even question a district or provincial budget.

This is why education is crucial for a country to be fully democratic; where the constituency has the intellectual and financial say in selecting their local and top-level

national leaders. Good leadership allows the development or implementation of institutions that have the ability to control and restrain their disordered desires, ambitions and wants. Such actions are highly needed in sub-Saharan Africa where corruption and the lack of accountability and transparency have been among the major causes of suffering, exploitation, extreme poverty, wars, genocide and violence. Ayittey quotes Nyerere, the first Tanzanian president who was highly respected but whose economic policies did not raise the country above the poverty line: "In my view, three factors mitigate against economic and social growth in Africa. The first of these is corruption, the second factor is political instability and the third is that most African countries still lack the necessary physical infrastructure…" (Ayittey, 1993, p. 9).

James Kabarebe (2015), one of the study participants, reflecting on his experience as a top military general and government minister discussed being responsible and accountable during our interview:

> My philosophy of leadership is that first and foremost you must understand what the responsibility demands. What the responsibility – the responsibility requires over you with the followers, first and foremost, you have responsibility over them. You are responsible for them. You are responsible for growing them, for nurturing them [like a mother], for developing them. You are also responsible for their failures and their mistakes, and you are also responsible for their success. So, the followers are made of individuals with different kinds of characters, of understanding levels, of this and that. And it is up to you as a leader to shape them to serve the institution as you would wish, to give the institution the character you want, so that whoever looks at the institution defines it in its character. But that character is a reflection of everybody within that institution.

Another subtheme highlighted by my interviewees is the ability to "mediate and negotiate." This category was mentioned 7 times by 6 interviewees, as one of the key

abilities important for peace leadership. Leadership for peace especially in post-violent areas must be good in negotiation. Almost everything is negotiated and renegotiated as the community or the country seeks to build and re-build. Overall, the interviewees pointed out that a leader for peace must have skills in diplomacy, good communication and a noticeable ability to mediate and negotiate for peace and reconciliation. Bishop Cornelius remarked during his interview, "Leaders have to be willing to help, dialogue, facilitate, must have the ability to address root causes of violent conflict, the ability to facilitate peace, the ability to protect the vulnerable members, and the ability to influence people positively."

Joseph Walioba, a very experienced politician, prime minister and high court judge adds, "We need leaders who can mediate people into reconciling. The conflicting parties have to be able to trust you. We badly need good leaders in the African Great Lakes Region."

Whether referring to power, control, knowledge, information or resources, leaders should be able to "distribute" fairly, justly and equitably. The interviewees mentioned distribution of "power" as key for peace with 5 respondents referring to it 7 times.

For example, during our interview Bishop Antoine Kambanda (2015) said:

We need selfless leadership; selfless service that looks at the good of the people as a whole. Which in the end also become your [the leader's] good, but initially it is for the good of the people, not you as the leader.

Here, the interviewees recognize that the fair distribution of power and resources go hand in hand. Those who have power use it to access resources and vice versa. For example, most of the top-level leaders use their authority and

positions to access economic privileges, which ordinarily they may not have access to had they not been in positions of authority and power.

Gaudens P. Mpangala, reflecting on the relationship between ethnic conflicts and leadership in Africa, stated that "Recent studies on ethnic conflicts in Africa have revealed that most African politicians have been at the center of conflicts due to the fact that political competition and competition for economic privileges have often been based on ethnic relations, thus exacerbating ethnic conflicts" (Mpangala, 2000, p. 117).

Mafeje (1995) also links the problem of "African ethnic conflict" with African elites" who always politicize ethnicity for political and economic gain (Mafeje, 1995). In other words, "ethnicized politics" goes hand in hand with "ethnicized leadership" (Mpangala, p. 126).

Furthermore, in his article: *Ethnicity: Main Cause of Instability, Civil Conflicts and Poverty*" Crisford Chogugudzi (2008) gives many examples to show the relationship between the politicized ethnicity and religion with violent conflicts. He notes, "Many politicians across Africa continue to use ethnicity to promote themselves and inflict maximum political damage on their opponents" (Chogugudzi, 2008). For example, in Côte d'Ivoire, presidential aspirant and former Prime Minister [and now president] Alassane Quattara was barred from contesting elections on the grounds that his parents came from Burkina Faso. In Uganda, in the 1970s, the expulsion of the wealthy Asian merchant class was another example of a situation where ethnicity was used as a political tool. In Zambia in the 1990s, President Fredrick Chiluba tried to bar political opponent

and former President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda from standing for office on the grounds that his parents were from Malawi and therefore he was judged to be not fully Zambian. A more painful recent example was in South Africa where President Mbeki was ousted arguably because he was not from the majority Zulu tribe as was the current president Jacob Zuma. Also, similar weakness has been experienced in Northern Sudan and Darfur Region, South Sudan, Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia, Somali and many other places in sub-Saharan Africa (Chogugudzi, 2008).

Following the distribution of power was the distribution of "resources." This sub-theme was mentioned by 3 interviewees, referring to it 3 times. The distribution of "knowledge" was mentioned by 2 of the interviewees, referring to it 2 times. Literatures in the field of conflict resolution have established a direct link between resources and violent conflicts when the former is unfairly distributed or is perceived to be unjustly or poorly distributed. Though only 3 interviewees directly talked about this sub-theme, almost all the interviewees referred to it indirectly. Unjust governance and distribution of resources has been a source of wars and violent conflicts in many sub- Saharan African countries as noted by John Andrews (2016). In his book, Andrews dedicates an entire chapter three (p. 88 – 135) *Africa: Rich in Resources, Poor in Governance* to discussing sub-Saharan countries where resources turned into curses, violent conflicts and war. Shamefully, the litany of these countries is listed: "Angola, Central African Republic, Chad, Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Southern Sudan and Uganda" (Andrews 2016, p. 88 – 137).

Furthermore, Gaudens P. Mpangala refers to Mwalimu Nyerere who offered his ideas about leadership in the *Daily News* of 9th June, 1997. Nyerere placed African leadership into three categories. First, is the first generation, who had a vision for independence, unity and the development of African countries and the continent. The second generation came to benefit (1960-1980s). Nyerere characterizes such leadership as "corrupt and non-democratic." He sees such leaders being in "alliance with neo-colonial forces [who] have been looting the wealth of the African continent and its people, and repatriating such wealth to foreign banks in Europe and elsewhere. Such leaders who became millionaires and billionaires were not elected by the people [according to Nyerere] but came to power through military means" (Mpangala, p. 126). And the third generation of African leaders are those who are not corrupt, who lean toward ending poverty and conflict in their countries, and who do not focus on enriching themselves like the second generation (Mpangala, p. 126). It was in this 3rd generation of leaders: Thabo Mbeki, Paul Kagame, Machy Sall and John Magufuri, that Nyerere was placing his hopes for a new type of African leader.

According to Nyerere's categorizations, the 1st & 3rd categories can be understood overall, with some exceptions, as leadership for peace. The 2nd generation can be seen as leaders for greed and corruption (again with some exceptions). While the 1st generation is understood as nation builders, the 2nd generation is seen as destroyers of nations and the 3rd generation is seen as nation re-builders.

Tuckson Peter (2017) referred to this dichotomy between two types of African leaders during our February interview, declaring the first type as the builders and the

second type as the wreckers. The builders are seen as leaders for peace while the opposite is seen as selfish, self-serving individuals who would not think twice about destroying anyone, including their own country, if their own needs became more important than the needs of their people and nation.

Also, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM 2017), an African Union leadership review body and the Mo Ibrahim prize for good governance in Africa (Andrews 2016: 89 & Mo Ibrahim Foundation, para 1), have "fair distribution" as a pillar of good governance that promotes peace and development among other things that African countries need to flourish.

Mathilde Mukantabana (2015) added, "You can't talk about lasting peace if people are desperate – hungry, no education. They need basic health care and social economic empowerment. That is why in Rwanda [with the current government] we somehow became successful." Mukantabana's view is shared by Edmond J. Keller in his book *Identity, Citizenship, and Political Conflict in Africa* (2014). Keller argues, "The Rwandan Genocide of 1994 and the events that led up to it present a clear case of social conflicts based in exclusionary nationalism and the consequent denial of citizenship" (p. 125). His conclusion is that by and large, the combination of exclusionary nationalism of Hutu extremists plus the lack of democracy led to the genocide (p. 125 – 141).

Like Mukantabana (2015) and Keller (2014) , Jenerali Ulimwengu (2015) , believes it is vital to have a balanced distribution of resources and to avoid favoritism or exclusion.

> You need to find equilibrium, a balance between so many interests that are competing for the same resources, which may be limited. As someone said

a long time ago, there is enough for everybody's need but not for everybody's greed. So, you have to temper that greed. In a way, you are like the head of family, where there are children who want to have more than their siblings and you have always to moderate between them and make sure that everybody gets what they need, not to satisfy what they want. You are not necessarily partial or partisan; you are impartial and you are interested in this delivery of justice to all the groups you are dealing with, so that you are not bias in favor of one group or the other.

Another important subtheme judged necessary for leaders to practice is "creating safe spaces" in order for peace and reconciliation to take place. Most leaders for peace understand that without security, people cannot experience peace. This has been the case in many post-violent conflict sub-Saharan African countries where I have lived. Even now, the same phenomena can be witnessed in Southern Sudan and Burundi.

During the interview process, 5 people made 7 references to the ability for leaders to create safe space for peace. Seth Kamanzi reflecting on his own experience shared this:

When dealing with ideology, you have to take into account other ideologies within the same society and ensure that in solving one ideological problem you don't create other ideological problems for the society. For example, in TZ we had socialism ideology, which was geared towards creating a society, which was less exploitive, a society, which is a more or less the same, equal. But there were others who also believed in a capitalist ideology. So, my experience was to align myself with socialist ideology, which was geared towards uplifting the lives of a lot of people vs. the individualistic achievement. I had to adapt also to the capitalist orientation in order to avoid extremism, which could have excluded some people. So, moderation is very important and for reconciliation, moderation of ideologies, moderation of positions and moderation of practices, are all important conditions in which reconciliation flourishes.

Another sub-theme that was highlighted was, "do commit," which was mentioned by 4 interviewees, referring to it 4 times. Without leaders choosing to consciously commit to peace and reconciliation, countries or communities may never realize peace

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for the common good. As Salim Ahmed Salim explained, "Peace and reconciliation frankly requires first and foremost, a commitment on the part of those trying to help to restore peace and put security in place."

Tito Rutaremara, another interviewee, made a similar comment:

The leader has to have political will, be consistent, be a consensus builder. By doing. Be an example. There is no formula. Be inclusive, dynamic and optimistic. Have faith in people, collaborate, unite, be highly inclusive always. Be guided by sustainable and lasting principles, eg., justice, unity, freedom, etc. And "HOW" matters. Let people identify you as a leader based on observable and tangible good results. [For example] encourage youth to have ideas that change the world [for example] Amicakar Cabral. A leader has always to be a man [woman] of the people.

