



# DLP

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Leaders, Elites and Coalitions

DEVELOPMENTAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

Research Paper 17

## African Trends and Transformation

The Profiles of Sub-Saharan African Executive Heads of  
State since Independence

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# Abstract<sup>1</sup>

The profiles of Heads of State of Sub-Saharan Africa countries have changed remarkably since the advent of independence in Africa (roughly since 1960). First, this analysis has shown that the calibre of leaders has improved over the past five decades. Leaders are now more mature, more experienced, more educated and have greater respect for democratic principles and practices. This observation is also supported by the increase in elections and the number of times leaders have come to power through peaceful and legitimate means, instead of violent and illegitimate means. Second, the quantitative analysis of leaders' profiles has shown that a leader's particular profile and empirical characteristics play a role in the type of ruler s/he might become. The study provides empirical data on leaders' biographies that show that *civilian rulers* share similar backgrounds and profiles, whereas the background profiles of *personal rulers* and *military rulers* differ. This extensive collection of data, as recorded in the **Development Leadership Programme's (DLP)** leadership database and its associated query tool, opens up further avenues to conduct studies on the profiles of leaders and their role in guiding policy making and development.

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# Executive Summary

This study profiles the heads of state and government who have ruled Sub-Saharan Africa since the advent of independence (roughly since 1960). The executive heads of state in Africa are often the most powerful players in the politics of their countries. During their time in office, some leaders have crippled the economies and lives of their people, often plunging their countries into civil war and conflict. On the other hand, there are also leaders who managed to bring their countries out of conflict and to steer them onto a new path of development.

The profiles of these leaders, as recorded in the **Developmental Leadership Programme's (DLP)** leadership database, provides a perspective on the leaders who have shaped policy and led African states. This study highlights trends in the profiles of executive heads of state over the five decades of Africa's independence. Key findings emerging from this paper are these:

- Overall there is a positive trend in the types of leaders who came to power between the 1960s and the current decade. Leaders are older, more educated, have more experience and expertise in fields such as economics and have greater respect for democracy. The career trajectory of leaders has changed over the decades. For example, at present there are more leaders who held prior political positions during their careers than five decades ago.
  - Leaders who first came to power during the 21st century are on average 12 years older when they took office than leaders who first came to power during the 1960s.
  - Since the 1960s leaders have become more educated. During the 1960s, 36.5% of leaders who came to power during that decade held an undergraduate degree or higher. This percentage has gradually increased over the decades, where 68.7% of leaders who first came to power during the 21st century hold an undergraduate degree or higher.
  - The most popular fields of study of leaders have been Law, Economics, and Social Sciences, followed by Education. Social Sciences have seen a decline since independence where study in the field of Law has remained consistent and study in the field of Economics has seen an increase over the past two decades.
  - From the 1960s to the present decade the percentage of leaders who, prior to becoming head of state, had held full-time positions in politics (such as ministers of members of legislature) has gradually increased from 65% to 89%.
  - During the 1990s and the present decade, there were leaders who held positions in the international civil service (such as UN agencies or the World Bank). Leaders who first came to power before those two decades, never held any such positions.
  - Teaching has been a common profession for many of the leaders in all decades. This was most marked during the 1960s when almost a third of all leaders had been teachers at some point during their careers. This tendency, although not as strong as during the 1960s, has continued until the present decade. During the 1990s onwards, it is noticeable that several leaders have been university teachers at some point before coming to power.
  - Of all the leaders studied, 23% have at some point during their career been arrested, detained, imprisoned or placed under house arrest. In addition, 22% of these leaders spent time in exile (forced or voluntary) at some point before coming to power.

- There is a significant difference in the biographical profiles of civilian, personal and military rulers – a distinction that is highlighted throughout the paper. The profiles of civilian rulers (rulers who were not in the military at the time of taking power and who respected their term limits) and personal rulers (leaders who did not respect term limits, who ruled by decree and / or had autocratic tendencies) differ:
  - Personal rulers tend to be just as educated, or even slightly more educated, as their civilian counterparts (with military rulers falling dismally behind).
  - Civilian rulers' most common fields of study have been Law and Economics, where personal rulers' most common fields of study have been Social Sciences and Law.
  - Personal rulers are on average 11 years younger than civilian rulers when they first came to power.
- Today, more leaders respect presidential terms limits, spend less time in power and adhere to democratic practices.
  - Leaders from the 1960s spent an average of 15 years in power, where their counterparts who first came to power during the 1990s, spent an average of 7 years in power.
  - The number of times leaders were voted out of office has increased since the 1960s, showing that democracy in Africa is strengthening.
  - The number of leaders who spent non-consecutive terms in office has decreased, signalling fewer interruptions (such as coups, arrest or exile) while in power.
  - The number of occurrences when leaders lost power through peaceful means increased considerably over the five decades, whereas the number of occurrences when leaders lost power through violent means has decreased at a similar rate.

## 1. Aims and Objectives

The research reported in this paper sets out the initial findings of a project that aimed to capture the changing empirical characteristics of African political leaders (Heads of State) in the five decades from 1960 to 2010, roughly between the time of independence of their countries and the present. This paper draws on data contained in the database of the **Developmental Leadership Program (DLP)**, and has used the associated query tool. The paper reports the main provisional overall findings of some key characteristics and trends over this period. Further papers, which will explore other statistical relations and correlations between the data, will follow.

For the present, this paper provides statistical data on types of rulers, their educational qualifications, their fields of tertiary study, the age at which they came to power, the number of years they spent in power, their career histories before becoming Head of State, their political backgrounds and how they gained and lost power.

## 2. Selection principles and methods

The background details of African executive heads of states were entered into the DLP leadership database by collecting unexplored empirical data relating to the biographical details and characteristics of African heads of state and government.

More than 200 executive heads of state and government (hereafter referred to as leaders) have held office in Sub-Saharan Africa since independence. For the purpose of this study 158 presidents were selected (refer to the list of presidents in the annex). These presidents were selected based on the following criteria:

- The focus of this study is on *executive* heads of state. In Africa executive power is mostly vested in the position of President. Where this is not the case, a few Prime Ministers and Kings were included. Examples are Prime Minister Joseph Leabua Jonathan and Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle from Lesotho and Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd from South Africa. Examples of kings include King Ngwenyama Sobhuza II and King Makhosetive Mswati III from Swaziland.
- Presidents who were in power for a minimum of one presidential term (4 to 5 years; in some cases leaders may serve two terms of 7 years each) were included in the database. Presidents who were in power for short periods of time (days or weeks) could not have made a significant political and developmental impact in such a brief period of rule and were therefore not included. Although this criterion refers to “presidential terms”, it is noted that the fixed presidential term is not a practice followed consistently in Africa, as a presidential term is not necessarily served by a democratically elected president. Some of the leaders that have been included, in addition to civilian rulers, are military and personal rulers, whose period of rule can not necessarily be referred to as an official or fixed presidential term.
- Presidents who were in power between 1960 (or the date a country was granted independence) and 2010 were included in the database. In some instances such as the Presidents of Mozambique, Angola and Eritrea, only the Presidents who were in power since the time of independence were included (these countries gained independence much later than the rest of the African countries). Some leaders who were in power before 1960 were also included. Liberia and Ethiopia were never

colonised, therefore the leader who was already in power before and during 1960 was selected for inclusion in the database.

- Incumbent<sup>2</sup> presidents, who are still in the process of completing their terms, are included in the database. This allows researchers to make cross-temporal comparisons between presidents today and the nature and characteristics of immediate post-independence presidents. Therefore, immediate post-independence leaders are included, regardless of how many years they served.
- Leaders from 45 Sub-Saharan African states were selected. Leaders from the small island states of Seychelles and Comoros were not included.

The empirical and biographical data collected in the database can assist researchers to determine whether particular profiles and common features of African leaders can be correlated with certain political phenomena on the African continent, such as poor leadership, democratic states, failed states, African political culture, development or governance. In other words, it offers an insight into what might be some of the fundamental ingredients for effective developmental leadership. However, this paper conducts a trend analysis of the profile of leaders over the five decades of Africa's independence, without necessarily correlating it to developmental leadership. That will be explored in further papers.

It should be noted that throughout the paper where data is presented by being separated per decade, the leaders who are grouped in a particular decade are leaders who first came to power in that decade. For example, a leader who was in power from 1968 to 1982, is grouped in the 1960-1969 category, and is not included in the groups for 1970-1979 or 1980-1989. This was done to avoid duplication of data which might affect the findings of the paper. In addition, it will provide an understanding of which type of leaders emerged during the particular political climate that existed during a particular decade.

In the category 1960-1969 there are 52 leaders, in the category 1970-1979 there are 25 leaders, 23 leaders are in the 1980-1989 category, 30 leaders in the 1990-1999 category and 28 leaders in the 2000-2010 category, which makes up a total of 158 leaders.

### 3. Introduction

Numerous macro-level explanations have been suggested for the well-documented poor leadership in Africa. These include the effects of authoritarian political traditions, the effects of colonialism, lack of national identity, weak democratic cultures and institutions, underdeveloped middle classes, widespread economic distress and even interference from external forces through foreign aid (Goldsmith, 2001: 77; Rotberg, 2003: 28). Goldsmith (2001: 78) proposes that in order to find further explanations for poor leadership one should also take a micro-level approach. His approach is to look at leaders through the rational actor model in trying to understand leaders' motives and their perceived levels of risk in their political environment.

This paper also takes a micro-level approach, but instead of focussing on the behaviour of leaders, it profiles leaders based on their biographical details and background. Once leaders have been profiled, then correlations could be made with their behaviour, policy preferences or quality of leadership based on their background, rather than just their interests. Therefore, as opposed to Goldsmith's study of leaders' political environment while in power, this study looks at leaders' background before coming to

2 Note that some of the incumbent presidents during the year 2010 were not included in the database. This is due to events such as military coups, death of presidents and political change in countries such as Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Niger and Nigeria. During the time the research was conducted, it was not yet clear who would lead these countries from the year 2010 onwards.



power.

## 4. Types of rulers

Throughout this study, a distinction is made between civilian rulers, personal rulers and military rulers. This distinction is necessary, since these types of rulers have played a significant role in how leadership in Africa is profiled.

### 4.1 Civilian rulers

*Civilian rulers* can be defined as leaders who were not in the military at the time of taking office; who came to power through legitimate means (elections, whether free or not); and who have respected the presidential term limits as required by the constitution of that country. Examples of such rulers include Tanzania's Ali Hassan Mwinyi, Zambia's Frederick Chiluba and Ghana's John Kufuor. Of the 158 leaders studied, 82 (51.9%) are classified as civilian rulers. This is not an encouraging statistic, since it indicates that only half of the leaders came to power through legitimate means and respected their presidential term limits. Note that in the Developmental Leadership Programme's leadership database more than 82 leaders are recorded as civilian rulers, since some leaders who were initially classified as civilian rulers later became personal rulers when they exceeded their presidential term limits (see section 4.2 and 4.4 for further explanation).

### 4.2 'Personal' ruler

*Personal rulers* are usually civilian rulers who do not respect presidential term limits. They could, for example, at the end of their presidential terms manoeuvre illegal amendments to the constitution to extend their time in office, or ban opposition parties and declare themselves president-for-life. Personal rulers often treat political and administrative affairs of the state as their own personal affairs and their rule is arbitrary (Thomson, 2000: 107). Therefore personal rulers are more likely to emerge in soft and poorly institutionalised states. Examples of personal rulers include Malawi's Hastings Banda, Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi, Félix Houphouët Boigny of Ivory Coast and Gabon's Omar Bongo. Of the 158 leaders studied, 38 (24.05%) are classified as personal rulers.

### 4.3 Military rulers

A *military ruler* is a ruler who was in the military at the time of taking office and who took power through a military coup. The military rose to prominence in Africa after independence and dominated the continent's politics for over three decades. Since independence, Africa has seen over 90 military coups. There are several reasons why military rulers managed to rise to power and embed themselves into the political realm, often unopposed. For example, this may have been due to their belief that the military, with its strength and organisational ability, would be more able to maintain stability and unify the nation in countries dominated by ethnic conflicts. However, history has proven that military rulers have fared no better than their civilian counterparts in bringing stability, democracy and development to their countries. Examples of military rulers include Somalia's Siad Barre, Ethiopia's Haile Mariam Mengistu and Nigeria's Ibrahim Babangida. Of the 158 leaders studied, 43 (27.2%) of leaders were classified as military rulers at some point during their rule. This is also not an encouraging statistic, since it illustrates the prevalence of poor civil-military relations in Africa.

### 4.4 Multiple classifications

In this study, it is possible for one leader to be classified as more than one type of ruler throughout his time in power. Moussa Traore from Mali is an example. Traore was a senior officer in the military who took power in a military coup in 1968. He stayed in power until 1980 when the country underwent a process of transition to democracy. Traore then stepped down from the military and participated in

the elections as a civilian. He served the legal two terms in power until 1990. Then Traore changed the constitution to make himself president-for-life. From here on he is classified as a personal ruler. In 1991 he was overthrown in a military coup.

## 5. Educational qualifications

### 5.1 Level of education

In order to measure how leaders' level of education changed over the five decades, numerical values were assigned to each type of qualification:

*Primary education or basic education = 1*

*Secondary education = 2*

*Vocational or technical qualification = 3*

*Diploma or teaching qualification = 4*

*Undergraduate degree = 5*

*Post-graduate degree = 6*

*PhD = 7*

The value of each qualification accumulates to make up a leader's final score. For example, a leader who holds a PhD would therefore be awarded a score of 20 (2+5+6+7). A leader who holds a post-graduate degree as well as a teaching degree would be awarded a score of 17 (2+4+5+6). Note that a leader who completed secondary school is not awarded the additional 1 point allocated for primary or basic education. The 1 point score in that regard is reserved for leaders who have very limited education simply to indicate that that leader had basic literacy.

### 1960-1969<sup>3</sup>

The average score of the 52 leaders who first came to power during the first decade of African independence, which is roughly between 1960 and 1969, amount to 6.3. The highest six scorers in this group are Hastings Kamuzu Banda (24), Kwame Nkrumah (22), Milton Augustus Strieby Margai (20), Hendrik Verwoerd (20), Julius Nyerere (17) and Benjamin Nmandi Azikiwe (17). Three of these six leaders are classified as "civilian rulers" and the other half as "personal rulers".

Of the 52 leaders, 19 (36.5%) held an undergraduate degree or higher. Their fields of study were Social Sciences (6 leaders), Medicine or Health Studies (4), Law (3 leaders), Theology (3 leaders), Education (2 leaders), Humanities (2 leaders), Engineering (2 leaders), Management (1 leader) and Business (1 leader). Of the 52 leaders, 6 (11.5%) had teaching qualifications.

### 1970-1979

The average score of the 25 leaders who first came to power between 1970 and 1979 amounts to 4.56. The highest scorers in this category are Agostinho Neto (13), Dawda Kairaba Jawara (13) and then the following leaders who were all awarded a score of 7: Jose Eduardo dos Santos, William Richard Tolbert Jr., Olusegun Obasanjo, Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, Juvenal Habyarimana and Manuel Pinto da Costa. The highest scorers comprise two Heads of Liberation Movements, one personal ruler, three civilian and two military rulers.

<sup>3</sup> This group of leaders also include some leaders who first came to power before 1960. These leaders are Haile Selassie (1930), William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman (1944), Ismail al-Azhari (1956), Kwame Nkrumah (1957), Ahmed Sékou Touré (1958), Hendrik Verwoerd (1958) and El-Ferik Ibrahim Abboud (1958).

Of the 25 leaders, 8 (32%) held an undergraduate degree or higher. Their fields of study were Engineering (1), Medicine (1), Sciences (1) Administration (1), Theology (1), Arts and Humanities (1), Economics (1) and Education (1). Two of the 25 leaders had teaching qualifications.

### **1980-1989**

The average score of the 23 leaders who first came to power between 1980 and 1989 amounts to 7.73. The highest scorers in this category are Robert Mugabe (43), Hissene Habre (20), Paul Biya (15), Omar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir (13) and Ali Hassan Mwinyi (11). The highest scorers comprise of three personal rulers and two civilian rulers. Of the 23 leaders in this category, ten (43%) held an undergraduate degree or higher. Their fields of study were Law (6), Social Sciences (4), Military Science (1), Education (1) and Economics (1). Two of the 23 leaders had teaching qualifications.

### **1990-1999**

The average score of the 30 leaders who first came to power between 1990 and 1999 is 9.6. The highest scorers in this category are Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro (20), Pascal Lissouba (20), Aime Henri Konan Bedie (20), Alpha Oumar Konare (20), Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili (19), Navinchandra Ramgoolam (19) and Nelson Mandela (18). All of these leaders are classified as civilian rulers. Of the 30 leaders in this category, 21 (70%) held an undergraduate degree or higher. Their fields of study were Law (7), Economics (6), Agriculture (2), Sciences (2), Arts and Humanities (2), Medicine (2), Education (2), Engineering (1) and Social Sciences (1). None of the 30 leaders had teaching qualifications.