Another sub-theme that was highlighted was "…have balance and be a problem solver" in terms of ideologies and worldviews, which was mentioned by 3 interviewees, referring to it 4 times. Finding the right balance goes hand in hand with the capacity to solve problems which was mentioned by 9 interviewees, 16 times. According to Joseph Warioba (2015), peace requires balancing many variables: "justice, human dignity, listening carefully, respect, inclusion, avoiding sectarianism and leadership of division." That is why Aristotle's ethics argued that "moderation" is a virtue. Given the complex context and environment, African leaders find it difficult to find the right balance between the conflicting internal and external scrutiny, demands, expectations and "the multi-ethnic nature of African nations" (Gonzalez, date p. 128). As Gonzalez remarks, "In order to pursue a given task, leadership requires, first of all, a strategy, and this strategy must be in some way validated by the group of followers … [who] expect their leader's strategy to provide security and to preserve the group" (p. 142). Tito Rutaremara

(2016), a very sophisticated political thinker, senator and political mentor and leader, mentioned a similar need during our interview that "an effective leader has to know where to start and where to end."

Such capacity that calls for the right action at the right time goes hand in hand with having the capacity to solve problems. If the lack of sustainable and positive peace is one of sub-Saharan Africa's major problems, then effective leaders must be able to solve this problem for the people of this region and the continent as a whole. Most of those interviewed and who made reference to viewing a leader through the lens of problem solving, were convinced that a leader basically is a problem solver and a solution giver. Ben Rugangazi (2015), one of my intervewees, said, "A leader is a 24/7 task. He or she is a problem solver, a solution." Similarly, Salim (2015) suggested as leaders, "All we can do is, be helpful." Another strong voice on this point came from Seth Kamanzi (2015) who added in light of his experience;

> …Efficiency in performing the work has been guided by the motive behind… to have similar courage to face the challenges and solve problems. That is what a good leader does to prepare the younger generation to be able to respond to the problems and impart the same vision for the uplifting of humanity. Now, when you find solutions for which problems…so you start with a problem and then you go to the phase of trying to find a solution. You have to make a proper analysis and evaluation of such a problem in relation to the solution one is using in a particular circumstance.

Balancing competing problems and solving them in the right or balanced way is very important in sub-Saharan countries, especially in countries where leaders insist on staying in office often when they are no longer relevant as a solver of problems. By refusing to leave office, they violate the very constitutions and democratic governing

principles they had a hand in shaping. Such leaders lack the practice of "having balance or a healthy problem solving approach" in their leadership. On a hopeful note, leaders in Ghana, Tanzania and a few other African countries, stand out as role models to follow in terms of leaders stepping down at the appropriate time to allow a new team to come in, collaborate to solve the existing problems and help the nation and community continue to grow.

Another sub-theme worth mentioning is "do make right decisions." This was mentioned by 3 interviewees, referring to it 3 times. Decision-making is one of the key components in the practice of leadership for peace. Given that leaders have to make decisions in complex situations such as in post-genocide or wartime, leaders need to have the ability to exercise good judgment. As noted by Bailey F.G (1985) "all effective leaders command some measure of devotion. In one way or another a leader must seem to be human" (in Gonzalez, 1985, p. 132).

Mukantabana discussed a similar understanding during our interview (2015). She said that "diplomacy is very important" for peace leadership. One has to be able to navigate between competing interests and perceptions, and between multiple voices both locally and internationally. Also, Seth Kamanzi expanded on this, stating, "Leaders lead people in such extreme struggles. Part of the leadership quality is to provide a decisive decision about the existing problems and how to proceed given the common experience."

Another subtheme, which was mentioned as an important action for peace leadership is engage in or "do dialogue", which was mentioned by 2 interviewees, referring to it 3 times. This sub-theme which is also referred to as "facilitated dialogue" is

understood to be "a conversation using a neutral third person [party], not invested in either the relationships or the substance of the conflict, to assist the parties in overcoming their barriers to effective communication" (Smock & Serwer 2012, p. 1-2). Given the competing multiple narratives such as "the true victims and perpetrators" in a "violent or post violent conflict" and a vision of how best to build or rebuild "interests, relationships and capacities" (Crocker, Hampson and Pamela 2013, p. 410- 419), leaders must be skilled in holding a dialogue toward seeking the common good. Also, the art of dialogue is one of the techniques and practices in conflict prevention, resolution and management.

Antoine Kambanda expands this notion of dialogue to include not only dialogue with others, but first dialogue with oneself and with God. Kambanda argued during our interview that "For believers in God, … God is the summit of the good, the maxim of the good not only in this life but also in the life to come. God has the power to do all the good...[Hence], credible leadership helps people come together to [dialogue and] work together to reconcile."

Other sub-themes highlighted during the interviews include "being practical," leading by action, leading responsibly, creating a culture of peace for children and always leading by example, because actions speak louder than words. This action of being practical means different things to different people. Seth Kamanzi (2015), said, "… for me, 'the other' must always be important for a leader to have in mind. A leader must get out of the orientation that a winner must take all, … be inclusive and have a desire to coexist." For Ali Mufuruki (2015), a successful businessman, being practical means demanding from the followers what is "possible." And for Mukantabana (2015), a

diplomat, being practical includes inspiring "the followers, people to do good...," to be understanding of other people," taking "people from where they are not, to where you wish them to be," and … "having an intimate knowledge of your people [and their aspirations] is very important."

Collaboration is the last sub-theme I would like to discuss under "Do". An African proverb states, "If you want to go fast- go alone. If you want to go far – go together." This proverb reveals the significance of why good leadership for peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa must be collaborative. This is logical since we live in a globalized world and there is no single country in sub-Saharan Africa that can tackle the challenges of violent conflict, peace or reconciliation alone. Rebuilding or building national unity, cohesion, democracy, conflict resolution infrastructure, forgiveness, justice and many more other components cannot be done alone. Learning from my own country, post-genocide Rwanda's Gacaca courts, and post- apartheid South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission, they provide a clear example of the power of collaboration in building a culture of peace.

Related to the importance of collaboration, 15 out of 20 interviewees mentioned 44 times the importance of networking, collaborating, interacting, building more coalition, diplomacy and working with external colleagues to come up with a common agenda for the region.

According to Seth Kamanzi (2015), collaboration matters a great deal. He said during our interview that as peace and reconciliation leaders:

We have to know that the conditions for peace have to be collaborative.
We have to collaborate with our colleagues in order to promote

reconciliation. For example, we have the African Union, we have the UN, we have religious organizations and political organizations, globally, and all these institutions can collaborate in promoting and enhancing peace and reconciliation. For example, the AU has a chapter and article that addresses the problem of peace and reconciliation in societies.

[Personally, I agree with Kamanzi's view that without John Paul Lederach's (2007)web-making model of peace building via building relationships; peace, reconciliation and development may not come easily for sub-Saharan Africa.]

Another example of a leader who believes in and practices the art of collaboration is Andre Karamaga, the General Secretary of All African Conference of Churches (AACC). When contacted by the African Union for the AACC to take part envisioning a new vision for Africa 2063, and to review the existing African Union documents, as a theologian, Karamaga stated during our interview in 2015:

> … Convened with all the churches and theologians in Africa to study and review this doc and come up with their own suggestions. He felt they gave their moral and spiritual vision and ground to the document and he invited the Muslims also with their perspective. They came up with a united, prosperous, peaceful Africa…that's the vision they sent back. He feels a lot of their inputs were integrated into the final copy.

This type of labor-intensive, inclusive, bottom-up and top-down leadership approach, demonstrates the way forward for sub-Saharan African leaders for peace and reconciliation.

Reflecting more on this chapter X*: Good Governance, Political Will and Rule of Law* are vital for Africa – by Keller (2014, p. 154-165). According to Ami Mpungwe, "Leadership failure has been the cause of an African paradox – so rich and yet so poor. Hence, genuine commitment to good governance" that is value- based and driven for

example, by the rule of law and promotion of unity, are vital. Mpungwe added that sub-Saharan Africa needs to have "leaders with moral authority"(2015).

Still on "good governance," Van Hoof is quoted in Keller's (2014) understanding it to be "a means of achieving the goals of human development as an end in itself – as values, policies, and institutions that are governed by human rights principles, that is equality, nondiscrimination, participation, inclusiveness, accountability and the rule of law" (Keller 2014, p. 155). What Van Hoof found discouraging and an impediment for good governance, was "in Southern Africa … knowing the right person was viewed as more important than knowing the laws and policies governing the distribution and redistribution of certain types of resources. Personal connections rather than institutional rules seem more important for getting things done than strict adherence to the rules of good governance" (p. 155-156). If Africa is to have peace, its leadership has to adhere to the principles of good governance and leadership.

In conclusion, this chapter dealt with an important theme of "Do" in leadership, especially leadership for peace in Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the external negative influences and desire to control African politics and economics by the powerful Western and Eastern countries, sub-Saharan Africa leaders for peace have to strive to take responsibility, accountability and ownership of their own people, peace, and prosperity. Turkson noted, "Leaders must come from the people (be fairly elected) and always present the aspirations of the people while subjecting themselves to people's evaluations from time to time" (2017)." Turkson believes always "leadership should be servant oriented and not domineering"(2017).

For example, the former president of Ghana is cited as an example of how the outgoing presidents and other top level leaders should behave to prevent violent conflicts and encourage peace. He is believed to have played a vital role in setting Ghana on a continuing path toward democracy and peace. After eight years of persisting, his political party lost the election. As "outgoing President J. A. Kufuor played a pivotal role in the peaceful transfer of power from his NPP government to the NDC. Largely considered a moderate, he spearheaded the withdrawal of the suit filed by hardliners of his party at the Accra High Court to suspend the election results. He also persuaded his party to accept the final results" (Adebayo 2012, p. 249). These are the leaders sub-Saharan Africa badly needs to promote and to implement conflict resolution, peace and reconciliation policies.

What follows is the final Chapter Eight. It focuses on a wrap-up discussion of my research and recommendations to help the reader connect the questions asked at the beginning of this research with an understanding of how they intersect with the "ethical pragmatic" leader, a style of leadership for peace and reconciliation that emerged from the interviews of 20 top level sub-Saharan African leaders.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions & Recommendations

The effectiveness of the African Union is our business (African heads of states) and our responsibility. Reform does not start with the Commission. It starts and ends with us, the leaders, who must set the right expectations – Paul Kagame, Jan 29, 2017 of Rwanda

As an African and a Rwandan born as a refugee, the phenomenon of leadership evokes both positive and negative thoughts and feelings in me. To some degree, my personal situation may help to explain my interest in the topic of sub-Saharan leadership and the predicament in which my mother continent finds herself. If African countries had good leaders, leaders that were mindfully committed to leading their people toward peace and reconciliation, how would sub-Saharan Africa and all of Africa be different?

This is a logical question given that millions of Africans have suffered the consequences of corrupt and malevolent leadership. As some scholars have concluded, the lack of leadership for peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa is one of the main reasons why this part of Africa and Africa as a whole have experienced violent conflict, wars, genocide and even extreme poverty (Gerwel & Malan, 2005, p. 66-69). Madelein K. Albright and William S. Owen report on the Genocide Prevention states that "leadership: the indispensable ingredient" and "in periods where there is no leadership, society stands still" (Madeleine, 2008: p. 1). On contrary, "progress occurs when courageous, skillful leadership seize the opportunity to change things for the better"

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(Madeleine et al 1). Other contributing factors beyond the issue of leadership to Sub-Saharan Africa's violence include: the lack of inclusive and fair political, economic, legal and social institutions, the geography of some countries, the extraction of natural resources, exclusive and undemocratic contested traditions and cultures, colonial legacy such as religious polarization, tribalism and tribal autonomy, gender and sexual based violence, gaps in education, technology, innovation, industrialization and external forces that have striven for centuries to compete for and control African resources, labor and market (Daron Acemoglu & James A. Robinson, 2012). In the past fifty years, 90% of African countries have experienced violent conflicts (Annan, N., 2014, p. 3) which goes hand-in-hand with extreme poverty (Alexandre Marc: 2016). Many view the fate of the continent as synonymous with violent conflict, widespread abject poverty, people who cannot govern or save themselves, ignorance and disease. It is difficult to imagine a different future when many of the current leaders are not concerned about their peoples' welfare. Based upon that concern, I wanted to learn how it is possible to develop and nurture top-level leaders to become a positive force for change or an ethical pragmatic solution for sub-Saharan Africa and Africa as a continent.

The study began by recognizing that good leadership at all levels is important for peace and reconciliation. In particular, top-level leadership is most critical given its widespread influence from the top down and its effect on politics and policies that affect the lives of many and whether there is peace or conflict.

 (i) The Ethical Pragmatist: a new leader for peace

A new style of leadership arose from the interviews of my study participants and the literatures reviewed. I have coined the name "ethical pragmatist" because the combination of these two elements, "ethics" and "pragmatism," were the driving force behind each interviewee's striving for the inclusive vision of peace and reconciliation. From the 20 participants interviewed, there were two distinct approaches these leaders took. One approach came from individuals who presented as being very individually focused, strong, committed, eschewed corruption and personal greed, had a clear vision for their country and people and knew how to achieve it. While they did not achieve their vision singlehandedly and had a team of trusted people whom they depended upon, they tended to use a top-down approach to leadership and to be the one to orchestrate the direction in which to lead.

The other approach was found in individuals who tended to have a great sense of self-confidence, the same clear vision of desiring peace and reconciliation and sense of direction as to how to achieve this goal, and they did not feel a need to be the focal point of control and held the reins of power more loosely. These leaders engaged in building relationships from the bottom up and relied a great deal on their interactions with others to help them lead, exhibited good interpersonal and communication skills, believed strongly in active listening and empowering others to actively participate in team work and decision-making. These differences may be due to the leaders' unique historical context and possibly personality differences dating back to childhood, a topic that the dissertation did not explore, but which is worth researching in the future.

This research found one major type of leader for peace and reconciliation: the ethical pragmatist who approaches leadership in either one of two different ways: top-down and a more individualistic approach, or bottom-up with a more communal approach. The study participants demonstrated these two different styles of approaches for creating policies, infrastructures and institutions. Whether they used a top-down or bottom-up approach, for each one of them, the end game and the vision were always the same: peace and reconciliation for their people and their countries. These leaders shared similarities in their particular leadership style that transcended the traditional theories of leadership. They were ethical, committed to positive change, inclusive, though bottom up tended to be more inclusive, visionary and just. Although they possessed many of the same qualities that make up the ethical, servant or transformational leader, again, the end goal was the same: to pragmatically and ethically lead the nation or the people to achieve peace and reconciliation.

Two examples stand out from my interviews that will demonstrate the individual vs. the collective approach found in the ethically pragmatic leader. Susan Collin Marks (January, 2016), describes the individualized approach as she related a story about her mother whom she admired greatly for her fierce determination to refuse to accept the status quo in South Africa's apartheid regime.

> My mother lived her commitment to peace and a better South Africa. She taught me to live out my convictions/ dreams/vision for in the end, you have to live with yourself. She taught me to advocate for what I believe. My mother was this tall, white woman, married to a white man but who was un-stoppable [when standing up for justice/rights]. She would come to the police post /office and demand to see Mr. so and so (a black man who had been arrested) and the white police would not accept to address the blacks as Mr. so they would say you mean so and so and not Mr. so and

so! And my mother would insist he is Mr. so and so, he is a man! From her I learnt how to value human dignity and the rights of the non-whites. So, I learnt that everything comes together at some point and that is when positive changes take place. But for it to happen, it takes a lot of individual and teams for example my mother, Mr. Mandela and others.

James Kabarebe (2015), another study participant exemplifies the collective approach to ethical pragmatic leadership. When I asked what made him a successful leader, an intelligent, strong and capable military general and minister of defense, he responded with great humility, saying it was not his success as an individual but rather a result of the support of so many other teammates. "Without them, I would not be. So, the moment you understand that, the moment you have that realization that without others, without your country, without your leadership, without your colleagues, you cannot do anything, then you will succeed."

Based on existing studies on conflict resolution, this project used grounded theory to explore and explain the nature of leadership for peace in sub-Saharan Africa. The study asked "What kind of leaders do sub-Saharan countries need to bring peace and reconciliation to the region?

Public sector, private sector and civil society sector leaders were selected who were clearly seen and identified as leaders for peace either in their past or current positions of leadership. The study was conducted in sub-Saharan Africa and attempted to capture a wide regional experience ranging from West to East, Central to South Africa. The interviewees were from Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Rwanda, Kenya and Tanzania. Though the number of interviewees was 20, they represented a variety of rich experiences ranging from being top diplomats with the United Nations, African Union and Vatican to

being a bishop of a local church, and all were recognized nationally for their contributions to peace.

Their lived experiences and personal understanding of themselves as leaders for peace, were audio recorded, transcribed, translated into English, and analyzed. The criteria used to choose study participants was in part based upon their experience of having led during or after a violent conflict, war or genocide. My experience of participating in peace building as a member of civil society, coming from the same region and personally witnessing post-independence violence conflicts in Africa for more than three decades, helped study participants to feel there was a mutual understanding and connection between us. In addition, I had a nuanced understanding of what they tried to capture in the interviews—I knew their unique situations and appreciated the intrapersonal struggle they tried to articulate. I surely would like to return to Sub-Saharan Africa to do further research and analysis of the central question of this research: How can leadership for peace be developed in future African leaders and be taught in this region of Africa?

William James, one of the fathers of pragmatism once said, "There can be no difference anywhere that doesn't make a difference elsewhere" (James date, p. 27). By pragmatism he means, "Practically what works, concrete application," (James p, 25 -26) a pragmatic vision or attitude that enables us to lead fuller, richer lives and which are more viable than their alternatives" (p. xiv).

Within the African context, ethically pragmatic leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Mwalimu Nyerere led their countries in ways that demonstrated their concern for their people, and the manner in which they led was clearly more viable to achieve peace than the alternative style of leadership demonstrated by leaders such as the former Liberian President Charles Taylor. Taylor represents non-ethical and non-pragmatic leaders who are self-serving and who are not appreciated for peace. Instead of building a culture of peace, he engaged in corrupt, self-serving activities that brought about the perpetuation of a culture of violence. Taylor is now serving 50 years in prison for war crimes committed during his leadership.

As a theory, method, approach, philosophy and an attitude, pragmatism requires that "philosophic inquiry be rooted in concrete experience and its consequences. Pragmatism directed philosophers to look towards consequences when faced with speculative questions [ideas]. …It pressed reflective people to see how their disputes could be 'cashed out' in the world in which they lived" with concrete consequences as William James wrote (1981: xiii).

Principled values and characteristics of a committed ethical pragmatic leader include: a strong moral character, integrity, trustworthiness, self-sacrifice, assumes responsibility for oneself and one's decisions, patient, accountable, reliable, empowers others, is able to solve problems, is inclusive, and possesses emotional intelligence. They need to possess certain knowledge and skills or to be aware that they need to surround themselves with a team that possesses the required knowledge vital for the success of their leadership. The leader must have the ability to act confidently in ways that lead

people to succeed in finding resolutions to problems. John Maxwell (2010) explains that, a leader is a person who removes the obstacles for others and constantly a leader has to ask himself or herself this critical question: "are you making things better...?" (Maxwell, 2007: p. 51). Examples of such actions include the quality of their thinking, decision-making, action and results that can clearly be observed and demonstrated. This type of leadership would include implementing peace building and community development projects that enhance the interactions between people to reduce stereotypes or avoid the exclusion of a particular group, which leads to the violent consequences that sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed for many years.

Following decades—and even centuries in some countries—with seemingly intractable violent conflict, various avenues have been recommended as solutions to Sub-Saharan Africa's problems and issues. One of the solutions proposed is institution building (Acemoglu & Robinson 2012). While building strong, sustainable institutions is certainly a solution, as Ralph Waldo Emerson noted, an institution is a lengthened shadow of one man or woman (1950, p. 18). This broadens the importance of leadership to include institution building because the effectiveness of an institution often depends on good leadership, and vice versa. Paradoxically, leaders and institutions need each other for peace to thrive. Strong inclusive institutions provide a system of checks and balances to monitor the abuse of power by leaders, and good leadership strengthens those institutions because they are in the best interests of the country's people.

Since the meaning of leadership is to influence or make a difference, sub-Saharan Africa must have the courage to choose leaders who can lead for peace. The former Nigerian President Obasanjo shared his wisdom, "Unity and teamwork based on African interest should be all that African leaders need to move the continent forward holistically" (Ndlovu and Miranda 2016: 39). Such a pragmatic understanding of leadership is similar to what John Maxwell recommends. "The key to becoming an effective leader is not to focus on making other people follow, but on making yourself the kind of person they want to follow. You must become someone that others can trust to take them where they want to go" (Maxwell 2014:128). The leader becomes like a tour guide or a pilot who takes people from where they are to where they want to go in pursuing freedom, justice, economic opportunities, security and lasting peace. How one leads matters to the followers. Maxwell adds, "When you look at the leaders whose names are revered long after they have finished leading (like Kwame Nkurumah, Mwalimu Nyerere and Nelson Mandela), you find that they were men and women who helped people to live better lives and reach their potential" (Maxwell, 2014, p. 128). That is why investing in peace leadership matters and it pays off in dividends of security, peace, prosperity and reconciliation in post violent conflict settings.