### **2000-2010**

The average score of the 28 leaders who first came to power between 2000 and 2010 is 9.35. The highest scorers in this category are Thomas Yayi Boni (27), Abdoulaye Wade (27), Laurent Koudou Gbagbo (20), John Evans Atta-Mills (20) and Bingu wa Mutharika (20). All of these leaders are classified as civilian rulers. Of the 28 leaders in this category, 19 (67.8%) hold an undergraduate degree or higher. Their fields of study were Economics (7), Law (6), Education (3), Social Sciences (2), Sciences (2), Business (2) and Arts and Humanities (1). One of the 28 leaders has a teaching qualification.

**Table 1: Average Educational Qualification Score 1960-2010**

Decade	Average Score (refer to figure 1)	Highest Scorers	Percentage of leaders holding an undergraduate degree or higher (refer to figure 2)
1960-1969	6.3	Hastings Kamuzu Banda (24) Kwame Nkrumah (22) Milton Augustus Strieby Margai (20) Hendrik Verwoerd (20) Julius Nyerere (17) Benjamin Nmandi Azikiwe (17)	36.5%
1970-1979	4.56	Agostinho Neto (13) Dawda Kairaba Jawara (13)	32%
1980-1989	7.73	Robert Mugabe (43) Hissene Habre (20) Paul Biya (15) Omar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir (13) Ali Hassan Mwinyi (11)	43%
1990-1999	9.6	Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monterio (20) Pascal Lissouba (20) Aime Henri Konan Bedie (20) Alpha Oumar Konare (20) Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili (19) Navinchandra Ramgoolam (19) Nelson Mandela (18)	70%
2000-2010	9.35	Thomas Yayi Boni (27) Abdoulaye Wade (27) Laurent Koudou Gbagbo (20) John Evans Atta-Mills (20) Bingu wa Mutharika (20)	67.8%

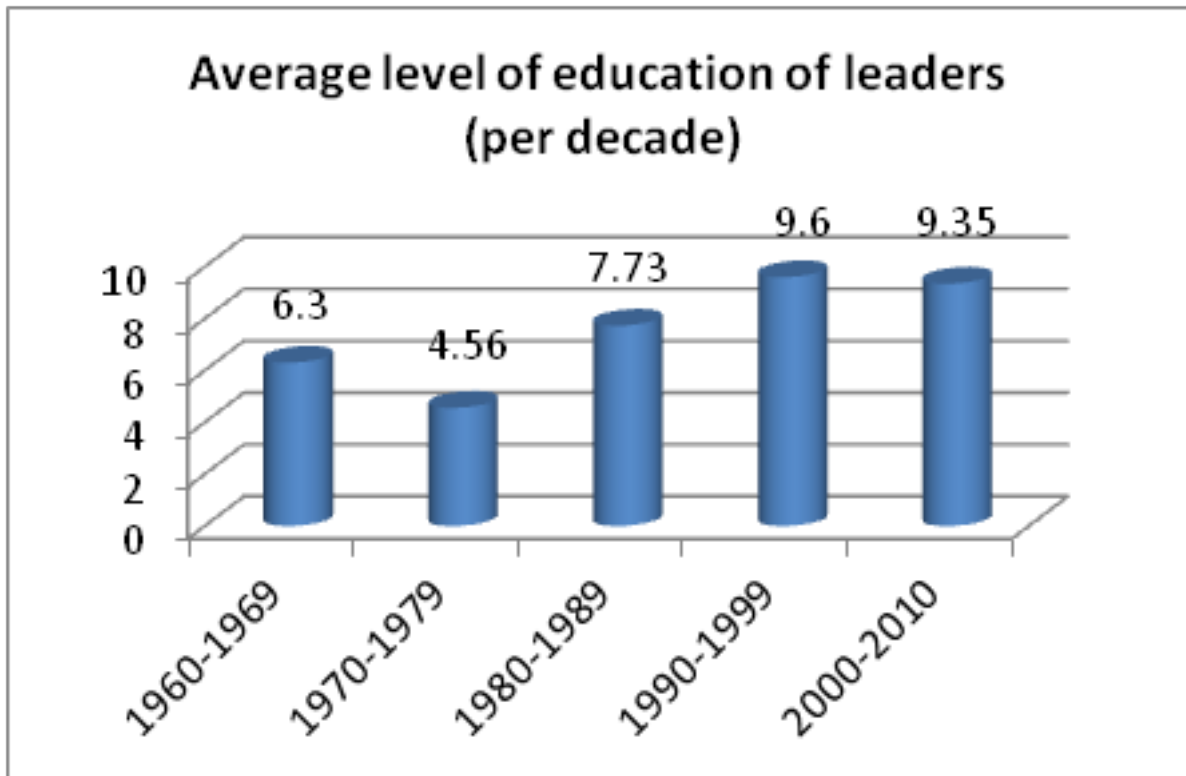


Figure 1: Average level of education of leaders (per decade)

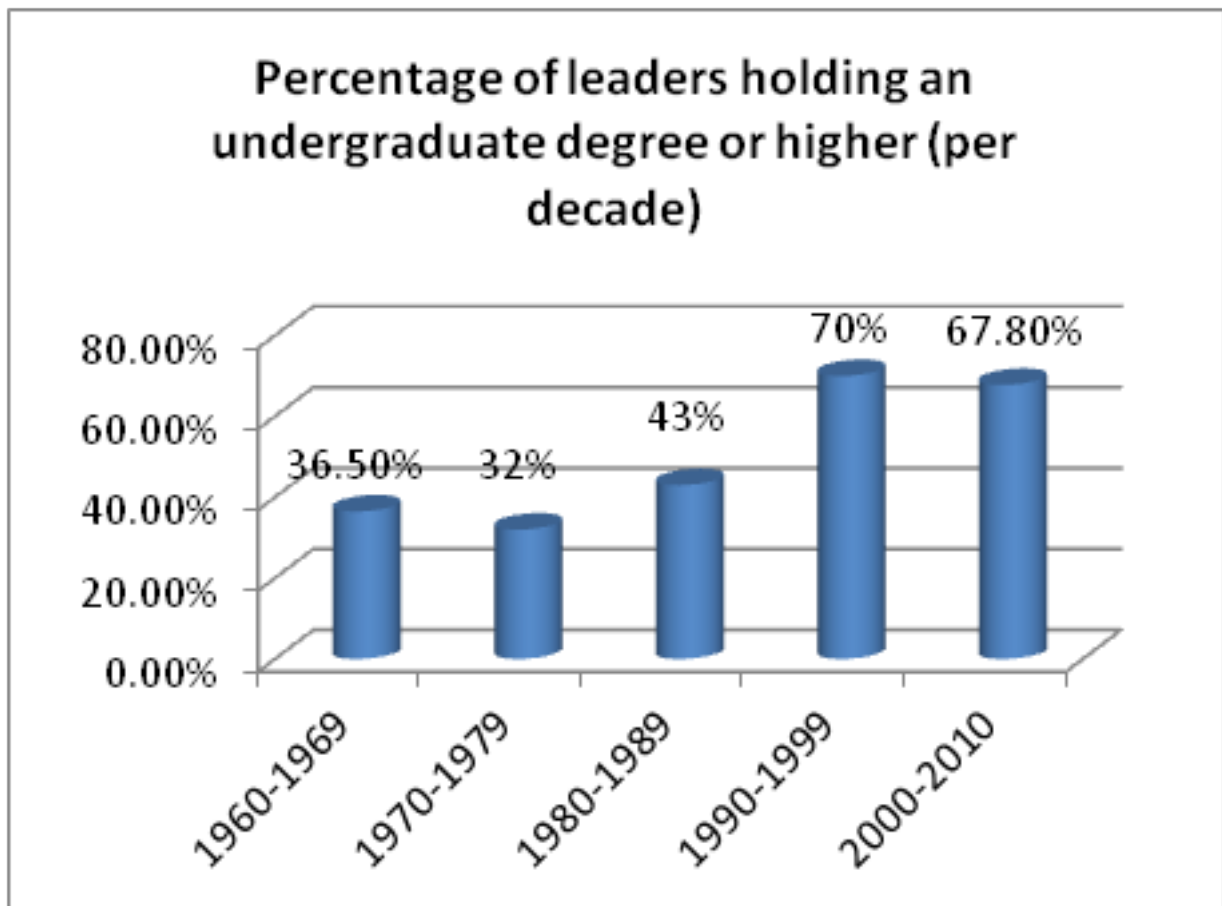


Figure 2: Percentage of leaders holding an undergraduate degree or higher (per decade)

When interpreting Figures 1 and 2, one could argue that the increase in the number of qualifications should be viewed in light of socio-economic development and availability of education since the colonial era. Although there might be a correlation between the increase in the availability of opportunities to study and the increase in leaders holding a post-graduate degree or higher, the majority of leaders obtained their qualifications during the pre-colonial era. In addition, only 18 (11.3%) of the 158 leaders obtained their degrees after 1980.

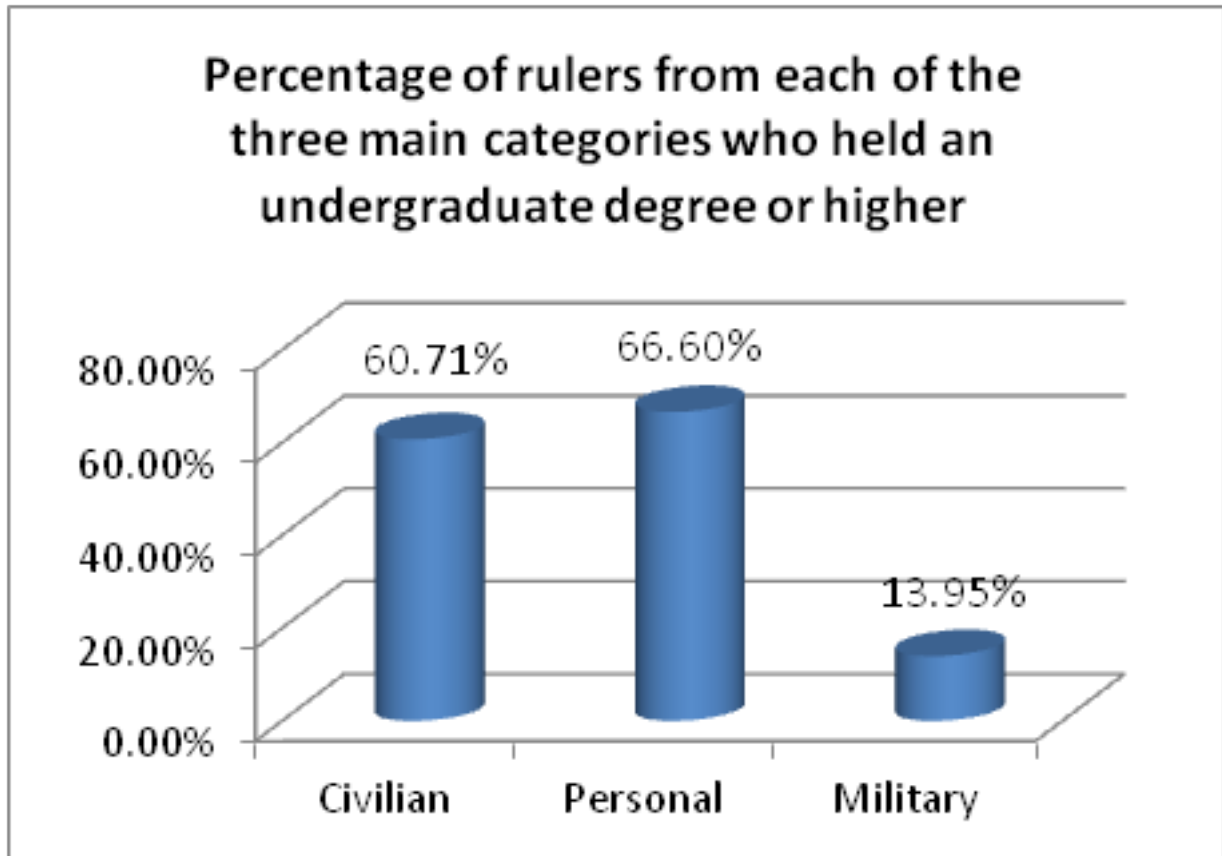


Figure 3: Percentage of rulers from each of the three main categories who held an undergraduate degree or higher

As illustrated by Figure 3 above, personal and civilian rulers have been on average more educated than military rulers. Mazrui (1978: 16) writes that during the latter part of the colonial era, Africans who could go to school and move on to white-collar jobs preferred such prospects to being recruited into the army. The colonial armed forces therefore turned to the most disadvantaged and rural communities for soldiers. Mazrui postulates that the colonial powers assumed that illiterate tribesmen could be trusted to be more obedient than a product of secondary school.

*“Sometimes people mistake the way I talk for what I am thinking. I never had any formal education – not even nursery school certificate. But, sometimes I know more than Ph.Ds because as a military man I know how to act, I am a man of action.”* Idi Amin, former President of Uganda, cited in Melady and Melady (1977: 167).

## 5.2 Field of study

As illustrated by Figure 4, the most popular fields of study of leaders have been Law, Economics, and Social Sciences, followed by Education. Social Sciences have seen a decline since independence whereas study in the field of Law has remained consistent and study in the field of Economics has seen an

increase over the past two decades.

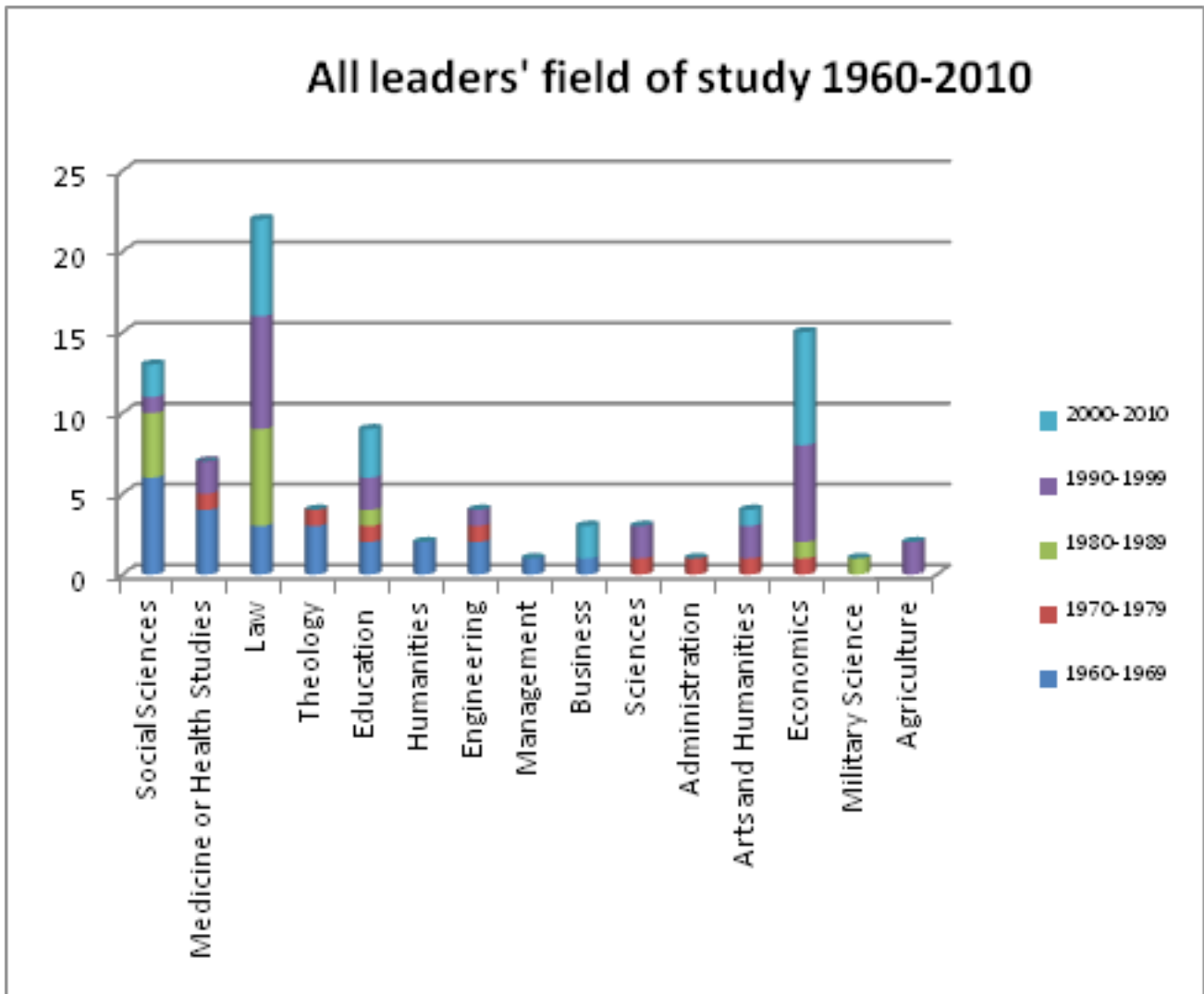


Figure 4: All leaders' field of study 1960-2010

Of the leaders who held Law degrees, 82% have been civilian rulers and the remaining 18% have been personal rulers. It could be argued that leaders who have been educated in Law have better understanding of governance, the rule of law, the importance of institutional integrity and application and constitutional principles, which in turn may provide them with enhanced respect for abiding by presidential term limits (refer to Figure 5).

Of the leaders who studied Economics, approximately half studied at institutions outside Africa (for example London School of Economics, University of Paris and University of Sussex), and the rest at African institutions (for example University of South Africa and Makerere University). All of the leaders who studied Economics (apart from Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe) are classified as civilian rulers. The majority of these leaders have been or are in power in countries that have shown significant development (or maintained steady growth) during the time those leaders were in power. Examples are Zambia's Rupiah Banda, Liberia's Ellen-Johnson Sirleaf, Benin's Yayi Boni and Tanzania's Yakaya Kikwete. The majority (69%) of leaders who studied Economics have political orientations that can be described as centre-right, pointing towards a more liberal (or Western) approach to their economic policies and being in favour of democracy.

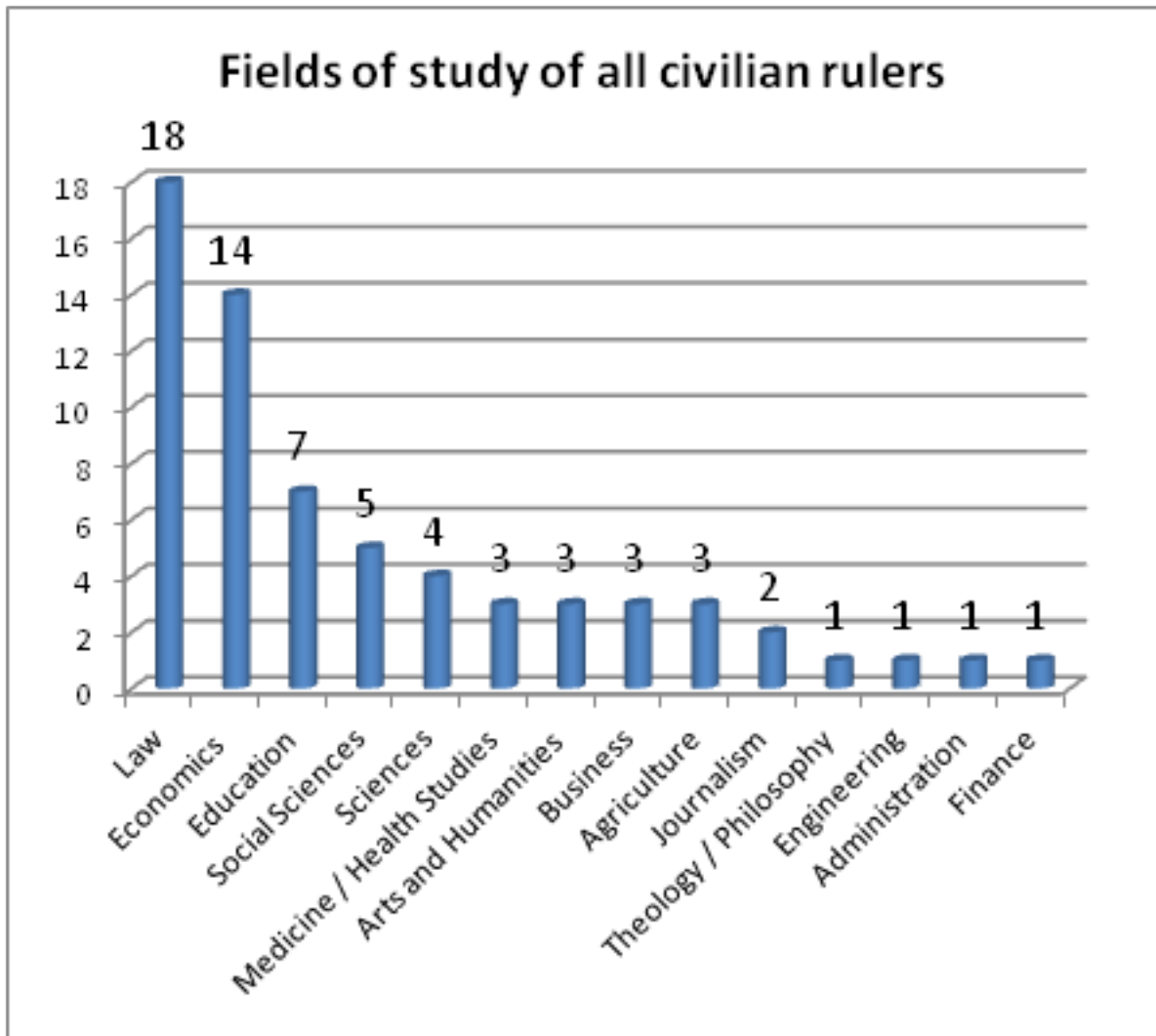


Figure 5: Fields of study of all civilian rulers

In contrast, the leaders who studied Social Sciences (apart from Nigeria's Benjamin Azikiwe and South Africa's Hendrik Verwoerd) are classified as either personal or military rulers in countries that have shown instability during the time these leaders were in power (Refer to Figure 6 which indicates that Social Sciences have been the most common field of study of personal rulers). Further studies can be conducted on why this is the case. The political orientations of leaders who studied social sciences vary and include orientations across the spectrum, including nationalist and personalistic.



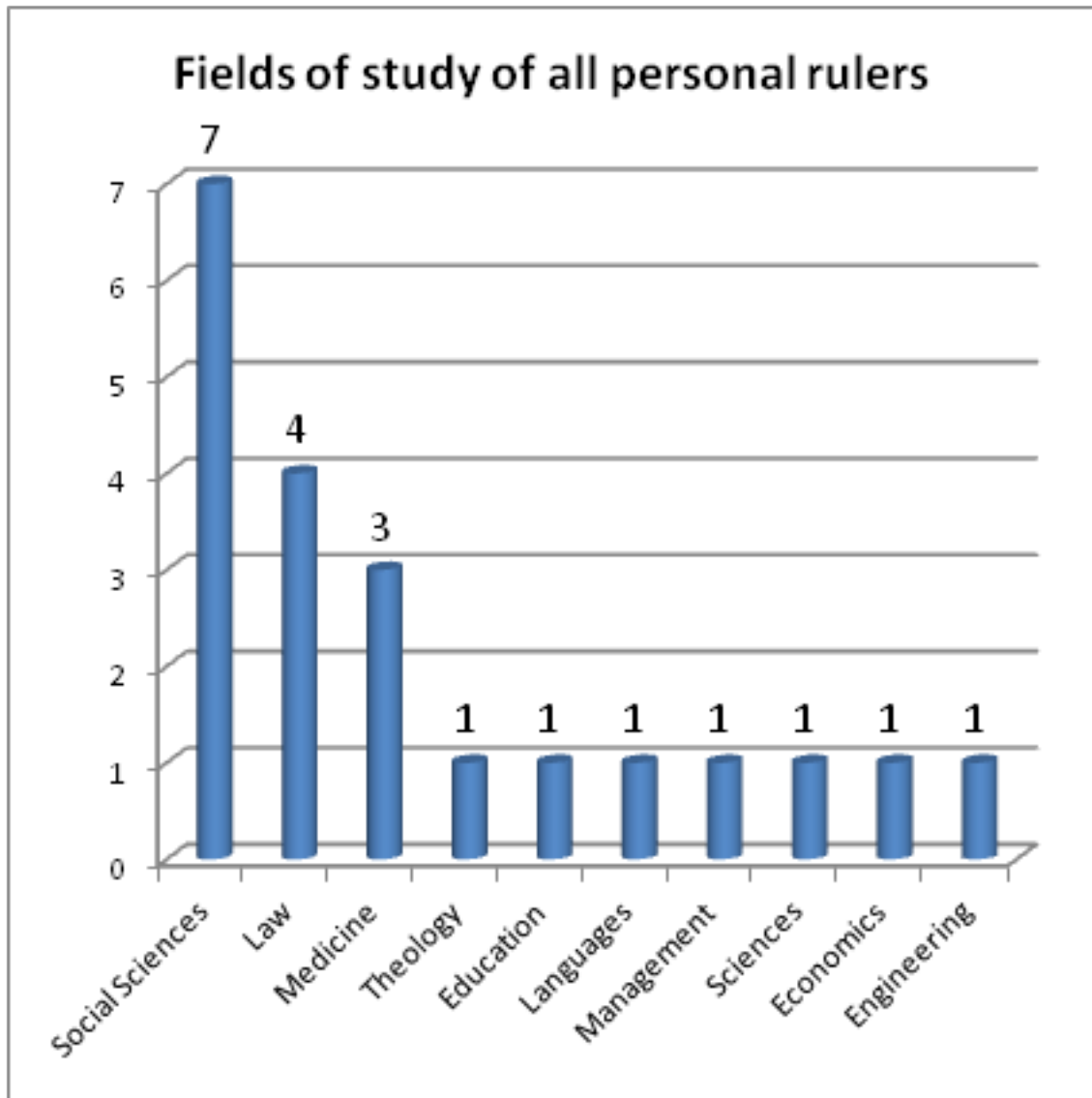


Figure 6: Fields of study of all personal rulers

Further studies could be conducted to determine whether leaders with specific qualifications or fields of study have been able to change their countries' political and economic policies for the better. Other aspects of leaders' educational qualifications that could be explored are whether the studies of any of these leaders were sponsored, as well as by which organizations or agencies.

Note that no graph on the fields of study of military rulers was included, since only six military rulers<sup>4</sup> have held undergraduate degrees or higher. In addition, although records show that most of the military rulers have studied at military academies, undergone training at foreign institutions or obtained some sort of military qualification, it was not possible to determine the exact nature of the leaders' military studies and whether their qualifications are equivalent to an undergraduate degree or higher.

*"We can try to cut ourselves from our fellows on the basis of the education we have had; we can try to carve for ourselves an unfair share of the wealth of the society. But the cost to us, as well as to our fellow citizens, will be very high. It will be high not only in terms of satisfactions forgone, but*

<sup>4</sup> Juvenal Habyarimana and Laurent Kabila (Arts and Humanities), Pierre Buyoya (Social Sciences), El-Ferik Ibrahim Abboud (Engineering), Olusegun Obasanjo (Theology) and Omar al-Bashir (Military Science).

also in terms of our own security and well-being.” - Julius Kambarage Nyerere, from his book *Uhuru na Maendeleo (Freedom and Development)* (1974: 27).

## 6. Age at which leaders came to power

The average age at which all the leaders came to power is 49.01 years of age. This average age did however change significantly over the five decades. On average a president who came to power between 2000 and 2010 was 12 years older than his counterparts during the 1960s (refer to Figure 7). It could be hypothesized that this is an overall positive development. Not only do older leaders bring more experience to office, but they are also less likely to hold on to power after their presidential terms expired, since they would be closer to retirement age. The ages at which different types of rulers first came to power supports this hypothesis.

On average *civilian rulers* first came to power at the age of 54, whereas *personal rulers* on average first came to power at the age of 43. Military rulers have on average been the youngest when they come to power with an average age of 40.07 (Refer to Figure 8). Therefore, because personal and military rulers have on average been younger, they are more uncertain of their prospects post-presidency and could be more tempted to find ways to hold onto power. In addition, due to the nature of personal and military rule, personal rulers could face punishment or prosecution after they step down from office.

The ages at which leaders came to power range between the ages of 26 and 76. The youngest<sup>5</sup> presidents were Valentine Esegagbo Melvine Strasser (age 25), Michel Micombero (age 26) and Yahya Jammeh (age 29). Leaders who were the most elderly when they first came to power were Nelson Mandela (age 76), Ntsu Mokhehle (age 76) and Abdoulaye Wade (age 74).

**Table 2: Average age at which leaders first came to power (per decade)**

Decade	Average age leaders came to power
1960-1969	46.5 years of age
1970-1979	44.48 years of age
1980-1989	44.87 years of age
1990-1999	51.8 years of age
2000-2010	58.11 years of age

**Table 3: Average age at which different types of rulers first came to power**

Type of Ruler	Average age leaders came to power
Civilian (not including traditional rulers)	54.88 years of age
Personal Rulers <sup>5</sup>	43.47 years of age
Military Rulers	40.07 years of age

<sup>5</sup> Note that the youngest leaders listed here do not include traditional leaders such as Swaziland's Makhosetive Mswati III who officially came to power at the age of 18.

<sup>6</sup> Includes military rulers who turned into personal rulers.

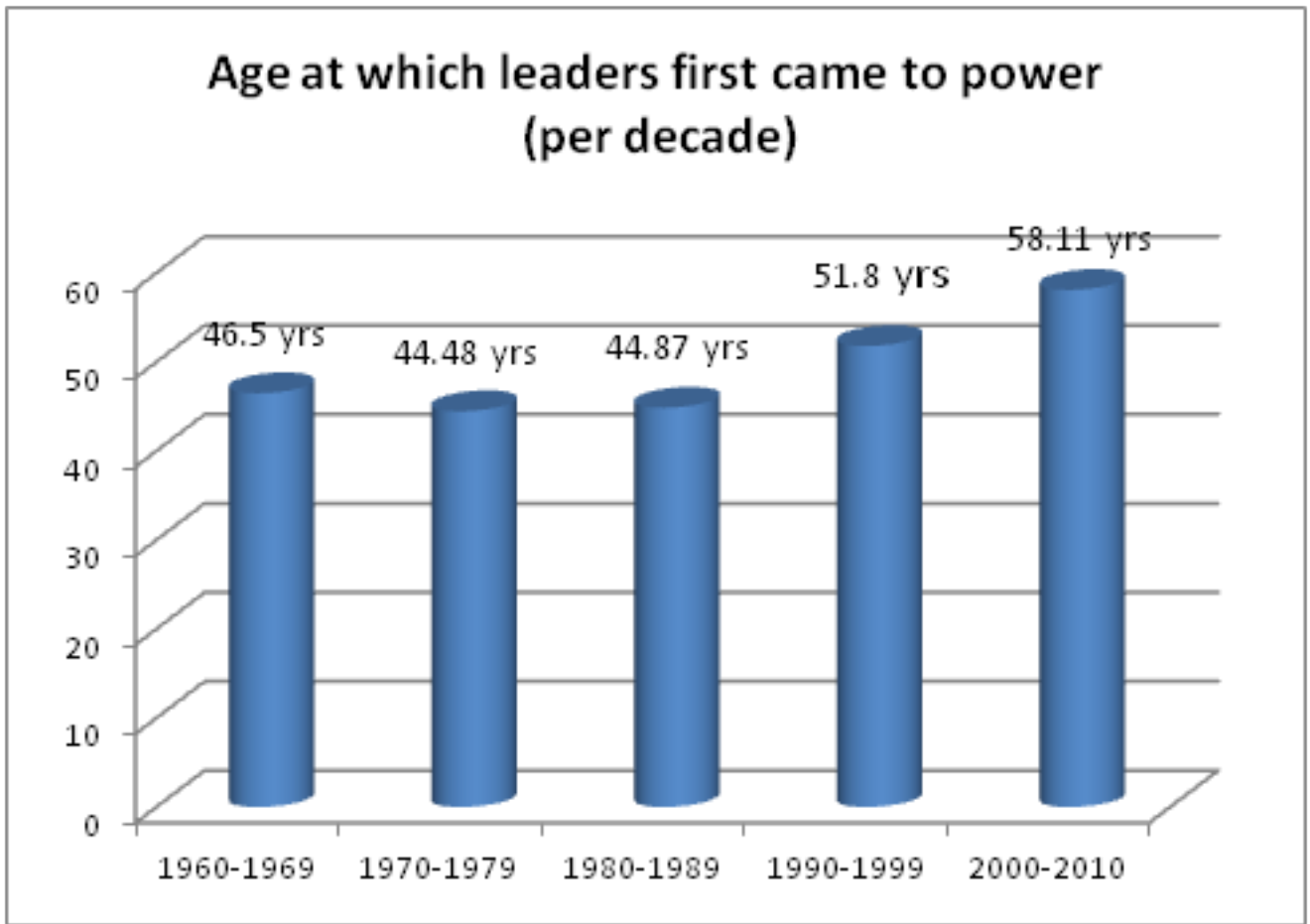


Figure 7: Age at which leaders first came to power (per decade)