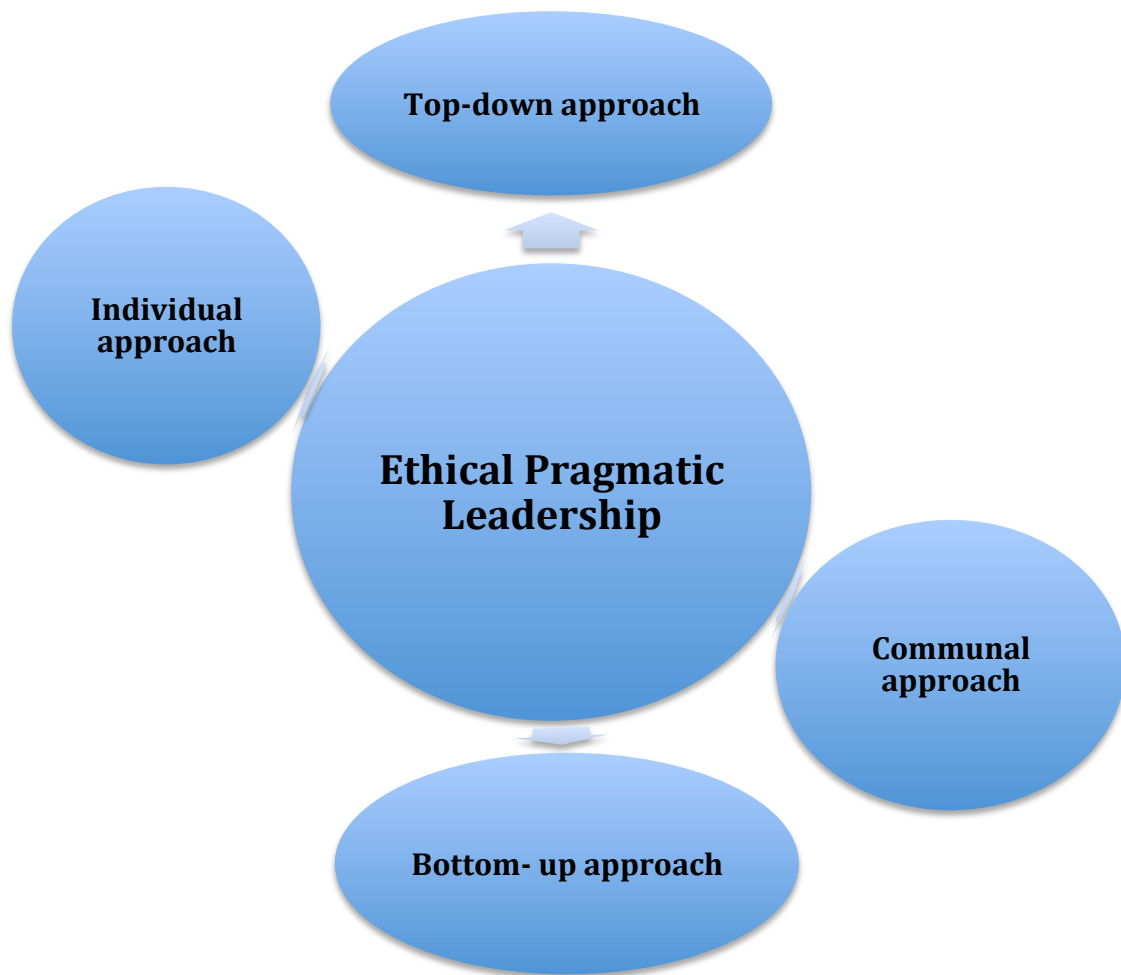Let me review the chapters that preceded this one, and that brought us to these conclusions. Chapter One set the stage by introducing the question of how top leadership can be focused on serving the country and leading toward achieving sustainable peace and reconciliation. Since most violent conflicts in this region of Africa are blamed on failed leadership (George B. N. Ayittey: Africa Un Chained 2005 & Daron Acemoglu &

James A. Robisson: Why Nationals Fail 2012, p. 404 - 414), this study attempted to understand the complicated intersection between violent conflict, war, apartheid and genocide and unethical, divisive top level leaders who promote the politics of exclusion. Such leaders politicize three sources of conflict: power, resources and identity.

Chapter Two established the theoretical framework by investigating various theories of conflict resolution and leadership in the literature. Theories such as "great man," "servant," "dynamic," and "ethical" gave insights on how leadership at various stages in history shaped followers and their institutions.

Chapter Three discussed the methodology used in designing this research, for data collection, analysis and interpretation. A qualitative research design based on grounded theory was used in order to best analyze the participants' lived experiences. A "grounded theory" is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. The strength of this theory is that it allowed me to be led by the data, which became the source of the findings and conclusion of this research. In other words, I did not enter into this research with a preconceived theory or expectations of finding particular results. I set out with openness to find out what the interviewees had to offer and what was to become the conclusion after the research was conducted. This was particularly important because I experienced the trauma of war, genocide and the aftermath of atrocities. Those experiences informed the design of this research project and allowed the subjectivity of this research topic as I tried to objectively learn from my interviewees. But I knew I needed to let the leaders' responses lead me to the development of what could be a viable leadership model.

Chapters Four through Seven discussed four important pillars found in the practice of leadership by **ethical pragmatic leaders** as presented in the two diagrams below. These are: Historical Background, Be, Know, and Do and how they all form and inform the model I created as the role of an Ethical Pragmatist Leader. I designed the diagrams below to fit the visual description and presentation of the discussed themes on the next page. Diagram XII: **Summary Chart of Ethical Pragmatist Leader and Be, Know, & Do**

Figure –XII-   Summary Chart of Ethical Pragmatist Leader and Be, Know,

& Do

Know:critical thinking, pragmatic decision-making, solution focused problem-solving, inclusive, possess insight into own strengths and weaknesses

Be:live by example, moral character, self-discipline, just, truthful, tolerant, avoid corruption,be empathic, value relationships

Do: provide example for others, focus on pragmatic, ethical decisions, distribute power, resources and knowledge failrly, commit to peace, empower others to lead

Ethical Pragmatic Leadership

Figure -XIII – Shows the vital Parts of Ethical Pragmatic Leadership

Chapter Eight concludes this study by identifying the contributions made by this research to the literatures on leadership, peace and reconciliation and the field of conflict resolution. It also gives such leaders recommendations on how to recognize and build much needed and noble leadership. Questions for further research are raised on how to concretely build and promote ethical and pragmatic thinkers who engage in critical thinking to take sub-Saharan African countries far beyond their past and present situation of violence and corrupt leadership.

(2) Contributions of this study to the literature on leadership for peace

This study adds to the literature in the areas of conflict analysis, conflict resolution and leadership. The role of leadership and the formation of good leaders is critical to understanding conflict resolution and what differentiates those leaders who consciously focus on leading toward peace and reconciliation in post-violent conflict situations, and those that are unconcerned with the welfare of their people or their neighbors and who are shortsighted and are self-serving. The importance of leadership, especially at the top level, is highlighted, but how one shapes or nurtures leaders who practice peace leadership is complex, multi-faceted and is not clearly defined in the current study. More intentional research on the intersection of conflict analysis and resolution and leadership is required and could have a positive impact for sustainable peace and reconciliation in Africa and around the world.

This study emphasizes the significance of identifying such effective leadership in sub-Saharan Africa. The collected interview materials laid the foundation for why leadership matters for conflict resolution and during the analysis; the research identified some key approaches or metaphorical muscles to be built or developed and how to do that.

(3) How can we shape the character of the ethical pragmatic leader for peace?)

One of the major areas that needs further investigation is how can ethically pragmatic leaders be developed? Their attitudes and behaviors rest on values, character, wisdom, knowledge, good judgment and positive actions and have to be invested in and

properly evaluated within the Sub-Saharan African region and Africa as a whole. This type of leader must be formed and informed while being expected to produce the desired results: sustainable positive peace, prosperity and reconciliation. The following are concrete recommendations that are areas of future research in examining the intersection of conflict resolution and leadership styles, preferably, ethical pragmatism theory.

Leadership theories can help us understand the power and influence of top-level leadership for peace and conflict resolution. Sustainable peace either succeeds or fails based upon whether the leader possesses a strong vision for peace and a shared plan of achieving lasting peace and reconciliation.

By paying attention to the themes discussed: Historical Background, Be, Know and Do, we can form and inform, mentor and nurture ethical pragmatist leaders who can respond skillfully to the desires and aspirations of sub-Saharan Africa and its peoples. This research challenges the field of conflict resolution to collaborate and think creatively about how to maximize the available crucial resources, especially top-level leaders. Leadership is important and so we as contributors to the field of conflict resolution, should either run for public office or figure out how to teach the required skills and techniques necessary for sustainable peace locally and globally and encourage those already holding positions of leadership or those intending to seek public offices.

Top-level leadership should be one of the solutions for sub-Saharan Africa instead of being the major barrier to achieving peace in the region.

(4) Needed vital qualities, attitudes and behaviors for the ethical pragmatic leader

In 2017, in comparison to the 1990's, we have seen a significant reduction in inter- and intra-state violent conflicts in Sub-Sahara African countries. Individual, group, community and national exercise of self-control and the promotion of peace versus violent conflicts have been promoted across the region though some countries still suffer violent conflicts. Over time, there have been monitoring, standard practices and techniques that have regulated the culture of aggression and violent behavior within some countries like Rwanda, within regional bodies such as ECOWAS and the African Union and even outside Africa by initiatives from the UN and EU, among others.

The following are some critical approaches and attitudes needed to build ethical pragmatic leadership in Sub- Saharan Africa

Leadership is a primordial fact for peace and reconciliation and the absence of [ethically pragmatic] leadership leads to conflict and war as we witnessed here in Rwanda – Alex Habiyambere

When contemplating and thinking about specific approaches needed to build ethical pragmatic leadership for Africa, the following approaches were thought through and envisioned. We can also think of them as attitudes or muscles that leaders need to build well-toned leadership bodies, similar to a master body builder. While a body builder needs workout ethics, discipline, length of time in practice like a piano player or a ballerina, to be effective, ethical-pragmatism leaders too need certain inner and outer values, character and shared actions to bring peace and reconciliation to the public to be admired and appreciated like a body builder, piano player or a ballerina. The perfect public display of movements, strengths and beauty of a professional piano player or a

ballet dancer displays an unquestionable self-mastery of certain admirable professional principles and practice. Peace and reconciliation ethical pragmatic leaders as well, need these approaches, attitudes or metaphorical muscles to succeed in their leadership practice so as to inspire their followers.

The following are critical approaches to "Know": techniques and practices in Conflict Resolution

Mediation, negotiation, dialogue, facilitation, non-violence communication. Sub-Saharan Africa needs to build such muscles in all sectors of life: public, private and civil society so as to minimize chances of people responding violently whenever they perceive that injustice has been done to them.

Training, skills building and education. Both formal and informal training, skills building and education in conflict analysis and resolution should be available for people in all age and class categories; starting with children up to adults and seniors. We must do so from grassroots to national leaders at three levels: civil society, private sector and in public sectors.

The Following are Critical Approaches to "Be": Principled Values and Ethical Character

Values and character. Positive values and characteristics such as living by embracing high morals and rule of law, prudence, good reputation/goodness and network of relations, self-discipline, tolerance, justice, piety, merciful, forgiveness, courage, magnanimity, empathy, kindness, truth telling, respect etc.