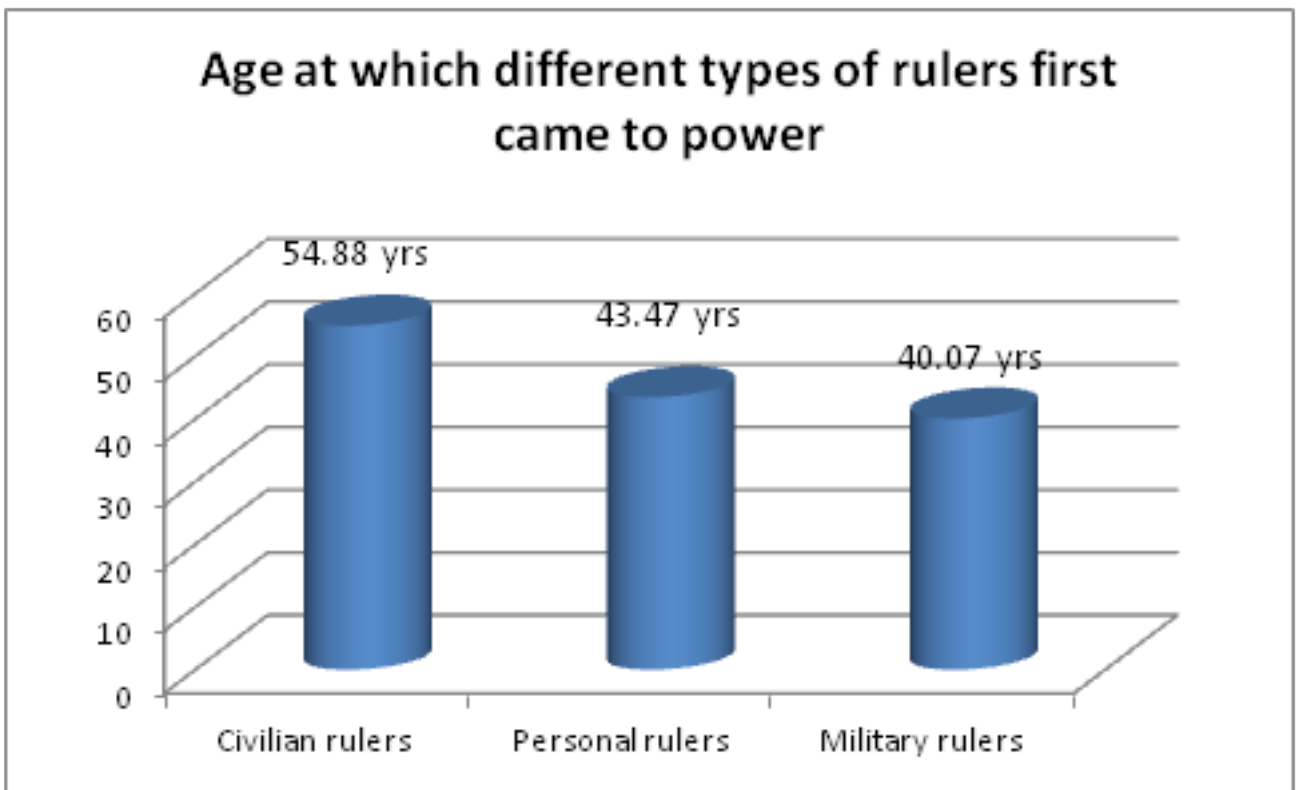


Figure 8: Age at which different types of rulers first came to power

## 7. Time spent as Head of State

### 7.1 Average amount of time spent as Head of State (per decade)

The average number of years that leaders have spent in power has seen a gradual decline since the 1960s (Refer to Figure 9). This may indicate that there is increasing respect for presidential term limits and stronger institutional arrangements and enforcement to prevent the emergence of the 'life-long' personal rulers. Leaders who first came to power between 1960 and 1969 spent an average number of 15.03 years in power. Leaders who first came to power between 1970 and 1979<sup>7</sup> spent an average of 13.5 years in power. From the 1980s onwards, the average number of years in power seems to stabilise close to the standard two terms of 5 years each. Leaders who first came to power between 1980 and 1989<sup>8</sup> spent an average of 11.55 years in power; where leaders who first came to power between 1990 and 1999<sup>9</sup> spent an average of 7.13 years in power.

It is too early to determine accurately the average number of years that leaders who first came to power between 2000 and 2010 spent in power. Only six leaders<sup>10</sup> gained and lost power during this decade. These six leaders have spent an average amount of 5.5 years as Head of State.

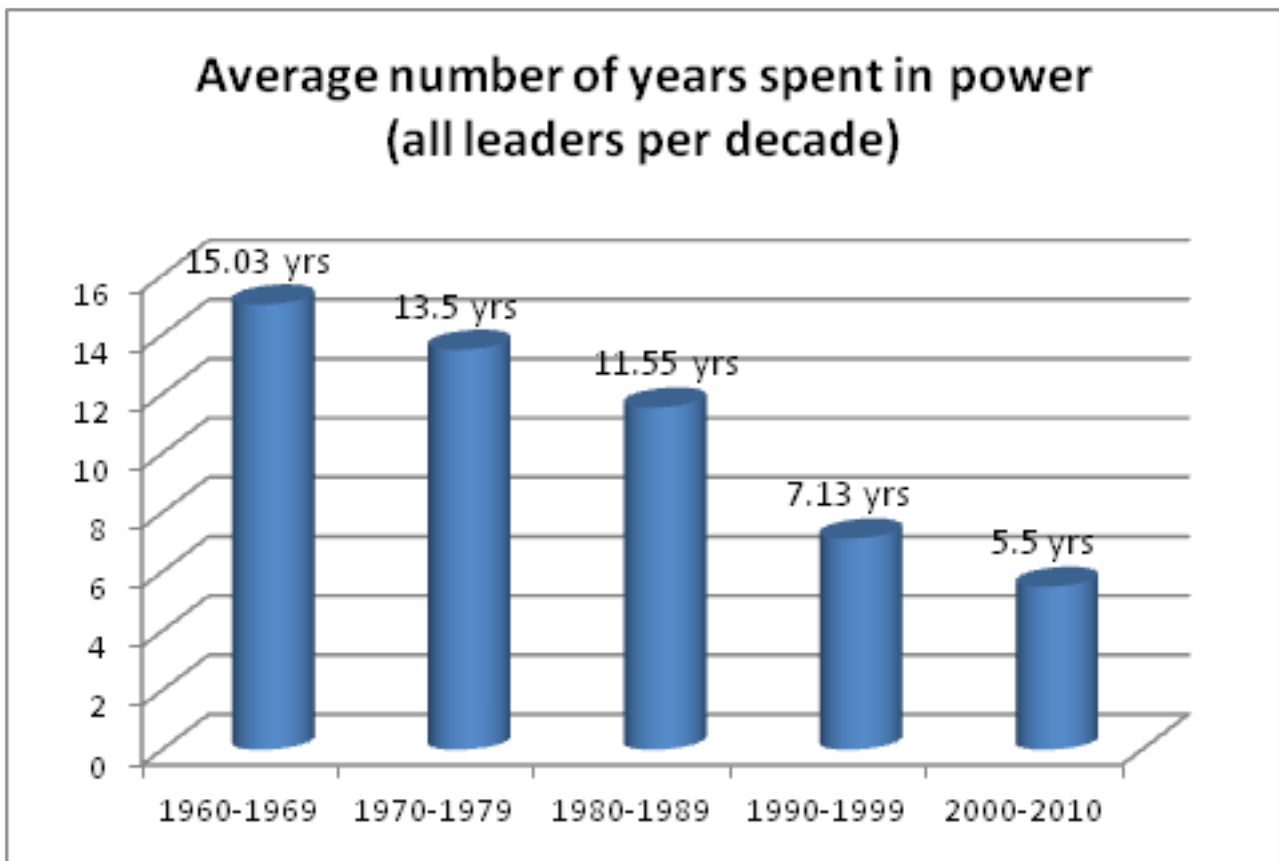


Figure 9: Average number of years spent in power (all leaders per decade)

7 This group does not include leaders who are still in power (as at the year 2010) such as Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Denis Sassou-Nguesso and Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo.

8 This group does not include leaders who are still in power (as at the year 2010) such as Paul Biya, Yoweri Museveni and Robert Mugabe.

9 This group does not include leaders who are still in power (as at the year 2010) such as Navinchandra Ramgoolam, Meles Zenawe, Idriss Deby and Yahya Jammeh.

10 John Agyekum Kufuor (2001-2009), Marc Ravalomanana (2002-2009), Umaru Musa Yar'Adua (2007-2010), Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed (2004-2008), Abdiqasim Salad Hassan (2001-2004) and Levy Patrick Mwanawasa (2001-2008).

## 7.2 Leaders serving non-consecutive terms

The number of presidents who served non-consecutive terms has declined since independence, noting that it is too early to determine accurately the figure for the decade 2000-2010 (See Figure 10 below). The terms of these leaders were mostly interrupted by periods of arrest and detention, as well as by periods of exile. Examples are Benin's Hubert Maga, Uganda's Milton Obote and Denis Sassou-Nguesso from the Republic of Congo.

This decline in leaders who served non-consecutive terms could be regarded as a positive development. The majority of the leaders who served non-consecutive terms are personal and military rulers. This indicates that when these leaders were removed from power (for example through elections), the new dispensation was not stable enough to prevent these personal and military rulers from returning to power a second time.

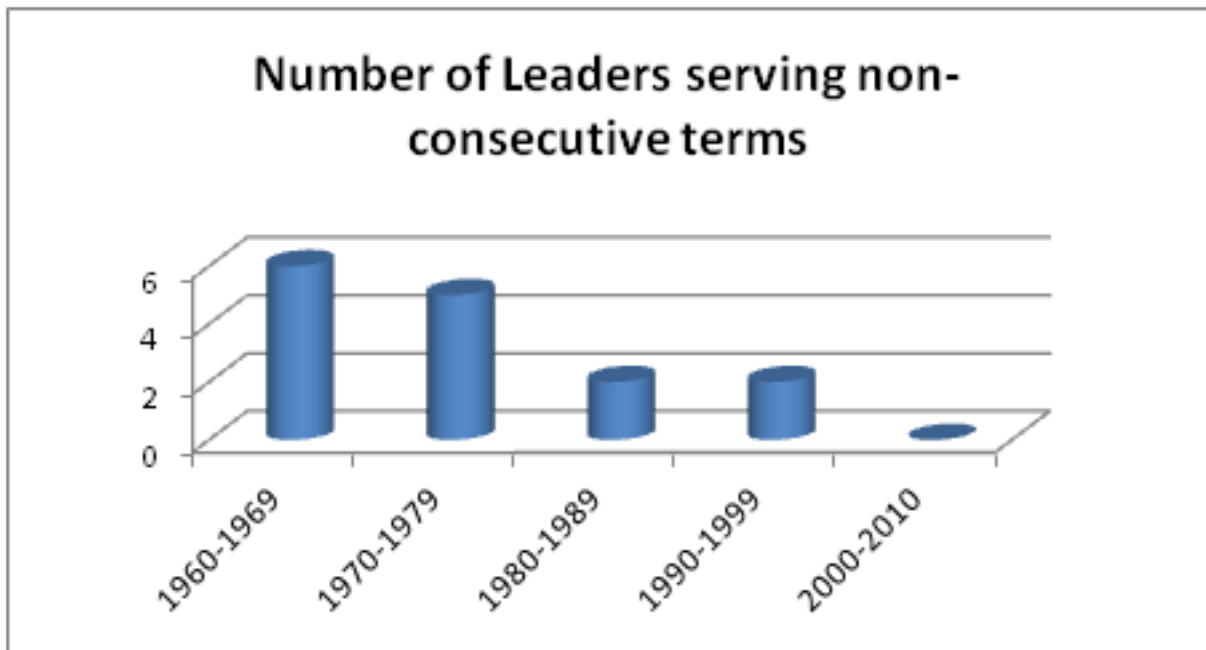


Figure 10: Number of leaders serving non-consecutive terms

## 8. Career history / career trajectory

A generic career path for leaders during different decades could not be scientifically determined. A hypothetical generic career path for leaders in the 1960-1969 group could be to start their career after school by working as a teacher or civil servant for an average of ten years, then spend an average of five years in the business sector and then an average of eight years in politics before coming to power. This could then have been compared with the hypothetical generic career path of leaders in the 1970-1979 group. For example, on average leaders spent five years in the civil service and then fifteen years in the military before coming to power.

In order to determine such a generic career path, one would have to take into account the diversity of the occupational sectors that leaders worked in during their life-time; the average amount of time leaders spent working in different sectors and in what order the different occupations were held. Combining all these variables proved not viable in determining a career path that accurately represents the group of leaders.

Therefore, the following graphs simply outline the different occupational sectors in which leaders gained experience at some point during their career before coming to power as head of state. Each of the graphs below indicates the percentage of leaders who have had experience in the sectors indicated on the graphs; noting that the vast majority of leaders had experience in more than one sector.

### 1960-1969

During the first decade of independence (refer to Figure 11), the three most common prior professions or occupational experiences held by leaders were in politics<sup>11</sup> (65%), positions in the civil service (35%) and teaching (31%). Mazrui (1978: 3) writes that during the first decade of independence the number of African politicians with experience in teaching is striking. He mentions the examples of Ghana and Nigeria where 30% of the members of the legislatures in those countries were teachers. Another example is the candidates of Uganda's Democratic Party in the 1961/1962 elections. Nearly half of those candidates were teachers. He attributes this phenomenon to the high prestige inherent in the new western-style secular education, as well as the prerequisite of the English language for a national political career.

Of the 36 leaders who were teachers or lecturers at some point during their career, 25 (69%) were civilian rulers, 9 (25%) were personal rulers and 3 (8%) were military rulers. Teachers appear to be held in high esteem in Africa. For example, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere was often referred to as "Mwalimu", meaning "teacher" in Kiswahili. Ghana's John Atta-Mills is often fondly referred to as "the Professor".

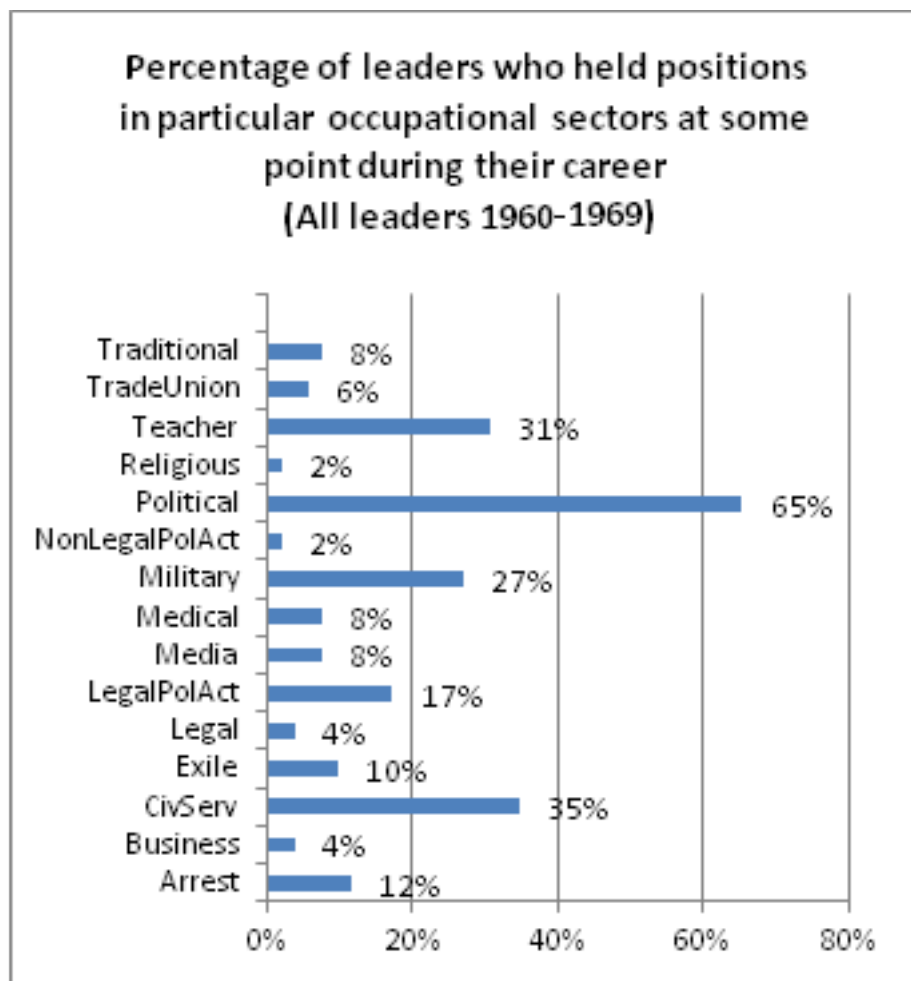


Figure 11: Percentage of leaders who held positions in particular occupational sectors at some point during their career (All leaders 1960-1969).

<sup>11</sup> Political positions include minister, member of legislature, mayor / governor, head of opposition, etc.

### 1970-1979 and 1980-1989

During the following decade (1970-1979) the picture looks different. The occupations or positions most held by leaders who first came to power during this decade are positions in the military (52%), political positions (44%), full-time involvement in liberation wars (20%) and civil service and teaching positions both at 16% (refer to Figure 12). This change in the general career profile of leaders is mainly due to two political developments during this decade: first, the advent of the age of the military ruler and, second, the liberation wars in Angola, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau (the former Portuguese colonies which only gained independence during the 1970s).

As opposed to the previous decade (1960-1969) when 23% of the leaders who came to power were military rulers, during the 1970s, 52% of the leaders who came to power were military rulers. This figure remains similar during the 1980s when 50% of rulers who came to power were military rulers. This corresponds with the career positions most held by leaders who first came to power during the period 1980-1989 with 55% holding political positions at some stage during their career, 50% holding military positions, 32% holding positions in the civil service and 14% positions as teachers (see Figure 13).

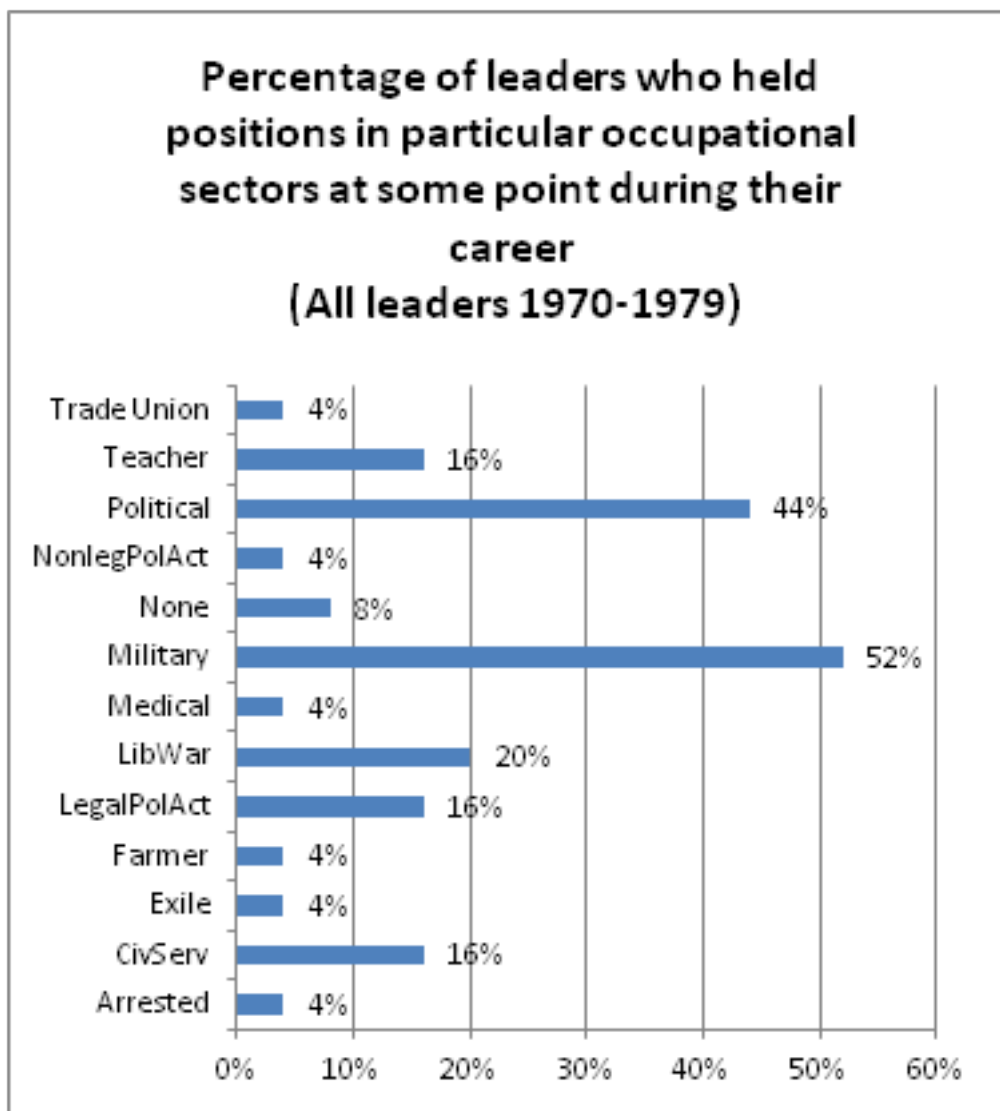


Figure 12: Percentage of leaders who held positions in particular occupational sectors at some point during their career (All leaders 1970-1979)

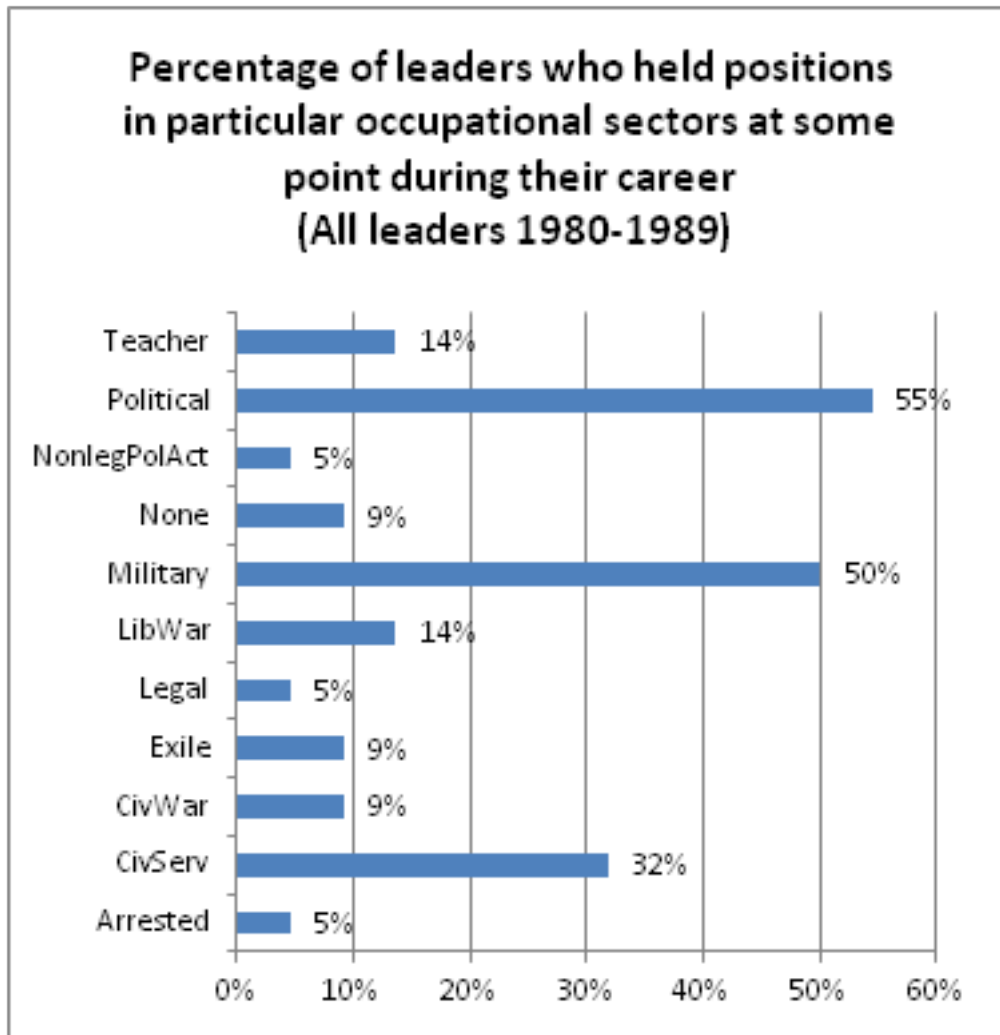


Figure 13: Percentage of leaders who held positions in particular occupational sectors at some point during their career (All leaders 1980-1989)

### 1990-1999

During the 1990's the prevalence of new military rulers coming to power declined from 48% of all leaders who first came to power between 1980 and 1989 to 20% of leaders during the period 1990-1999. This also corresponds with the occupations most held by leaders who first came to power between 1990 and 1999. The most common occupations were political positions (57%) positions in the civil service (37%), full-time legal political activity (33%) and positions in the military (20%). Positions in the teaching profession remain at 14%, but have now diversified to include positions as lecturers at tertiary education institutes. Another new development during the 1990s has been the advent of leaders who had previously held positions in international NGOs (7%) and in the international civil service, such as the World Bank and IMF (10%) (Refer to Figure 14).



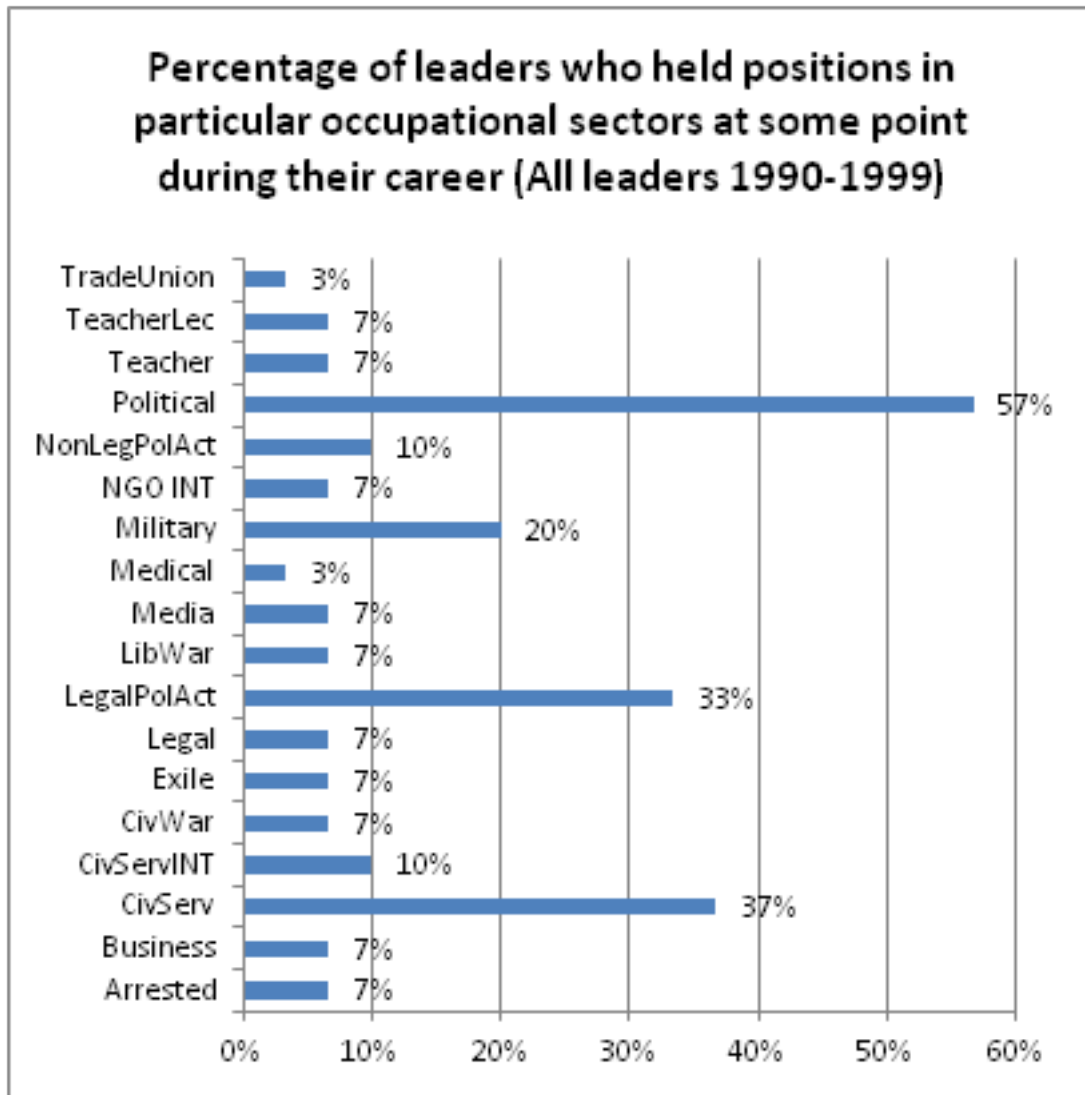


Figure 14: Percentage of leaders who held positions in particular occupational sectors at some point during their career (All leaders 1990-1999)

### **2000-2010**

The decade 2000-2010 has seen the largest percentage (89%) of leaders who at some point in their prior careers held political positions. The second most common occupation of leaders are teachers and lecturers (29% collectively). Although 25% of leaders held positions in the military at some point during their careers (refer to Figure 15), only two of 28 leaders who first came to power during this decade were military rulers. The remaining leaders who held positions in the military resigned from the military before entering politics. This might be taken as evidence of a significant improvement in civil-military relations across Africa.

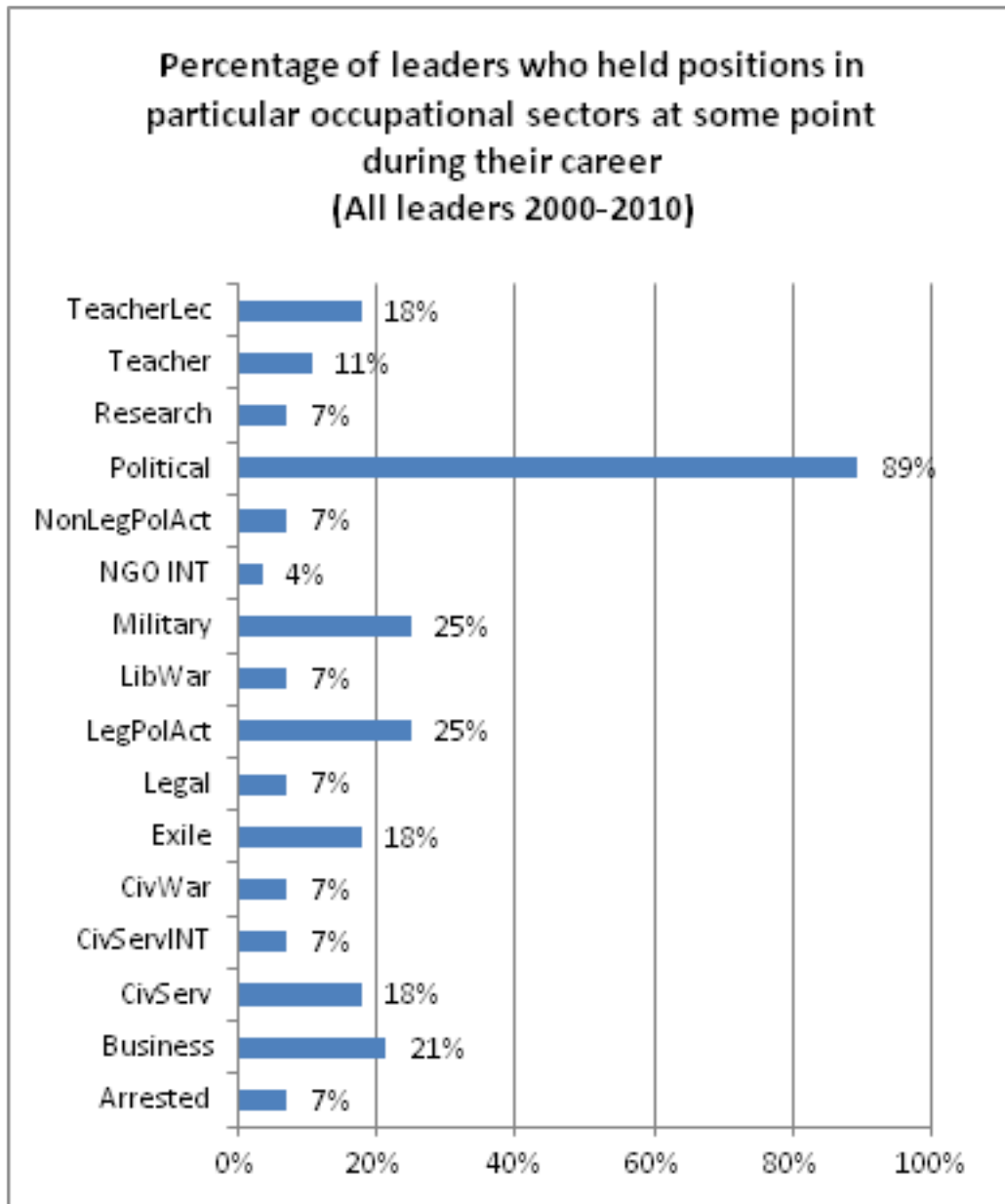


Figure 15: Percentage of leaders who held positions in particular occupational sectors at some point during their career (All leaders 2000-2010)

## 9. Political Background

### 9.1 Imprisonment and house-arrest

Of the 158 leaders studied, 37 (23%) leaders have at some point during their career been arrested, detained, imprisoned or placed under house arrest. Of those 37, eight are classified as personal rulers, 8 as military rulers and the remaining 21 leaders as civilian rulers. There are those who argue that imprisonment (as a political or non-political prisoner) can lead to prisoners, once released, experiencing post-traumatic stress disorder along with perceived negative and permanent change in their personalities or life aspirations, disassociation and mental defeat (Ehlers *et al*, 2000: 45). They argue, furthermore, that as a consequence of this it is not unlikely that former political prisoners could continue to harbour feelings of resentment and revenge, which might in turn lead them to become despotic rulers should they come to power as a head of state.

However, this seems not to be the case with African rulers who were political prisoners before coming to power. Since the majority of these former political prisoners turned out to be civilian rulers, as opposed to authoritarian personal rulers, the prison experience did not apparently lead to feelings of negativity. In fact, spending time in prison turned several African leaders into martyrs for the liberation of their countries, which afforded them admiration and respect by the populace. This in turn could have improved their chances of coming to power. Good examples are Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta, South Africa's Nelson Mandela and Angola's Agostinho Neto.