Cultural transformation. Some negative aspects of sub-Saharan culture must change. For example, any cultural tradition that diminishes the ability of people to flourish and grow must change. We must change our approach to raising children to comply, be obedient without questioning, instead of encouraging them to ask why; to become critical or creative thinkers. If we continue to create generation after generation of African children who are not encouraged to use their minds, to contribute their thoughts, feelings and ideas, we are perpetuating a culture that will find it difficult to support, embrace or even become the ethical pragmatic leader.

Mental, spiritual and material transformation must take place in some cultures. The culture of greed, self-serving corruption, laziness and poor self-governance, poor choices and lack of ethical discernment that result in violence, poverty and extreme poverty must be eradicated. Mentors who are good, self-sacrificing, who show self-control and trustworthiness, should be highly encouraged and promoted.

Other positive values and characteristics for peace and reconciliation that are worth promoting include: respect, patience, courage, magnanimity, commitment, accountability, problem solving skills, inclusive, integrity, emotional intelligence, prudence, forethought, and prayers. Prayer needs to be encouraged for those who have religious beliefs and believe in God, Allah or any other power that inspires the followers to lead a peaceful life both in private and in public life. They should put those beliefs into practice through their daily actions and in what they say.

The Following are critical approaches to "Do": ethical and pragmatic Action and results

Ethically pragmatic leaders need to provide an example for others. Being a role model, taking responsibility and being accountable should be highly encouraged across Africa.

Ethical pragmatist leadership also needs to focus on what works both at the individual as well as the communal level. They need to consciously choose to make ethical pragmatic decisions and choices even when it's difficult. For example, changing the culture and negative character of corruption in African politics and economics. Distribute resources, power & knowledge fairly; find the right balance that solves the problem on injustice and exclusion.

Ethical pragmatist leadership needs to create a safe space where the followers and constituents can learn how to commit and lead for peace. For instance, ethical pragmatic leadership should strive to end the culture of building militias and a leader dividing people, dehumanizing them and even sometimes distributing guns and other weapons to harm those they deem as "the other." Instead, they should take away guns and promote dialogue.

Ethical pragmatist leadership needs to build a new culture in which people can be trained in practices, skills and techniques of conflict resolution based on positive characters, values and peaceful actions at a variety of levels: family, community, the work place, and the national level.

The Following are critical approaches to: cultural, anthropological, spiritual, psychological and socio- political and economic positive change

Many critical and reflective people argue there are aspects of African cultural beliefs, traditions, norms, customs and attitudes that must undergo positive change if the continent is to transform the leadership. The unethical practice of corruption, stealing of public resources for private use, exclusive and divisive economics, politics and religious practices must be replaced by a new ethical pragmatism that respects and honors the good will of African people and responds to their aspirations with good management, good governance, and meets their basic needs such as security, safety, health and innovative and practical education.

Critical thinking has to be promoted, encouraged and demanded as a vital aspect of building competitive democracy, creating and respecting rule of law, human dignity and human rights. Leadership has to be at the service of those they promise to serve in sub-Saharan Africa. They have to create public awareness regarding for instance the importance of electing a clean political class that will change the negative behavior such as "electing thieves" as Patrick Lumumba calls them or "illiterate officials" into the public office because they happen to be members of same tribe. Instead, followers have to elect based on the person's philosophical or political ideology. In his *Greatest Speech – The Tragedy of Africa*, Lumumba says that in Africa "we elect thieves. We elect hyenas to take care of goats and when goats are consumed we wonder why?" (May 19, 2015). Lumumba added during his televised speech called *Good Evening Ghana* that we need to sanitize our politics and institutions, punish the culture of impunity since "most African

leaders mislead people" and hence the "African problem essentially and fundamentally" becomes "failure of leadership" (September 3, 2015).

For example, the problem of abject poverty and the human devastation it causes must be addressed. The challenge of poverty can be addressed if leaders are willing to promote values, sound education and economies that empower and transform. Leaders have to support a culture that empowers and teaches both genders critical, strategic thinking skills, innovation and values such as truth and integrity. As the Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf rightly said in her interview with a BBC journalist, "Africa is not poor. It is poorly managed" (Doyle, 2009).

Speaking at Desmond Tutu's Peace foundation (Tutu foundation 2011) about the future of leadership for Africa and the world, His Holiness the Dalai Lama shared his vision.

> The transformational leaders in the 21st Century will be focused on global peace, and to attain that golden goal, leaders will not be interested in having power over others. Instead, leaders will seek to inspire the cultures of the globe by practicing Ethical Leadership, making tolerance and respect among all societies the top priority. These leaders will help people learn to find the power within themselves so they will no longer fear their neighbors and instead build bridges of cooperation and trust.

Still emphasizing the role of leadership, a Malian proverb states, "Whether a chief is good or bad, people unify around someone." Since this has been Sub-Saharan Africa's experience for many decades, the time is ripe for Africa to have effective leaders to lead her people. These leaders must be women, youth, children and men who can partner across continents and countries, across sectors and institutions, to lead to sustainable peace. If we know the qualities of an ethical pragmatic leader, I believe our politics and

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policies should be geared toward building the process of identifying and training future generations of leaders for sustainable peace, prosperity and reconciliation in African countries.

Our political, economic, religious and cultural leaders should have the attitude of a moral, ethical pragmatic and responsible servant leader. For example, I find the words of Jesus recorded in the gospel of Matthew to be highly relevant. They state, "Whoever wishes to be great among you must be your servant … and … give his life as ransom for many." (Mt 20: 26b-28). The servant leadership theory has to be highly valued in Africa. As Dick Van Dierendonck points out, "the root of this leadership theory (servant leadership) can be traced back many centuries. Servant leadership may come close to what Plato suggested in *The Republic* as: the ultimate form of leadership: the leadership that focuses on the good of the whole and those in it" (Williamson, 2008 in Dierendonck 2011: p. 1254)

For example, James Kabarebe(2015), one of my interviewee's, states, "I think to be a good leader, first and foremost, you have to understand that being in a leadership position is being a servant. So, in any case, you must be the most humble and you must be modest." Bishop Cornelius who possesses many of the aforementioned qualities expressed a similar understanding during our interview 2015:

> A good leader is a bridge of friendship. He or she promotes security through friendship. A good leader is a role model, e.g. Jesus Christ. Like Christ, a good leader is at the center of his or her people. A good leader prays for unity and inclusion. Always cultivate good values. A good leader has independent courageous mind like Christ – free from government or other forces. In short, key characteristics include: trust, impartiality, patience, love, friendship, dynamic to change and relate with powers,

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understanding of culture, context and values. A leader is also a negotiator and bridges for peace and reconciliation.

In addition, Jega Attahura, a Nigerian and former National Electoral Commission chairman and Political Science professor said during our interview 2016:

> Leaders should be able to organize and coordinate the stakeholders. He or she must cooperate and coordinate all stakeholders. One needs to have the capacity to engage in an absolutely inclusive way. Also, institution building is a must. Leaders need to remain focused on delivering on the aspirations of the people. They have to negotiate and they must have courage, integrity, be hard working, have discipline, and lead by example. Listen, listen, listen and contemplate before taking decision but do not procrastinate. Have courage of conviction in implementing the decisions.

Over all, there was a consensus from all the interviewees regarding the qualities that are essential for a leader for peace. Leaders should be men or women with a superior moral and ethical compass, who demonstrate by personal example the importance of being ethically pragmatic in their daily actions, knowledge and work in leadership. Such leaders must be credible and trustworthy so as to inspire other people individually, collectively and institutionally to follow or partner for the sake of sustainable peace and reconciliation.

Strengths of this Research

This study highlights the insights of local, regional and national African leaders who have contributed toward creating peace. It is hoped this study will begin changing the narrative which characteristically labels African leaders as arrogant and self-serving,

to one that showcases leaders who intentionally lead their people toward unity, development, peace and reconciliation. These are leaders worth emulating.

The local context of exceptional African leaders will hold special meaning for the local people and for Africanist researchers from sub-Saharan Africa. Beyond sub-Saharan Africa, this study also might help western institutions and individuals that are involved in peace-building projects, governance, democracy, development and leadership programs and efforts in sub-Saharan countries to identify the efficient leaders at top levels so as to maximize the use of their resources. The study also gives recognition to the interviewees for their own efforts and hard work toward building peace and the well-being of this region and African continent. Within the context of this research project, I agree with Kabarebe that it is better to have a leader who strives to serve his followers rather than striving to fulfill his or her self-serving desires to be served by the constituency or the followers or engaging in corruption.

Limitations of this Research

One of my favorite African proverbs says "If you wish to move a mountain tomorrow, you must start carrying a stone today." Numerous restraints existed as this research was carried out and numerous limitations continue to exist for Sub–Saharan Africa's possibility to have peace and reconciliation. These barriers include understanding and building or growing leadership for peace, given many challenges. It is important to mention the fact that my sample size was only 10% female and 90% male. This study had a small number of female interviewees. It is quite possible that women could provide new information including new forms of leadership for sustainable peace.

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At the top, we still have larger numbers of males as compared to females. Therefore, more support is needed to promote and encourages feminine leadership for peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa.

The geographic size of my study area was huge (sub-Saharan Africa) and time and financial resources were limited, which prevented me from traveling to more countries in the area. Also, carrying out this study as a participant observer challenged me at times, however this did not affect the truth or quality of the study.

Another challenge might be as the African proverb says, "Because we focused on the snake, we missed the scorpion." By focusing on leadership, perhaps I missed an opportunity to study other pertinent issues that affect peace and reconciliation such as the presence or absence of weaker inclusive institutions, justice, corruption, mercy and amnesty, cultural anthology, education, faith, environment, and other internal and external factors that negatively affect peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa.

I share Cornelius (one of my interviewees') perspective and believe that the importance of the notion of "respect' cannot be overstated given the human rights abuse sub-Saharan Africa has experienced for decades. I anticipated that close to all 20 of my interviewees would agree that respect is a must. I was perplexed to see the small number, less than 50% of my study participants to mention "respect" as a critical element for leadership. I concluded a possible explanation for this finding is that since most of my interviewees currently hold or have had high positions in society and in the country, this value didn't even enter their mind since they take it for granted given their gender

privilege, which was 90% male interviewees, their advanced age, socio-economic status and position of leadership in their society. It would have been interesting to see if I could have had the same results, had I interviewed for example, youth leaders or grassroots or more women leaders, groups that may not have formal leadership positions and the power and authority that comes with that in patriarchal society.

Finally, the concrete implementation of my findings, "how to grow ethical pragmatist leaders?" This might be a challenge as it takes time to grow, develop critical consciousness and be able to exercise self- governance. However, as African wisdom states and so it is my hope, for my commitment to future work in this area, that, "however long the night, the dawn will come." If Western Europe and North America were able to overcome the terror of violent conflicts, Africa too, will be able to overcome violent conflicts. But embarking on this badly needed journey cannot succeed without "ethical pragmatic leadership." In the context of poverty, in Greg Mills' *Why Africa is Poor and What Africans Can Do About It* (2011: 174) he stated, "the primary reason why Africa's people are poor is because their leaders make this choice." Perhaps the same can and should be said about the choice before African leaders: they can choose to lead for peace and reconciliation or they can exercise their position of power in malevolent ways that will continue to bring conflict, poverty and destruction of society to their countries.