## 9.2 Leaders in exile

Of the 158 leaders studied, 35 (22%) spent time in exile (either forced exile or voluntary exile). Of these leaders, 26 went into exile in other African countries, where 11 spent time outside Africa (note that some leaders went into exile more than once). The majority (63%) of leaders who spent time in exile have been those classified here as civilian rulers and the remaining 37% have been either personal or military rulers. Research could be conducted on the effect of spending time in exile on leaders' leadership style, their policies and power. Having spent time in exile could have positive or negative effects. Leaders such as South Africa's Thabo Mbeki are often accused of having lost touch with the liberation struggle in South Africa when he was in exile for 28 years in the United Kingdom. When Mbeki came to power there was a feeling that he did not understand the needs of the people who suffered under the apartheid regime. Ethiopia's Haile Selassie spent five years in exile while ruling as head of state. This may have led to his not being in full control of developments in his country.

On the other hand, there could be benefits for leaders who spent time in exile before coming to power, such as networking and building coalitions, as well as the opportunity to study Western and other political systems. Alternatively, having been in exile could have had no serious effects, such as the case with Seretse Khama who was forced into exile for five years by the colonial government. Rotberg (2003: 29) thinks that having been forced into exile might have embittered Khama, but that Khama seems instead to have viewed exile as "a mere bump along the road to leadership".

## 10. Other Characteristics

In addition to the characteristics of leaders discussed in the previous sections, the DLP Database also recorded other characteristics of leaders, such as their family background based on parental status (for example agricultural poor, agricultural wealthy, skilled worker, unskilled workers, professional, etc), their geographical background (rural or urban) and their ethnicity.

The data that obtained for these categories was not enough to produce reliable statistics since the research conducted could not accurately determine these characteristics for all leaders. For example, it was difficult to determine trends in leaders' parental status, where information on almost 35% of leaders could not be obtained.

Apart from the lack of data, the statistics produced by the available data did not show any noteworthy trends. For example, with reference to parental status, 22.8% of leaders were placed in the category "agricultural poor", 11% in the category "political" and the remaining leaders fairly evenly divided between eleven other categories. The geographical background data indicated that 51% of leaders came from a rural background and 42% from an urban background. Note however that a leader might have been born in a rural village, spent a part of his or her childhood there but did at some point move to an urban area for either schooling or work. It was not possible to determine which of these geographical settings had the most influence on the leader's development.

The purpose of entering the ethnicity of leaders was to determine whether there are countries in which leaders were always from the same ethnic group. The data collected for this category also did not produce any noteworthy trends. Rwanda is the only country whose leaders were all from the same ethnic group, namely Tutsi. In Burundi, four out of the five leaders belong to the Hutu ethnic group; both of the two leaders in Equatorial Guinea belong to the Fang ethnic group; and in Lesotho three out of the four leaders had the same ethnicity, namely, Sotho. These are all very small countries (both in size and population) and have less diverse populations in terms of ethnicity.

## 11. How leaders gained and lost power

The following section outlines statistics on how leaders came to power and how leaders lost power. Although the way through which leaders came to power often has more to do with the political climate at the time and the nature of political institutions in a particular country (rather than solely the personal characteristics or profile of a leader), it is nevertheless included in this paper. It will assist in identifying the attribute of the legitimacy of a leader's power. By including this data it could also provide a further understanding of how changes in leadership came about during different decades<sup>12</sup> in Sub-Saharan Africa, and in turn the means through which different types of rulers came to power during different decades.

It should be noted that the statistics outlined in this section are gathered from the 158 leaders selected for this study. Statistics provided for in other studies might include more leaders than the group of leaders selected for this study. For example, the number of leaders who came to power through a military coup during the 1970's is reflected as 11 (see Figure 21). However, the actual number of leaders who came to power through a military coup during the 1970s is 22. This is because this study does not include leaders who were in power for short periods of times (for example a few months or a year or two).

Also note that the statistics provided in this section are organised per occurrence, rather than per leader. For example a leader could have been freely elected in 1991 and 1996 – this will then be counted as two occurrences rather than one leader having been freely elected. Therefore, the amount of time leaders spent in power is reflected in the database as entries *per term spent in power*, instead of one entry for the entire time a leader spent in power. For example, a leader might have taken power in a military coup in 1960. Then there was a transition to democracy and elections were held in 1970. This leader then participated in the elections and came to power through unfree elections, after which he got voted out of office in 1975. So instead of indicating that the leader:

- Came to power in a military coup in 1960 and lost power by being voted out of office in 1975.

That leader's time in power is indicated as:

- *First entry:* Came to power in a military coup in 1960; lost power when there was a transition to democracy and elections were held in 1970.
- *Second entry:* Came to power by being unfreely elected in 1970; lost power when he was voted out of office in 1975.

Therefore when the statistics are viewed and interpreted, one should keep in mind that when it is indicated how leaders lost power, it is not necessarily their final point of exit from office. It is simply a

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<sup>12</sup> Note that, in this section, leaders who came to power or lost power before 1960 were not included.

reflection of how a term they spent in power came to an end.

### 11.1 How leaders gained power

Figure 16 below indicates how the group of leaders studied gained power. The most frequent way of coming to power has been through partially free elections<sup>13</sup> (111 occurrences out of 369 instances when leaders came to power). Coming to power through unfree elections (93 occurrences) has been the second most frequent means to gain power. Coming to power through free elections (56 occurrences) has been in third place, military coups (43 occurrences) in fourth place and being appointed (28 occurrences) in fifth place. A leader can be “appointed” by, for example, the ruling party or ruling military regime, or by an incumbent president who plans to retire.

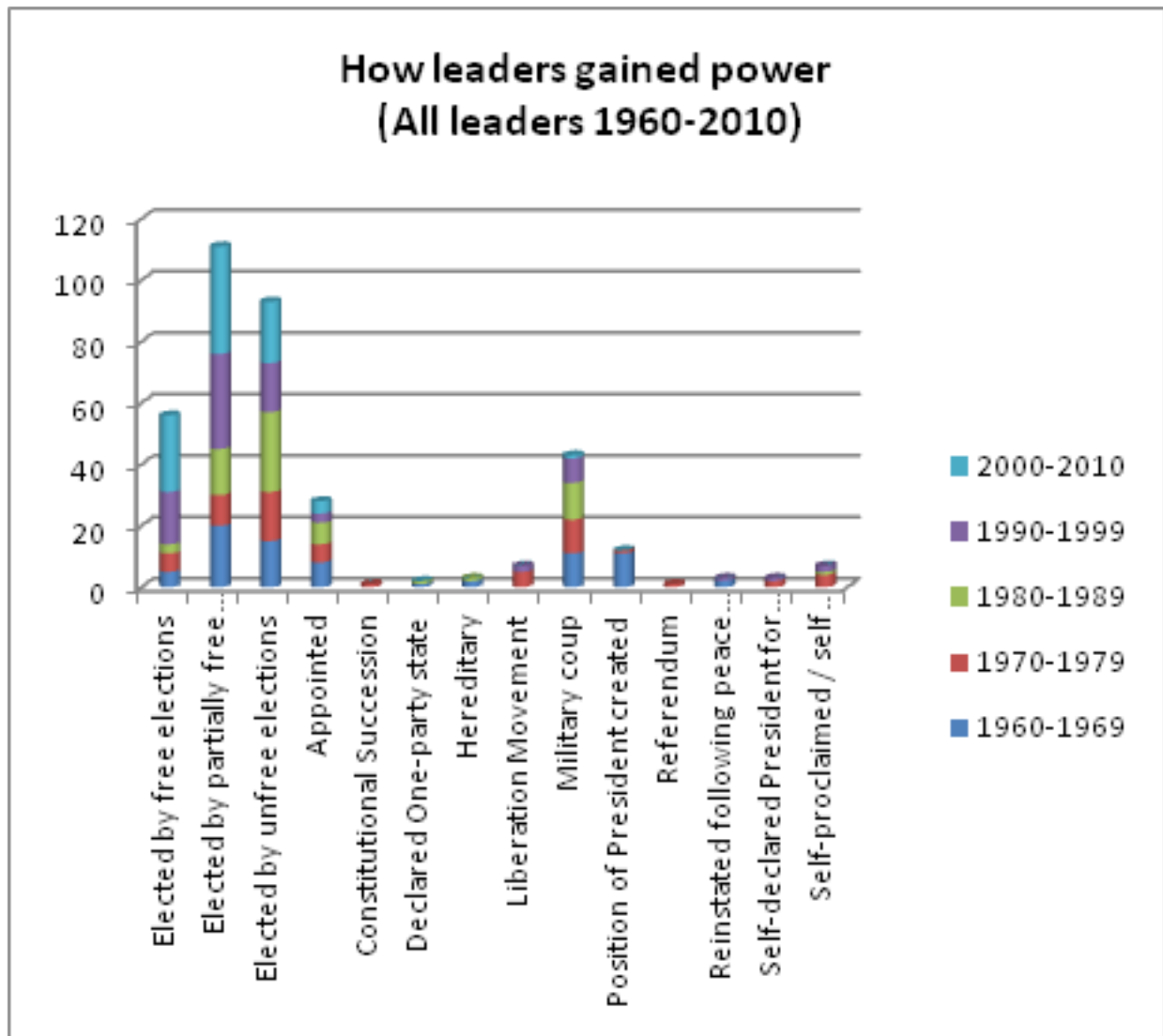


Figure 16: How leaders gained power (All leaders 1960-2010)

<sup>13</sup> Note that elections were classified as free, partially free and unfree based on Freedom House ratings. Although the Freedom House ratings are determined based on Political Rights and Civil Liberties in a country, it is the best way to determine how free an election was. Election observers could be subjective, since they could belong to different organisations or country delegations with their own interests in the country conducting elections. A delegation of observers from the African Union could, for example, present different findings than a group of observers from the European Union. Also note that Freedom House ratings are available only for the period 1972 to 2009. Ratings prior to 1972 were determined at the discretion of the researcher.

### 11.1.1 Gaining power through elections

Elections reflected in Figure 16 are further unpacked in Figures 17, 18 and 19. The number of free elections has increased dramatically since the 1960s, from 5 in 1960 to 25 in the decade 2000-2010 (refer to Figure 17). The number of times leaders were elected through partially free elections stood at 20 occurrences in the 1960s, decreased during 1970s (10 occurrences) and increased until the decade 2000-2010 when 35 partially free elections took place (refer to Figure 18). With regards to unfree elections, the majority of unfree elections took place in the 1980s (26 occurrences) with the remaining decades all averaging at around 16 to 17 occurrences (refer to Figure 19).

The dramatic increase in free elections since independence is encouraging. Although the increase in partially free elections since independence might seem less encouraging at first glance, one should keep in mind that the number of elections that took place since independence has doubled (whether free, partially free or unfree). Refer to Figure 20.

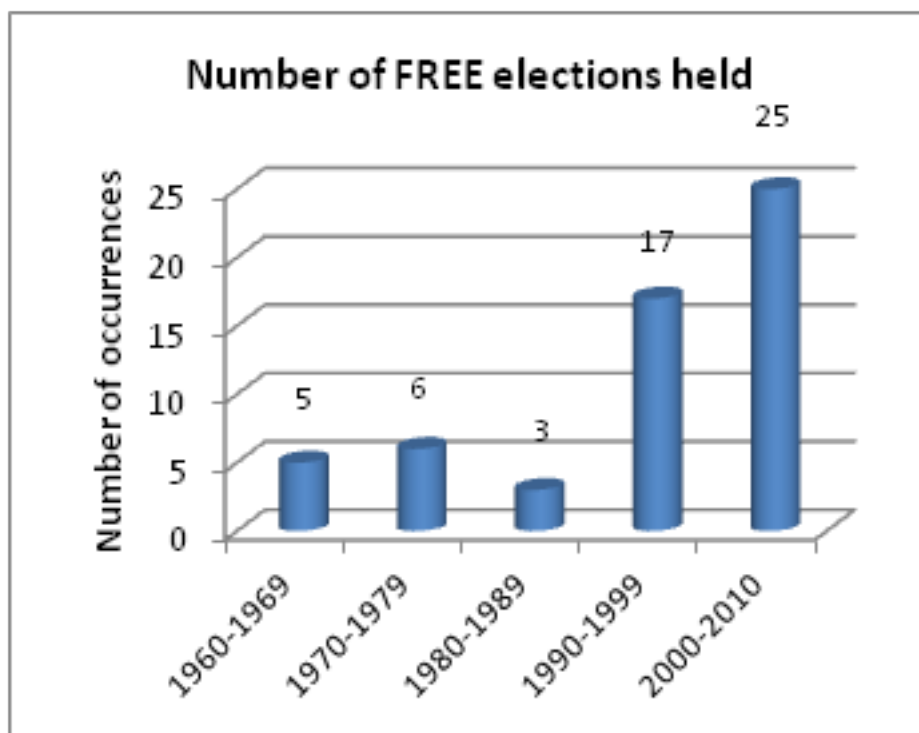


Figure 17: Number of free elections held

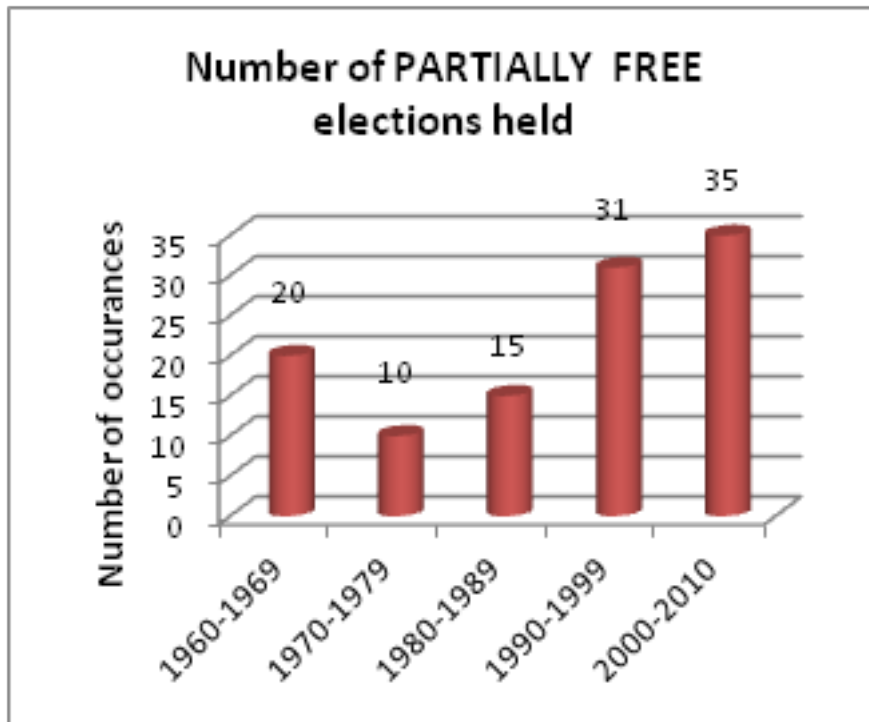


Figure 18: Number of partially free elections held

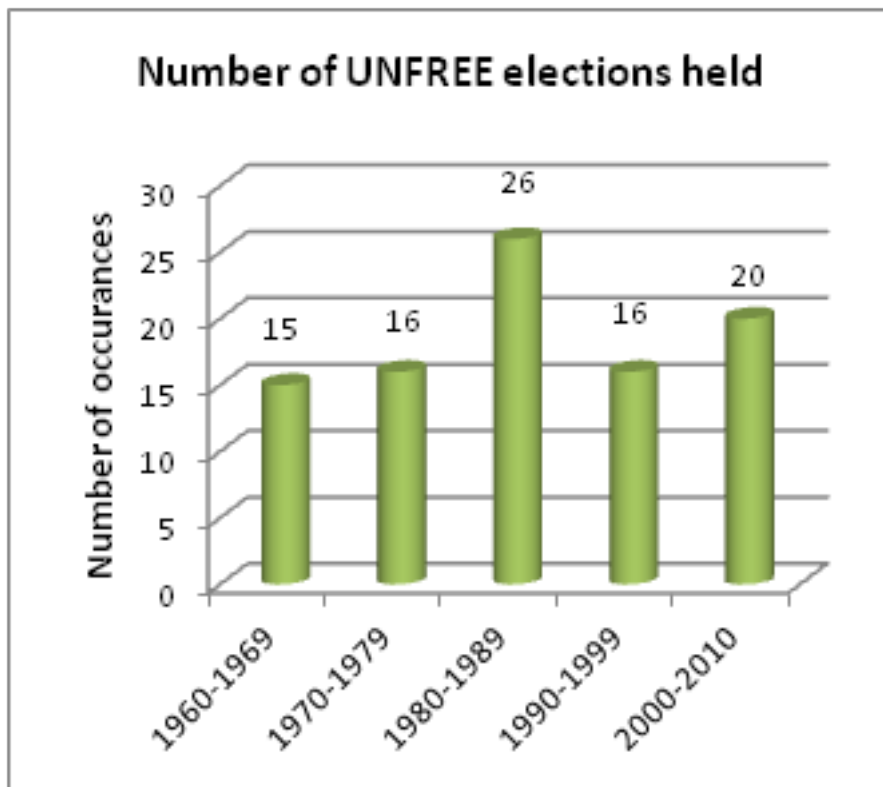


Figure 19: Number of unfree elections held

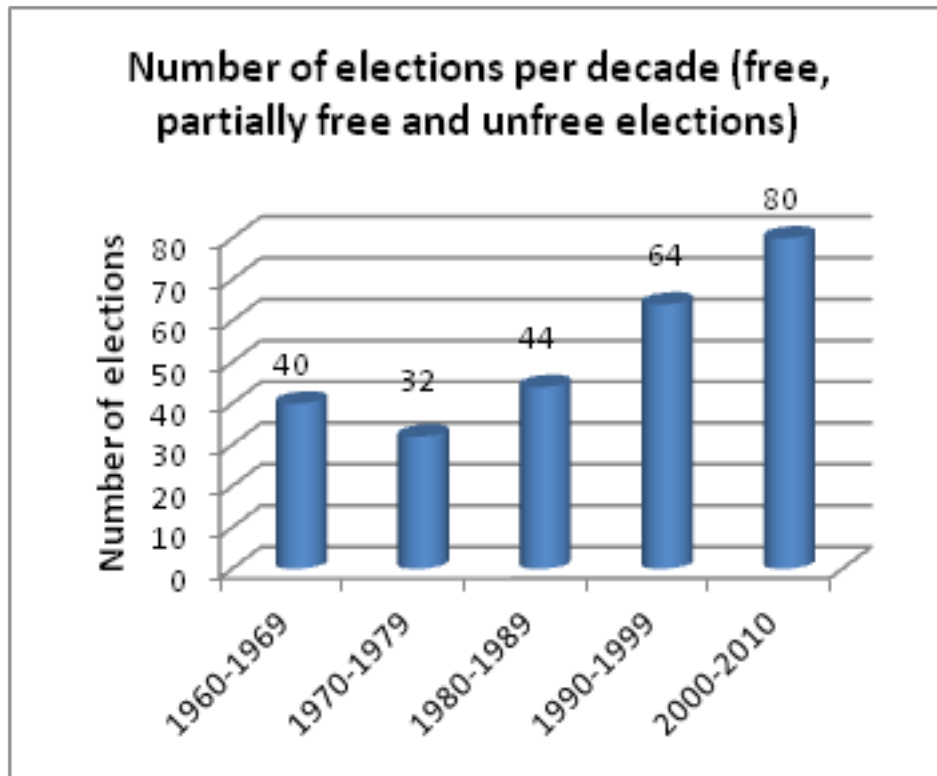


Figure 20: Number of elections per decade (free, partially free and unfree elections)