Conclusion

A great deal has been written about leadership, conflict and conflict resolution. Much less has been written about the intersection of leadership and conflict within the African context and there is extremely limited literature that addresses the African leader in other than pejorative terms. By identifying successful leaders and countries such as Botswana, Mauritania, Tanzania, Rwanda and other sub-Saharan African countries that are moving in the right direction, an important message is sent to leadership at all levels: politicians, academicians, policy makers, peace builders, reconciliation practitioners and other government, private and civil society leaders, that it is possible to identify and develop successful African leaders who are committed to peace and reconciliation for their people and globally. If leadership matters a great deal at all levels; whether it is top-down or bottom-up, or utilizing an individual or communal approach, then the field of conflict analysis resolution must identify and study leaders for peace and reconciliation, given the importance of such leadership in preventing and mitigating violent conflicts. Also, such leadership can promote inclusive political, economic and socio-cultural institutions, which are good for regional and global peace and prosperity.

Though some people would argue agency is less important than structure or institutions in sustaining peace, I propose leadership for peace and reconciliation matters a great deal in young and fragile nations where top-level leaders command most of the political, economic and military and police institutional powers. It is a vital component that influences decision-making which in turn, determines the course of direction for people, their unity and the ability for their institutions to function well and be sustainable

Leaders who are committed to peace and reconciliation, change peoples' lives, hearts, minds, memories and strive to establish just institutions that will lead to democratization. This complex and painful process is most successful when a leader like Nelson Mandela is committed dynamically to transformational leadership as an important aspect of societal change. Such a leader with honesty and integrity is "the exceptional individual in an equivocal situation in which followers would willingly follow to be delivered from their plight" (Gardner, 1993, pp. 34-35; Hochschild, 2010, p. 16). President Barack Obama in his eulogy for the late President Mandela whom he likened to Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Abraham Lincoln and the USA founding fathers, considered Mandela the father figure he never had. Obama remarked on the inspirational way in which Mandela focused on peace and reconciliation in his life and in the leadership of his county; "It always seems impossible until it is done" (2013, Para, 14).

Promoting leadership for peace and reconciliation in Africa might seem impossible, but as a Chinese proverb says, "A journey of 1000 miles begins with a single step," and a similar forward-looking African proverb says, "However long the night, the dawn will break." This is the hope that will inspire, sustain and energize this research to its completion.

Therefore, I dare to hope that unity and ethically pragmatic leadership will allow sub-Saharan Africa to succeed in ending violent conflict and building sustainable peace. By using innovative, creative traditional ways and modern technology to obtain unity, security and peace, there can be an economic, political, and socio-cultural transformation

of sub-Saharan Africa. Such a transformation will not materialize overnight and leadership for peace and reconciliation is the foundation for building these three pillars: unity, peace and security, from which future progress, development and technological innovation can grow. Being aware of the intrinsic relationship between the success or failure of African leaders and unity, peace and security requires the urgent promotion and support of creating a framework for conflict resolution. By addressing the correlation between conflict and corrupt or malevolent leadership, an opportunity is created to confront leaders' responsibility for poverty, violent conflict, widespread disease, the creation of thousands of refugees and internally displaced people.

Africa will continue to trail behind the rest of the globe if she does not build internal and external mechanisms or muscles for sustainable peace. Change is inevitable and it must happen quickly or Africa will continue to be perceived as the irredeemable continent. This is the African Union's concern and priority as captured in February 2017, when Rwanda's President Paul Kagame exhorted his fellow heads of state to begin fully funding the African Union as a way of reclaiming what was lost, including peace and reconciliation. Kagame expressed a sense of urgency to his fellow African Union heads of state during their retreat, which was aimed at reforming the AU to make it more functional. Kagame (Jan, 29, 2017) challenged his fellow heads of state:

> Africa is large and complex. But even the biggest and strongest country among us is not really very big in the global context. Even if it were possible for some of us to go it alone, it is also true that we are better off having a highly functional entity, like the African Union, and going forward together. Just look at how other regions are organized, where states with more economic production than much of Africa combined find

benefit in joining together with neighbors to go even further. We are hard-pressed to embrace change and in fact, seen from the vantage point of the present, we are already too late. We cannot avoid reckoning with the hard truth of previous failures; otherwise the same mistakes will keep coming back. But acknowledging where we have fallen short, does not mean being bound by it. The only mistake would be to allow the situation to become cyclical. Instead we should own up, accept it, and most importantly keep trying with more chance of success based on a clearer understanding of where we went wrong in the past. As we have seen, we have everything needed to succeed. To fail Africa again would therefore be unforgivable. Against that background, the imperative to strengthen our Union is very clear.

This dissertation is an effort to contribute to Africa's success, by providing clear examples of and insights into leadership for peace in sub-Saharan Africa. Such leadership is identified in this research as "ethical pragmatist" leadership. Guided by a desire for peace, harmony and the wellbeing of the people as a whole, ethically pragmatic leaders use their good characters, values, knowledge and actions to promote peace and prosperity. Unlike malevolent, self-centered leaders who use their resources, identity and positions of power and authority to accumulate more by dividing people; ethical pragmatists care. They value security, peace, stability, order, problem-solving skills, and they respect others' rights while exercising their vision for the entire country, continent and globe in the attainment of peace.

Pragmatically speaking, their primary function as a leader is to set peace and reconciliation as the end goal; it is the purpose for their leadership. Just as a computer has a specific function in order to solve a particular need, challenge or problem, leadership for peace must function specifically to solve conflicts so as to bring peace, healing and reconciliation. Ethical pragmatic leaders must seek leadership positions and constituents

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would be wise to elect them in order to solve deeply rooted problems that fail to promote peace and prosperity. Socio-political, economic, legal and cultural exclusion, injustice, resource extraction and obstruction problems must be addressed and resolved. With ethical pragmatic leadership; building and rebuilding inclusive institutions, improving the economy, confronting self-serving politics and cultural practices that are antithetical to observing human rights, sub-Saharan Africa has a better chance of being healed from the past, succeeding in the present and avoiding the occurrence of future violent conflicts.

Further research is needed to delve more deeply into how the ethical pragmatist leadership theory can be useful as a lens through which to imagine sub-Saharan Africa's solutions. The good news is that such vital leadership can be built across collaborations of various institutions such as family, academic and professional institutions. The cornerstone question that remains is how do we nurture and instill those values in young African children that are likely to create ethical, pragmatic leaders who demonstrate consistent integrity in their personal, political and leadership lives? The psychosocial, spiritual and cultural-anthropological development of children is critical in the formation of future leaders. African parents and adults should teach children at an early age how to think critically, to engage in independent thinking, to learn discernment and decision-making processes, how to live together in truth and how to take responsibility and accountability for their own choices. Whether children and youth make mistakes or have success in the decisions they make, they should learn the connection between others and themselves, and that their behaviors, thoughts and attitudes have a strong impact on

others including family members, community, country, continent and the world. African leaders are quick to say youth are the leaders of the future and many African countries have populations that are primarily made up of young people under the age of 35 years. Africa is the youngest continent and it is projected by UNICEF in its report: *Generation 2030 Africa Child demographics in Africa,* that Africa will be home to 2 out of 5 children by 2050. And by the year 2050, 40% of all the world's children will be in Africa and 35% of all the adolescents will be African (2014, p.7). But, most of these youth today are not being taught to think critically and the same report noticed that "3 in 10 African children live in fragile and conflict-affected contexts" (UNICEF 2014, p.7). Most African parents do not ask their children, "What do you think?" Children learn to be quiet, not ask questions and do as they are told because the culture believes primarily in the wisdom of the older adults. These traditions instill in children a lack of self-confidence and inability to become a leader who thinks critically and pragmatically. Failure to reverse this trend of not teaching critical thinking will continue to perpetuate the policies and politics of negative fear and exclusion that have failed Africa.

African people's peace, reconciliation, development, institutions and interests in general will be strengthened and sustained with ethical pragmatic leadership. Given the strength and the vision of inclusion and respect at all levels; whether the individual leader approaches leading using an individual-centric or communal approach or whether he or she starts from the top–down or from the bottom – up. However, if possible such ethical-pragmatic leadership has to be a shared endeavor. As Pearce and Conger (2003) in Contractor et al explains: Shared leadership is "dynamic," "interactive" and "broadly

distributed" to lead individuals or groups or organizations to goals (2012, p. 995). The teamwork of countries working collaboratively in sub-Sahara Africa can overcome most of the problems such as violent conflict, extreme poverty and institution building.

This study found that leadership, especially top-level leadership, plays a critical role for peace and reconciliation in sub-Saharan Africa. There is little argument about the need for ethical, pragmatic, team, and servant-style leadership in order to begin pulling African countries out of the deep abyss in which they find themselves. Finally, let the new thinking of the ethical pragmatism theory of leadership help to build free and democratic societies. And, let it be an effective symbol and a sign of conflict analysis and resolution and of peace and reconciliation leadership not only in sub-Saharan Africa but also globally.

Appendices

Appendix – I - Interview Questions

General Questions

1. What is your approach to leadership? How do you do/approach leadership?

2. What would you consider to be the abilities of a leader like you?

3. What are the necessary values and characteristics a leader in your position should have?

4. Tell me your story: When do you feel you were most effective as a leader, and what aspects of your way of leading helped you to be effective?

5. What factors change how you do leadership? How do you do leadership differently in different contexts?

6. How do you relate with your followers?

Questions on Peace and Reconciliation Leadership

1. Tell me more specifically about leaders who can facilitate peace and reconciliation? What are their characteristics, knowledge, and actions?

2. What helped you to become a leader who was committed to leading toward peace and or reconciliation?

3. How have you managed the challenges of peace and reconciliation in a society torn by conflict and division?

4. How did you bridge ideological differences and address the hatred, fear and anger that make some people desire revenge?

5. Did you dare to convince the conflicted parties to reconcile? If yes, how did you do that?

6. Do you think leadership can be effective in creating an inclusive nation where diversity is not used to incite violence but to strengthen unity and peace? How?

7. In your experience, what makes it so difficult for leaders to reflect peace and reconciliation in their daily experience, reflection and action? Or, what undermines peace leadership?

8. How could we maximize the effectiveness of leadership for peace in sub-Saharan Africa?

Appendix – II – Interviewee's Catalogue

Name	Age	Education	Nationality	Leadership Position	Leadership category	Gender
Ben	50 - 59	PhD	Rwanda	Political / Diplomat	Gvt & Private sector	Male
Seth	60-69	MA	Rwanda	Presidential advisor, senator, lecturer	Gvt &civil society	Male
Jega	50 - 59	PhD	Nigeria	Chair Nat Electoral comm & Prof	Gvt &civil society	Male
Joseph	70-79	JD	Tanzania	Prime Min, Vice President & Attorney General	Gvt ,Politics	Male
Antoine	50 - 59	PhD	Rwanda	Bishop / Rector	Civil Society	Male
Peter	68	PhD	Ghanaian	Chair - head of Vat Dicastery of integral development	Cardinal	Male
Alex	70-79	PhD	Rwanda	Religious / Bishop	Civil Society	Male
Andre	70-79	PhD	Rwanda	Religious / General Sec AACC	Civil Society	Male
Tito	70-79	MA	Rwanda	RPF co founder, Gen Sec, Ambudsman & senator	Gvt & Politics	Male
Cornelius	60-69	PhD	Kenya	Religious/ Bishop	Civil Society	Male

Ali	50 - 59	BS in Mechanical Design Engineering	Tanzania	Founder, chair & CEO Infotech	Private sector	Male
Susan	60-69	MA	South Africa	Se Vice Pres SCG	Civil Society	Female
Bandora	60-69	MA	Tanzania	Political / Diplomat	Gvt & UN diplomat	Male
James	50 - 59	BA in Pol Sc & MBA	Rwanda	Military / Political minister of defense	Gvt/ Army	Male
Mathilde	60-69	MA	Rwanda	Ambas, pol & Prof	Gvt ,Politics & Civil society	Female
Pierre	80-89	PhD	Rwanda	Prof & Founder & Director IRDP	Civil Society	Male
Jenerali	60-69	MA	Tanzania	Political- DC, PM, & Minister	Gvt &civil society	Male
Salim	70 - 79	MA	Zanzibar - Tz	AU Gen Sec, UN dep Sec, Prime Minister	Govt & Politics	Male
Patrick	60-69	MA	Rwanda	Depute chair AU, Presidential advisor, Lecturer	Govt, Politics & Civil Society	Male

Leadership for Peace & Reconciliation: Ethical Pragmatism

Nodes, Their Description, Source and References

|			
Background- Context	Each leader has a history, which shapes positively or negatively her or his leadership. One has to be aware of this and use it for sustainable peace and reconciliation.	16	75
Current Context	Leaders has to understand the present time in relations to the past and the future	8	12
External factors	A leader has to be wise enough to navigate the negative external factors and the hypocrisy of the international relations where each country fights for its self-interest first, sometimes without acknowledging others or the notion of global citizenship	7	10
History of Person	What the person witnessed matters. Most of post-violent conflict leaders have to choose to become the wounded healers of their time	15	41
Education & Experience	Cognitive and intellectual ability matters a great deal for a leader	5	6
Family - parents - growing	Leaders are sharped and influenced by family experience. Hence family positive – inclusive experience matters for a good leader	3	4
War time	The war time experience ought to remind a leader to always choose and lead for peace	6	6
Witness	Leaders ability to be a visible sign and symbol for desired peace	4	5
History of Place	Leader's ability to deeply connect with historical reality of those led	12	19
Be - character	Values that truly define a leader	20	232
Characteristics – Selfless	Leaders moral and character have to be beyond reproach – admired	19	107
Adaptable - Dynamic	Leaders' ability to read the signs of the time and positively change as needed	6	14
Commitment	Leaders have to be effective – show results. No lip service.	5	5
Consistency	Leading with character and predictable for peace and reconciliation	7	8

Courage	Confidence and briary in seeking and standing for sustainable peace	8	11
Emotional display	Ability to communicate emotions that connects with others	9	24
Excellence - Extraordinary	Outstanding	5	6
Passion - Care	Leaders' strong desire and enthusiasm for peace and reconciliation	3	3
Patience	Ability to endure, understand and persevere for peace and reconciliation	3	3
Personable	Leaders' ability to be sociable and considerate of others	7	8
Transparent - honest	Leaders' integrity. Withought being hypocrites	4	4
Trust	Trust-refers to the belief that someone is reliable, honest, trustworthy and will not intentionally do harm to another person.	9	15
Principled -values	Business dictionary defines Principled Values (PV) as the "fundamental norms, rules, or values that represent what is desirable and positive for a person, group, organization, or community [country], and help it in determining the rightfulness or wrongfulness of its actions.	19	122
Accountable	Ability to be answerable / take responsibility faithfully	8	9
Responsible	Ability to take charge or self-governance	6	8
Humility - Selfless	Refers to a leader's lack of pride and arrogance. Willingness to be humble	12	20
Inclusive - Justice	Inclusive- justice-refers to a leader including all people regardless of their ethnicity, religion or political orientation in the rule of law.	13	27
Integrity	Adherence to ethical and moral codes, and norms and just laws	7	8
Mentorship	Mentorship-refers to seasoned leaders for peace providing guidance, role modelling and communication for younger or less experienced leaders for peace and reconciliation.	7	12
Respect	To avoid violating any one, their rights and dignity	7	8
Sacrifice	Sacrifice-refers to the personal, professional or political gains or benefits a leader for peace may be required to give up or forego in his or her life, tenure or vocation of leading the country or community toward peace and reconciliation.	10	18
Value	Principled and desirable standards for peace and reconciliation	7	9
Do - practice - Action	Do-practice-action-refers to the actions a leader for peace takes that demonstrate his or her commitment to ethically and pragmatically lead toward peace and reconciliation (with real results).	20	117

Build	Positively constructing a peaceful and reconciled society	5	18
Collaboration	Collaboration-refers to leaders who engage two or more people or groups to work together through idea sharing and thinking to accomplish a common goal such as sustainable peace and reconciliation	15	44
Institutions	Institutions-refers to independent bodies established to stand up for an instituted important body of the society, community or country and beyond. Institutions help to shape laws, policies, politics, culture and attitudes that create peaceful societies	8	14
Legacy	Living for positive peace, unity and reconciliation as a leader	1	1
Trust - confidence - faith	Sense of assurance	3	3
Unity	Caring for the whole – promoting oneness or social cohesion	7	8
Create safe spaces	Providing sense of security and safety	5	7
Dialogue	Ability to communicate meaningfully for peace and reconciliation	2	3
Distribution of	Equality, Equity and fairness for the whole society or country	10	12
Knowledge	Awareness, consciousness and understanding for all	2	2
Power	Capabilities shared fairly and justly	5	7
Resources	All that people need to flourish or to get their basic needs met	3	3
Make decisions	Discern wisely and take action	3	3
Mediate - Negotiate	Present, represent and communicate for peace and reconciliation	6	7
Pragmatic	Doing what works. Pragmatic- refers to the leaders for peace who demonstrates " the quality of dealing with a problem in a sensible way that suits the conditions, situation and circumstances. No fixed theories, ideas or rules or way. Truth is that which works.	8	14
Experience	Accumulated lived knowledge and skills - richer and deeper understanding of realities	3	4
Problem solver	Problem solver- refers to the leader's ability to demonstrate problem-solving skills that includes the ability to negotiate and engage conflict resolution skills.	9	16
Provide Example - role model	Provide example-role model-refers to the leader's ability to lead by example through his or her actions and to whom others look to as an example of an ethical pragmatic leader.	12	26
Take Accountability	Ability to be accounted for peace and	7	9

	reconciliation as a leader		
Self-control or governance	Ability to self-govern oneself for peace and reconciliation	2	2
Know	Know-refers to the leader for peace demonstrating knowledge and expertise in relevant areas in order to lead confidently with recognized and accepted authority or team of expertise in conflict analysis and resolution.	19	170
Continuing Education	Ability to be a life time learner and for changes happen faster and daily and leaders need a appropriate wisdom for each situation and people	7	10
Culture	People's way of life that has to include sustainable peace	5	7
Discourses	Ability to communicate and connect	16	48
Analytical	Ability to see things or reality through multiple lens and experience	6	11
Communicate peace	Ability to conscious choice to symbolize desired peace	4	4
Communication matters	Ability to communicate well the desired life and the lived experience	14	26
Expectations – Clarity	Ability to be consciously aware of the need and desires of those led	11	17
Roles	Ability to understand one's responsibility	5	7
Peaceful technicians	Having the required expertise in conflict analysis and resolution	11	18
Skills to become a public figure	Having all it takes to faithfully satisfy the public	8	10
Vision	Ability to see ahead – foresight into the desired present and future	14	47
Leader should not be	This was not discusses by this dissertation. But my interviewees did highlight what peace leadership should be. This includes not being violent and doing something that jeopardized the unity, peace and reconciliation of a country or community or group they lead.	14	21

   In the table above, the bolded terms represent the four main themes Be, Know,

Do, and Context. The rows beneath each main theme are related subthemes. The

subthemes that are indented underneath other subthemes represent child nodes in relation

to the subtheme above. This table presents examples of relevant subthemes, but is not

exhaustive. More detail appears in the discussion in the text.

Appendix – IV - Nodes Hierarchy Chart
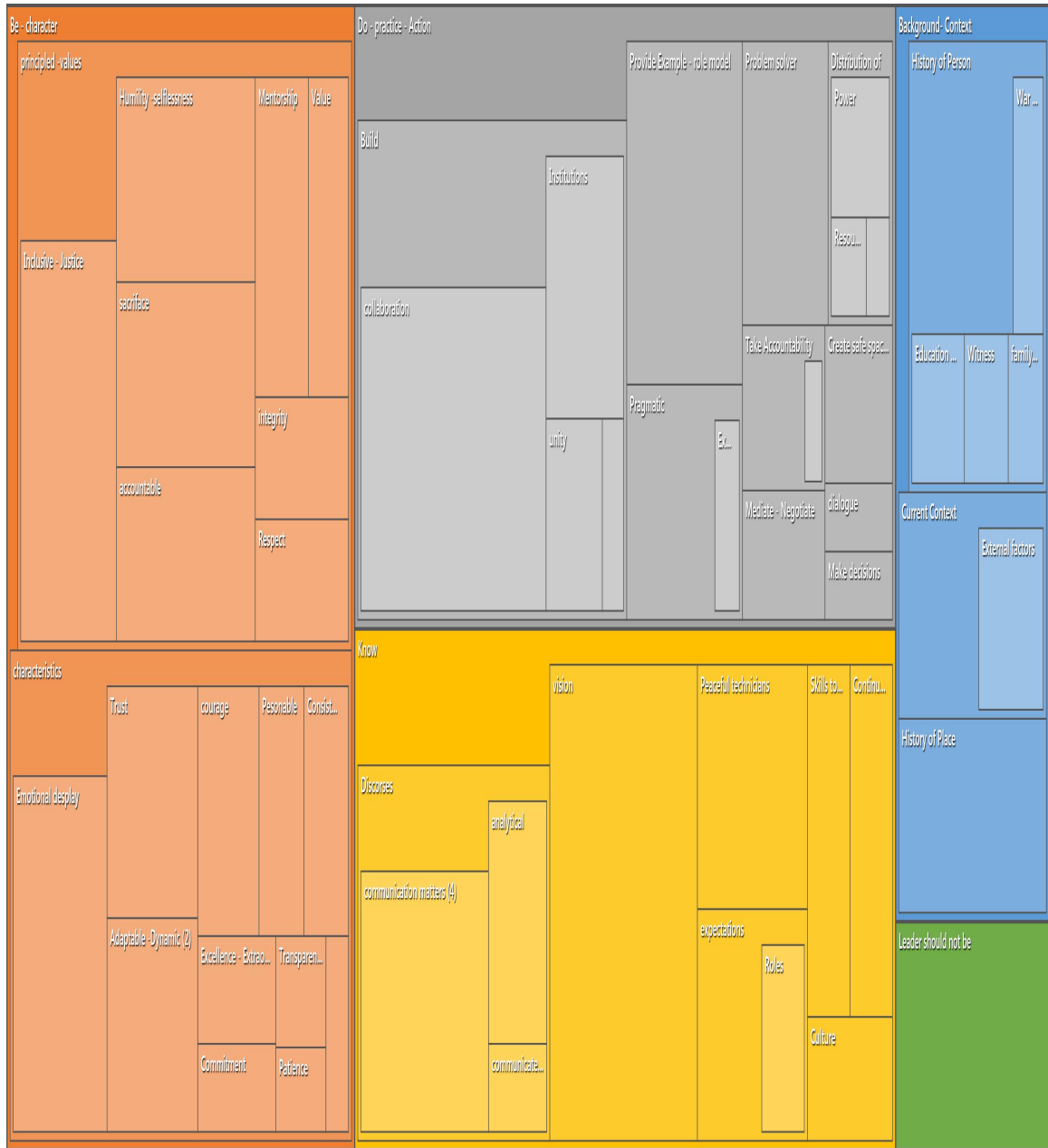
Appendix – V – Examples of Some Themes and Sub-Themes From the Nodes