In summary, Table 4 below indicates the number of free, partially free and unfree elections held during each decade, as well the percentage each type of election makes up of the total elections held in a particular decade.

**Table 4: Number of types of elections held per decade and percentage of total elections held per decade**

	Free Elections	Partially Free Elections	Unfree Elections	Total
1960-1969	5 (12%)	20 (50%)	15 (38%)	<b>40</b>
1970-1979	6 (19%)	10 (31%)	16 (50%)	<b>32</b>
1980-1989	3 (7%)	15 (34%)	26 (59%)	<b>44</b>
1990-1999	17 (27%)	31 (48%)	16 (25%)	<b>64</b>
2000-2010	25 (31%)	35 (44%)	20 (25%)	<b>80</b>

Figure 21 below provides a summary of all 260 elections held during the period 1960 and 2010. It indicates that of all these elections, the majority (43%) were partially free elections, unfree elections make up 36% of the total and free elections make up the smallest percentage at 21% of all elections.



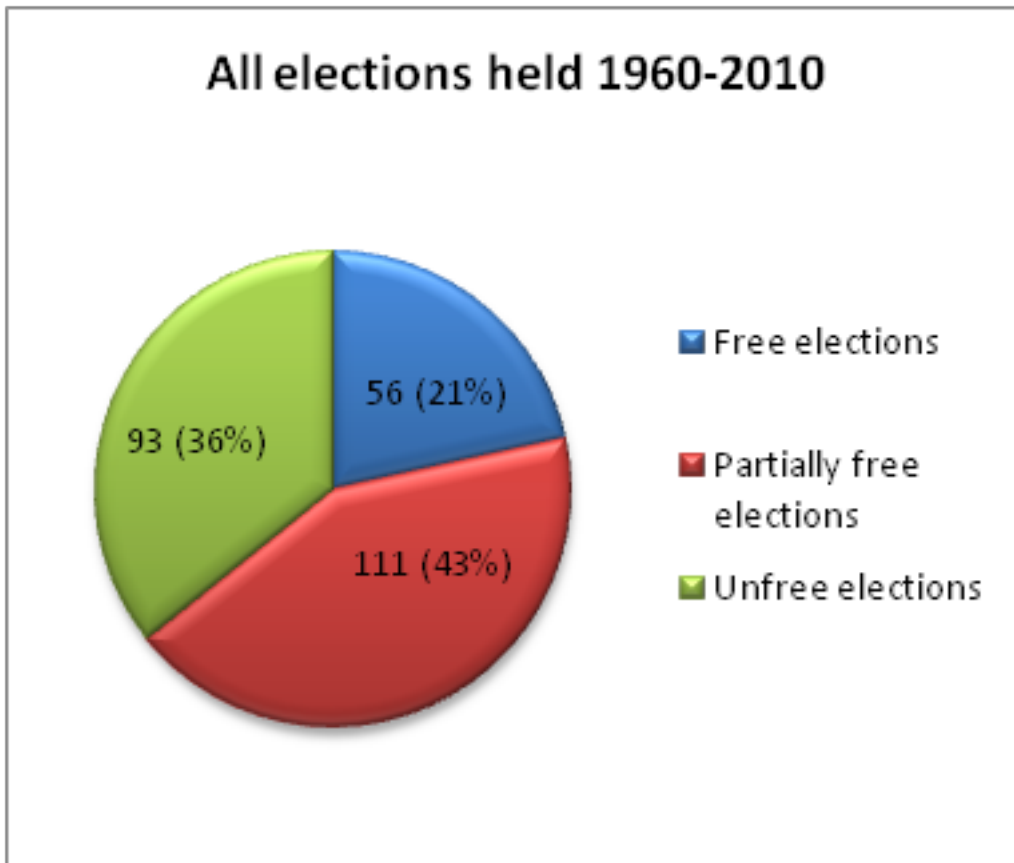


Figure 21: All elections held 1960-2010

### 11.1.2 Taking power through military coups

It is encouraging to see that the number of occurrences where a leader came to power through a military coup has decreased significantly, from 11 occurrences in the 1960s to only one in the decade 2000-2010 (refer to Figure 22).



Figure 22: Number of times leaders came to power through a military coup

### 11.1.3 Gaining power: overall trends

Since 1960, the number of times leaders came to power through peaceful means has always been slightly higher than the number of times leaders came to power through violent or illegitimate means. However, this difference has increased significantly. Coming to power through peaceful and legitimate means is, today, by far the most frequent way of coming to power, as illustrated by Figure 23 below.

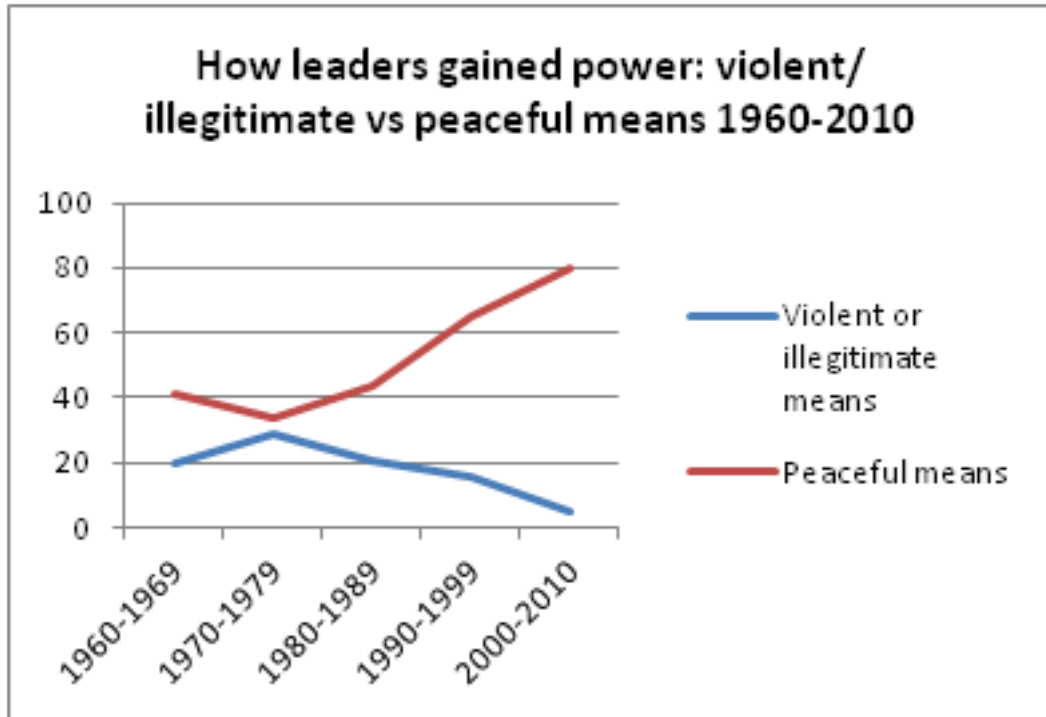


Figure 23: How leaders gained power: violent/illegitimate means versus peaceful means 1960-2010

*"I came to power with a gun; only the gun can make me go."*

- Mohamed Siad Barre, former President of Somalia (1969-1991) as quoted in Abdullahi's *Culture and Customs of Somalia* (2001: 39).

## 11.2 How leaders lost power

Figure 24 illustrates how the group of leaders studied lost power. Note that in this graph leaders who simply relinquished power at the end of their term were not included. The most frequent way of losing power has been through being overthrown in a military coup (62 occurrences out of 132) followed by transition to democracy (elections being held for the first time in many years) which happened 31 times, followed by death while in office (20 occurrences) and voluntary retirement or simply stepping down from power (19 occurrences). This is followed by being voted out of office (13 occurrences).

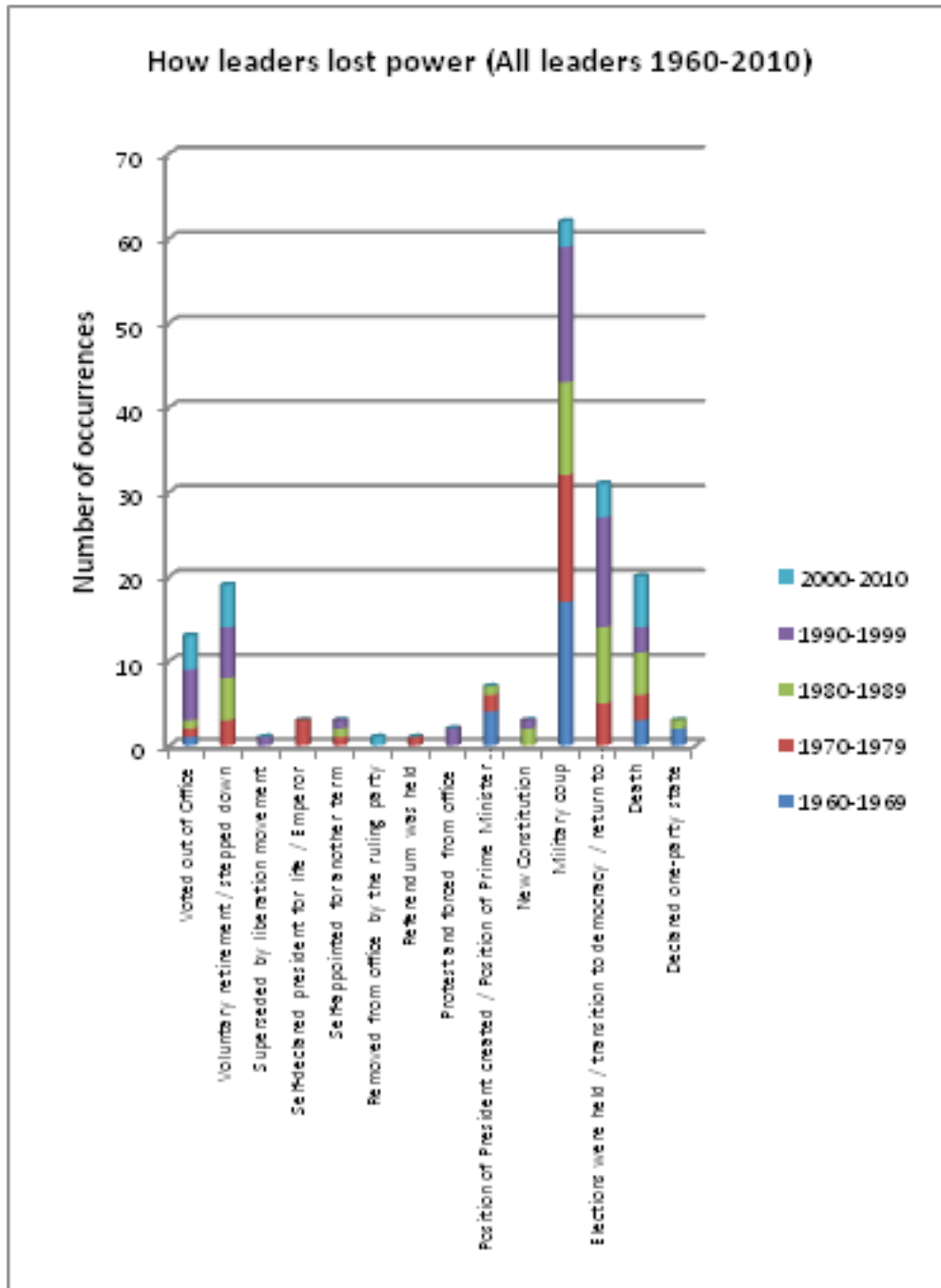


Figure 24: How leaders lost power (All leaders 1960-2010)

### 11.2.1 Losing power through a military coup

Although the number of occurrences during which leaders lost power through a military coup has remained alarmingly high throughout the first four decades of independence (17, 15, 11 and 16 times respectively) it is encouraging to note that only three leaders lost power in a military coup during the decade 2000-2010 (refer to Figure 25).



Figure 25: Number of times leaders lost power through a military coup

### 11.2.2 Leaders making a democratic exit

Another trend that is encouraging is the increase in the number of times that leaders were voted out of office (meaning leaders losing power in an election even though they were eligible to run for another term). This is evidence that democracy is gradually gaining strength in Africa in that the voters have more power to remove leaders from office should they wish to do so (refer to Figure 26).

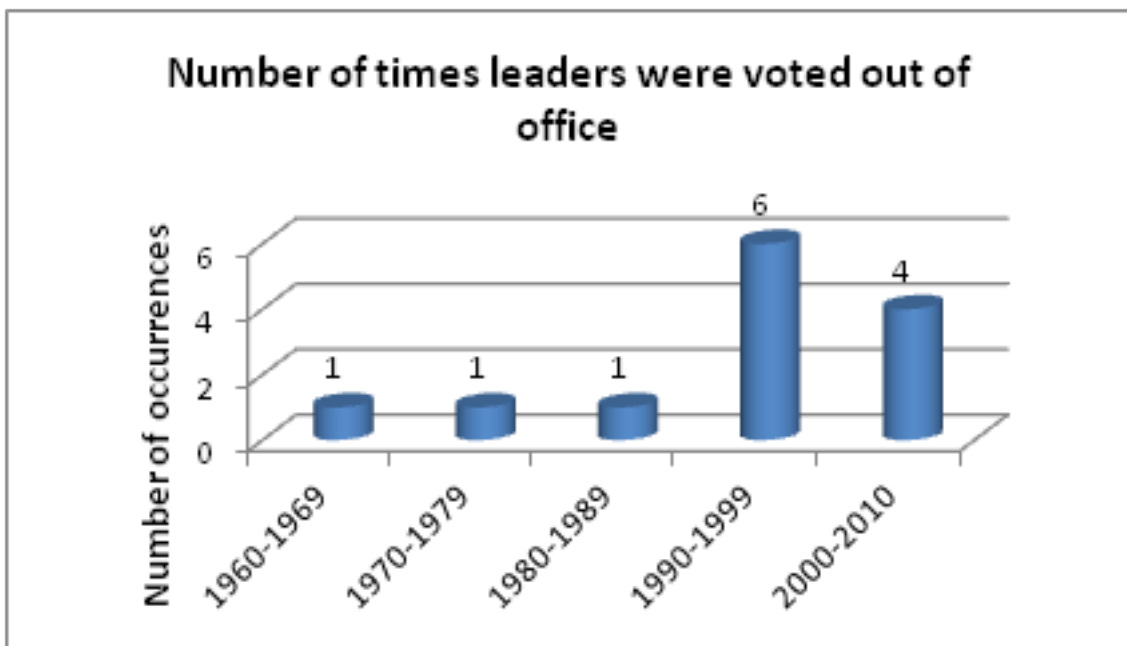


Figure 26: Number of times leaders were voted out of office

The number of times that leaders lost their term in office due to a transition to democracy, return to civilian rule or elections being held for the first time in many years, reached its peak during the 1990s. These leaders were mainly personal or military rulers. This trend corresponds with the 'Third Wave' of democracy that swept through Africa during the 1990s when many African countries emerged from authoritarian or military regimes and made the transition to democracy (refer to Figure 27).



Figure 27: Number of times leaders lost power because of transition to democracy, return to civilian rule or elections being held for the first time in many years

In summary, Figure 28 below shows the overall change in how leaders lost power over the past five decades. A distinction is made between violent (military coup or assassination) and peaceful means (voted out of office, voluntary retirement, transition to democracy, return to civilian rule and natural death). This is indicative of an overall positive trend, considering the rate of violent versus peaceful means of exiting office is now the exact opposite of what it was during the 1960s. This graph can be compared to Posner and Young's (2007: 128) calculations that shows a similar trend (noting that they included more heads of state than included in this study).

### 11.2.3 Losing power: overall trends

In summary, Figure 28 below provides an encouraging trend regarding how leaders have lost power between 1960 and 2010. It indicates that the number of occurrences when leaders lost power through peaceful means (voted out of office, voluntary retirement, return to civilian rule and natural death) increased considerably over the five decades, where the number of occurrences when leaders lost power through violent means (military coup or assassination) has decreased at a similar rate.

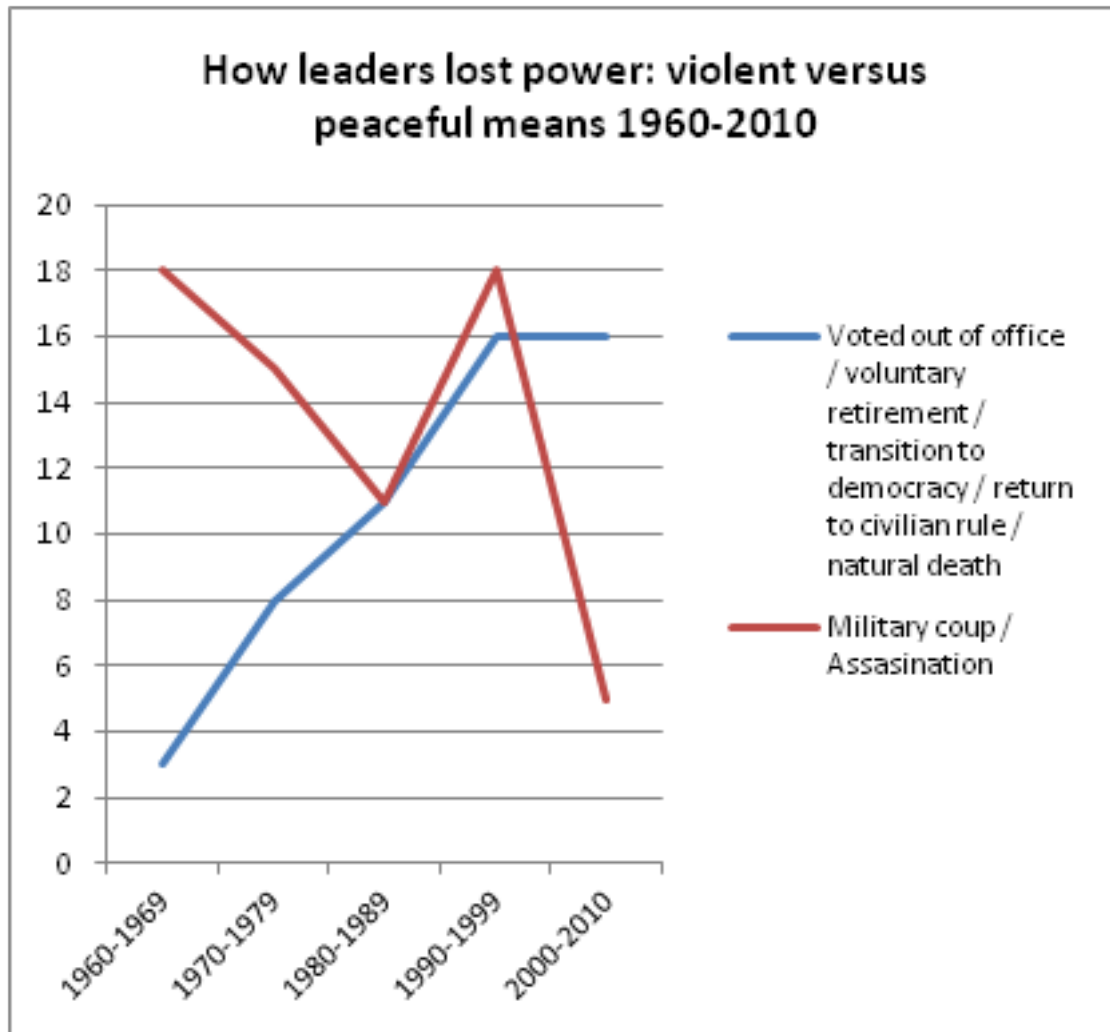


Figure 28: How leaders lost power: violent versus peaceful means 1960-2010

## 12. Conclusion

Over the past five decades Africa's Heads of State, and in particular its most oppressive and autocratic rulers, have often been pin-pointed as the primary catalysts of Africa's descent into poverty, under-development, conflict and corruption. However, after dissecting the profiles of Africa's Heads of State, it is clear that the profiles of Africa's leaders are changing for the better. Leaders are more mature, better educated and have had careers that enable them to bring greater experience to office. In addition, the number of personal and military rulers has declined considerably and is gradually being replaced by civilian leaders who adhere to democratic principles and practices. This is evident from the statistics that show that the number of occurrences when leaders lost power through peaceful means increased considerably over the five decades, whereas the number of occurrences when leaders lost power through violent means has decreased at a similar rate.

The next step is to determine whether this change in profile can be correlated with the wave of democracy and development that has swept the continent over the past two decades. Whether a particular political and socio-economic situation in a country can partly be attributed to the profile of its leader is a question that will be explored in further papers by making use of the collection of data contained in this paper.

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## Annex:

### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN PRESIDENTS INCLUDED IN THE DATABASE

1	<b>Angola</b>	Jose Eduardo dos Santos	1979-present
2		Agostinho Neto	1975–1979
3	<b>Benin</b>	Thomas Yayi Boni	2006-present
4		Mathieu Kérékou	1996-2006 and 1972-1991
5		Nicéphore Dieudonné Soglo	1991-1996
6		Coutoucou Hubert Maga	1960-1963
7	<b>Botswana</b>	Seretse Ian Khama	2008-present
8		Festus Gontebanye Mogae	1998-2008
9		Ketumile Masire	1980-1998
10		Seretse Khama	1966-1980
11	<b>Burkina Faso</b>	Blaise Compaore	1987-present
12		Thomas Isidore Noel Sankara	1983-1987
13		Aboubakar Sangoule Laminzana	1966-1980
14		Maurice Nawalagmba Yaméogo	1960-1966
15	<b>Burundi</b>	Pierre Nkurunziza	2005-present
16		Pierre Buyoya	1987-1993 and 1996-2003
17		Jean-Baptiste Bagaza	1976-1987
18		Michel Micombero	1966-1976
19		Bangiricenge Mwambutsa IV	1962-1966
20	<b>Cameroon</b>	Paul Biya	1985-present
21		Ahmadou Babatoura Ahidjo	1960-1982
22	<b>Cape Verde</b>	Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires	2001-present
23		Antonio Manuel Mascarenhas Monterio	1991-2001
24		Aristides Pereira	1975-1991
25	<b>Central African Republic (CAR)</b>	Francois Bozize	2003-present
26		Ange-Felix Patasse	1993-2003
27		Andre Dieudonne Kolingba	1981-1993
28		Jean-Bedel Bokassa	1966-1979
29		David Dacko	1960-1966 and 1979-1981
30	<b>Chad</b>	Idriss Deby	1990-present
31		Hissene Habre	1982-1990
32		Felix Malloum	1975-1979
33		N'Garta François Tombalbaye	1960-1975
34	<b>Republic of Congo</b>	Denis Sassou-Nguesso	1979-1992; 1997-present
35		Pascal Lissouba	1992-1997
36		Marien Ngouabi	1969-1977
37		Alphonse Massamba-Debat	1963-1968
38		Fulbert Youlou	1960-1963

39	<b>Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)</b>	Joseph Kabila	2001-present
40		Laurent Desire Kabila	1997-2001
41		Mobutu Seseko	1965-1997
42		Joseph Kasavubu	1960-1965
43		Patrice Emery Lumumba	1960-1960
44	<b>Cote D'Ivoire</b>	Laurent Koudou Gbagbo	2000-present
45		Aime Henri Konan Bedie	1993-1999
46		Félix Houphouët-Boigny	1960-1993
47	<b>Djibouti</b>	Ismail Omar Guelleh	1999-present
48		Hassan Gouled Aptidon	1977-1999
49	<b>Equatorial Guinea</b>	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo	1979-present
50		Francisco Macías Nguema	1968-1979
51	<b>Eritrea</b>	Isaias Afewerki	1993-Present
52	<b>Ethiopia</b>	Meles Zenawe	1991-present
53		Tafari Benti	1974-1977
54		Haile Mariam Mengistu	1974; 1977-1991
55		Haile Selassie I	1930-1974
56	<b>Gabon</b>	Omar Bongo Ondimba	1967-2009
57		Gabriel Léon M'Ba	1960-1967
58	<b>Gambia</b>	Yahya Abdul-Azziz Jemus Junkung Jammeh	1994-present
59		Dawda Kairaba Jawara	1970-1994
60	<b>Ghana</b>	John Evans Atta-Mills	2008-present
61		John Agyekum Kufuor	2001-2008
62		Jerry John Rawlings	1979; 1981-2001
63		Ignatius Kutu Acheampong	1972-1978
64		Kwame Nkrumah	1957-1966
65	<b>Guinea</b>	Lansana Conte	1984-2008
66		Ahmed Sékou Touré	1958-1984
67	<b>Guinea-Bissau</b>	Joao Bernardo Vieira	1980-1999 and 2005-2009
68		Luís de Almeida Cabral	1974-1980
69	<b>Kenya</b>	Mwai Kibaki	2002-present
70		Daniel Arap Moi	1978-2002
71		Jomo Kenyatta	1963-1978
72	<b>Lesotho</b>	Bethuel Pakalitha Mosisili	1998-present
73		Ntsu Mokhehle	1994-1998
74		Justin Metsing Lekhanya	1986-1991
75		Joseph Leabua Jonathan	1965-1986
76	<b>Liberia</b>	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf	2006-present
77		Charles McArthur Ghankay Taylor	1997-2003
78		Samual Kanyon Doe	1986-1990
79		William Richard Tolbert Jr	1971-1980

80		William Vacanararat Shadrach Tubman	1944-1971
81	<b>Madagascar</b>	Marc Ravalomanana	2002-2009
82		Philibert Tsiranana	1960-1972
83	<b>Malawi</b>	Bingu wa Mutharika	2004-present
84		Elson Bakili Muluzi	1994-2004
85		Hastings Kamuzu Banda	1964-1994
86	<b>Mali</b>	Amadou Toumane Toure	1991-1992 and 2002-present
87		Alpha Oumar Konare	1992-2002
88		Moussa Traore	1968-1991
89		Modibo Keita	1960-1968
90	<b>Mauritius</b>	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam	1968-1982
91		Anerood Jugnauth	1982-1995 and 2000-2003
92		Navinchandra Ramgoolam	1995-2000 and 2005-present
93	<b>Mozambique</b>	Armando Emilio Guebuza	2005-present
94		Joaquim Alberto Chissano	1986-2005
95		Samora Moises Machel	1975-1986
96	<b>Namibia</b>	Hifikepunye Lucas Pohamba	2005-present
97		Samuel Daniel Shafishuna Nujoma	1990-2005
98	<b>Niger</b>	Tandja Mamadou	1999-2010
99		Ali Saibou	1987-1993
100		Seyni Kountche	1974-1987
101		Hamani Diori	1960-1974
102	<b>Nigeria</b>	Umaru Musa Yar'Adua	2007-2010
103		Olusegun Obasanjo	1999-2007; 1976-1979
104		Sani Abacha	1993-1998
105		Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida	1985-1993
106		Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari	1979-1983
107		Yakubu Dan-Yumma Gowon	1966-1975
108		Benjamin Nmandi Azikiwe	1960-1966
109	<b>Rwanda</b>	Paul Kagame	2000-present
110		Pasteur Bizimungu	1994-2000
111		Juvenal Habyarimana	1973-1994
112		Grégoire Kayibanda	1961-1973
113	<b>Sao Tome &amp; Principe</b>	Fradique de Menezes	2001-present
114		Miguel dos Anjos Trovoada	1991-2001
115		Manuel Pinto da Costa	1975-1991
116	<b>Senegal</b>	Abdoulaye Wade	2000-present
117		Abdou Diouf	1981-2000
118		Léopold Sédar Senghor	1960-1980
119	<b>Sierra Leone</b>	Ernest Bai Koroma	2007-present
120		Ahmad Tejan Kabbah	1998-2007

121		Valentine Esegragbo Melvine Strasser	1992-1996
122		Joseph Saidu Momoh	1985-1992
123		Siaka Probyn Stevens	1968-1985
124		Albert Michael Margai	1964-1968
125		Milton Augustus Strieby Margai	1961-1964
126	<b>Somalia</b>	Sharif Sheikh Ahmed	2009-present
127		Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed	2004-2008
128		Abdiqasim Salad Hassan	2000-2004
129		Muhammad Siad Barre	1969-1991
130		Aden Abdullah Osman Daar	1960-1967
131	<b>South Africa</b>	Jacob Zuma	2009-present
132		Thabo Mbeki	1999-2009
133		Nelson Mandela	1994-1999
134		Frederick Willem De Klerk	1989-1994
135		Pieter Botha	1978-1989
136		Hendrik Verwoerd	1958-1978
137	<b>Sudan</b>	Omar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir	1989-present
138		Gaafar Muhammad Nimeiry	1969-1985
139		Ismail al-Azhari	1956-1956 and 1965-1969
140		El-Ferik Ibrahim Abboud	1958-1964
141	<b>Swaziland</b>	Makhosetive Mswati III	1986-present
142		Ngwenyama Sobhuza II	1968-1982
143	<b>Tanzania</b>	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	2005-present
144		Benjamin William Mkapa	1995-2005
145		Ali Hassan Mwinyi	1985-1995
146		Julius Nyerere	1964-1985
147	<b>Togo</b>	Faure Essozimna Gnassingbe	2005-present
148		Gnassingbe Eyadema	1967-2005
149		Nicolas Grunitzky	1963-1967
150		Sylvanus Olympio	1960-1963
151	<b>Uganda</b>	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni	1986-present
152		Apollo Milton Obote	1962-1971 and 1980-1985
153		Idi Amin Dada	1971-1979
154	<b>Zambia</b>	Rupiah Bwezani Banda	2008-present
155		Levy Patrick Mwanawasa	2002-2008
156		Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba	1991-2002
157		Kenneth David Kaunda	1964-1991
158	<b>Zimbabwe</b>	Robert Mugabe	1980-present

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### Research Papers

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6. Adrian Leftwich (2009) "Bringing Agency Back In: Politics and Human Agency in Building Institutions and States".
7. Junji Banno & Kenichi Ohno (2010) "The Flexible Structure of politics in Meiji Japan".
8. Marine Destrez & Nick Harrison (2011) "Leadership Training and Network Formation: The evolution of the LEAD process".
9. Michael Bratton & Eldred Musunungure (2011) "The Anatomy of Political Predation: Leaders, Elites and Coalitions in Zimbabwe, 1980-2010".
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11. Heather Lyne deVer & Fraser Kennedy (2011) "An analysis of Leadership Development Programmes working in the context of development."
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16. Andrew Rosser, Ian Wilson & Priyambudi Sulistiyanto (2011) "Leaders, Elites and Coalitions: The politics of free public services in decentralised Indonesia"

## Background Papers

1. Adrian Leftwich & Steve Hogg (2007) "Leaders, Elites and Coalitions: The case for leadership and the primacy of politics in building effective states, institutions and governance for sustainable growth and social development".
2. Adrian Leftwich & Steve Hogg (2008) "The Politics of Institutional Indigenization: leaders, elites and coalitions in building appropriate and legitimate institutions for sustainable growth and social development".
3. Heather Lyne de Ver (2008) "Leadership Politics and Development: A Literature Survey".
4. Heather Lyne de Ver (2009) "Conceptions of Leadership".
5. Adrian Leftwich & Steve Hogg (2010) "The Leadership Program: Overview & Objectives".
6. Adrian Leftwich (2010) "An Overview of the Research in Progress for the Leadership Program: Developmental Leaders, Elites and Coalitions".
7. Isabelle van Notten (2010) "Integrity, Leadership, Women's Coalitions and the Politics of Institutional Reform. Bringing Agency Back In. Mid-Term Workshop Report, Cape Town 25-26 May 2010".
8. Edward Laws (2010) "The 'Revolutionary Settlement' in 17th Century England: Deploying a Political Settlements Analysis".



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