(Theme comprises four items: Be, Know, Do and Historical Background only. The rest are coded as sub-themes).

Name	
Name	**Examples**
Background- Context (Theme)	I can say that the circumstances simply propelled me to that position. And the reality … African situation. You know no nation and no people suffered more than Africa. Through history, massacres, killings, genocides, all these things and so as Africans we have to take peace and security as a vital and crucial component of our daily life. And so, I would say, I did not choose, but circumstances put me there. And uh..I have been involved with this since as a young kid. I always felt that we must really try to keep our continent at peace… From her I learnt how to value human dignity and the uprights ...
Current Context (Sub-theme)	There is a problem of dependence of leaders in sub-Saharan leaders …leaders should be aware of this problem. When you see the aid we receive, there is a contradiction between the desire and the intention …sometimes the motives are not good and go against one's conscience as a leader. If you look closely we have patrons French, English Americans; almost all are the same ..some go to Canada, US , same patrons we need to be aware of this and our own context.
External factors (Sub-theme)	So I think then another thing is external influence that may not be necessary for the good of the people for the good or of the country but it leads to

	the insecurity of leadership, which is there. They're interested in their political interests, economic interests, and appeasing their external powers. So the external powers are the ones who create a lot of the problems. For example in the Rwandan context the continuation of interference of colonial powers continues to be a problem even today. Burundi too, the same external problem ranging from the first president to the second …they were always accountable to external powers. So the colonial power has been replaced by new colonial powers, which continue to undermine the situations that lead to reconciliation and peace and national understanding. Those interferences continue to perpetuate violence in various countries. And the big powers continue to interfere as long as they're not stopped. And the situation in Burundi applies to many countries in Africa
History of Person (Sub-theme)	The situation and context lead me to become a leader I became plus good mentorship.
Education & Experience (Sub-theme)	my background, time, exposure, socialization, education , all these factors contributed to making me a leader I am. Also the nature of my studies make me see value in doing so. Leading selflessly.
Family - parents - growing (Sub-theme)	My mother who was living her commitment to peace and better South Africa. She taught me to live out my convictions/ dreams/vision for the end; you have to live in yourself. She taught me be to advocate for what I believe in.
Witness (Sub-theme)	my development path as a leader starts with my youth – my youth – because during my youth, I knew no other life other than the life of struggle, the life of struggle. I grew up in a period when most Africa was undergoing liberation and, you know, that is the time of apartheid, when there was education for apartheid, so during my secondary school, my high school, we were all reading about liberation – liberation movements, the Thousand Africa, frontline states, all this. So, that is also the period when the Eastern African region, especially

	in Uganda, there was these liberation movements against dictatorship Idi Amin and all that, and then liberation movements in East and Southern Africa. So as early as the age of 18, I was already involved in that struggle, in the fighting, so that shaped me. So having fought the liberation wars...the whole of my life and my other colleagues' lives has been the life of struggle, fighting – for freedom, for justice.
History of Place (Sub-theme)	The environment that you are going through. the environment and the circumstances shape you as a leader. It may start as early as your childhood stage; you may go through it as you grow and then you develop the – those leadership qualities.
Be – character (Theme)	I didn't choose any of the leadership positions I have held. They chose me. This made me feel free to serve my country at my own terms and no body controlled me since I had not sought these offices. I have passion for contributing in my country.
Characteristics – Selfless (Sub-theme)	...leaders must believe what they say. So they have to really believe their words, they have to be willing to sacrifice for what they believe and say. They should avoid paying lip service to words. And leaders should also have the interests of his followers. Has to be willing to die for his followers. One has to love his followers to the point of giving one's life for them.
Adaptable –Dynamic (Sub-theme)	So, I was dynamic to follow wherever the peace process led. If you want to make God laugh, make plan. Go in with open heart, mind, alms – being dynamic Work with political leaders to consolidate the base Have charisma. Flexibility as you approach leadership is very important.
Emotional display (Sub-theme)	I think the problem is feeling insecure …here now or tomorrow, I may lose my leadership position. That insecurity makes a person panic if I should say. And some time react badly, that insecurity is for me key in that…then in the end when the decision and action are reduced to defending one's

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Name	
	leadership position, one's interest, then it can lead to doing some or decisions that may un-favor the common good, the good of people, may affect, may destabilize the peace.
Excellence - Extraordinary (Sub-theme)	You cannot convince people to achieve if you as a leader have not achieved and you have to be able to demonstrate that what you are asking them to achieve…it is doable. And people have to tell themselves what he/she is asking us to achieve, he or she has already achieved it and so it's possible.
Passion – Care (Sub-theme)	A good leader prays for unity and inclusion. Always cultivate good values. A good leader has independent courageous mind like Christ – free from government or other forces.
Responsible/ Accountable (Sub-theme)	A good leader is a bridge of friendship. He or she promotes security through friendship. A good leader is a role model eg. Jesus Christ. Like Christ, a good leader is at the center of his or her people.
Inclusive – Justice (Sub-theme)	Mobilization of primordial sentiments, form broader alliances on the form of inclusiveness.
Integrity (Sub-theme)	People below me did a lot of practical reconciliation work. I encouraged them to reconcile with themselves, with others and I had to reconcile with myself and with my priests in the dioceses and parishes. I also shared my vision and orientation because charity begins at home. So I tried to be an example. If I encourage a follower to reconcile, I had to reconcile myself first. For example, the question of ethnicity. If I was not seen to have transcended that, there was no way I could encourage followers to transcend that. My priests and all the religious in my dioceses had to embrace this and be part of this.
Mentorship (Sub-theme)	They have to lead by example b'se its important for the people to learn from their leaders.
Sacrifice (Sub-theme)	I think the key to this, is to be real. We need selflessness leadership selflessness service looking at the good of the people which in the end we also be your good not first your good but first the good of the other the good of the people.
Build	A good leader has to build institutions, good

Name		
(Sub-theme)	policies and politics. Good leader has to be at the service of his or followers and then lead them to good life eg. Overcome poverty and ignorance, promote Unity and peace. The successful individual leader is that one who will build very strong systems and institutions that will protect the leadership in general against succumbing to bad things. Like here in Rwanda, immediately after liberation, even our nearest challenges being genocide and the aftermath, wars and very many other things, the leadership here moved quickly to establish institutions, very strong institutions as pillars that will hold the system and propel it forward.	
Build (Sub-theme)	A good leader has to build institutions, good policies and politics. Good leader has to be at the service of his or followers and then lead them to good life eg. Overcome poverty and ignorance, promote Unity and peace. The successful individual leader is that one who will build very strong systems and institutions that will protect the leadership in general against succumbing to bad things. Like here in Rwanda, immediately after liberation, even our nearest challenges being genocide and the aftermath, wars and very many other things, the leadership here moved quickly to establish institutions, very strong institutions as pillars that will hold the system and propel it forward.	
Collaboration (Sub-theme)	I encourage love for self and others as Rwandans. For me as a leader, I have a sense of the people under me who are entrusted to me. There is nobody who has monopoly of loving followers be it the government or the church. We all ought to work for the same people. And never see others as enemies. All the work I do is not isolated in the world, but to appreciate the interdependence of our work both in the church, the government or outside partners	
Pragmatic / Problem solver (Sub-theme)	We need transformative leaders with 5 drives of global leadership that include (a) universal values (b) national borders to be transformed into a market (c) leaders who can embrace IT, science and global reality (d) concern and care	

	for environment (e) coordination, production and distribution across the global economy of scale.
Provide Example - role model (Sub-theme)	By doing. Be an example. There is no formula. Be inclusive, dynamic and optimistic. Have faith in people, collaborate, unite, be highly inclusive always.
Communicate peace (Sub-theme)	Yes through engagement and reasoning. These are fundamental. Use credible platform in the dialogues. Constant engagement, transparence, sharing information helps to minimize division and bring healing when it has already occurred.
Roles (Sub-theme)	You cannot convince people to achieve if you as a leader have not achieved and you have to be able to demonstrate that what you are asking them to achieve…it is doable. And people have to tell themselves what he/she is asking us to achieve, he or she has already achieved it and so it's possible.
Peace technicians (Sub-theme)	Have knowledge in conflict resolution for leaders' legacy should be determined by how a leader has not to escalate conflict but to de-escalate it.
Skills to become a public figure (Sub-theme)	I have developed my own understanding of leadership in three (3) ways through – leadership wisdom initiative (1) Inside -> outside leadership (authentic leadership – who we are as a leader matters. We step into a role as leaders – then we step out). (2) Compassionate – facilitating leadership – people who can sympathize with other human beings and have a deeper understanding that at our core creation, people are good and they want to do good most of the time)
Vision (Sub-theme)	Leaders need to be enlightened, need to be visionary, and need to be able to get people together and generate ideas that can transform and change society.

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Biography

Innocent B. Rugaragu received his Bachelor of Philosophy and Humanities from Arrupe College, University of Zimbabwe in 2005 and Bachelor of Theology from Hekima College, Catholic University of Eastern Africa in Nairobi. He also received his Dual Masters in Theology and Social Ethics in 2011 from Jesuit School of Theology, of Santa Clara University, Masters in Peace and Justice Studies in 2012 from the University of San Diego and Ph.D. from George Mason University, School of Conflict Analysis and Resolution in 2017.