HILAL AHMAD WANI & ANDI SUWIRTA

Changing Dynamics of Good Governance in Africa

ABSTRACT: The desire for freedom and justice, the political fallouts from the structural adjustment programmes, and the entrenched autocratic and repressive political institutions dominant in the most of the parts of Africa. Since 1980s, Africa has been in the process of establishing the principles of good governance for making African institutions and authorities accountable enough to run their own state affairs. Research shows that the continent has made some progress in this area, but more still needs to be achieved. In this paper, we will examine the recent developments in the field of good governance and consider what is still needed in order to achieve a prosperous and progressive Africa. The research data has been taken from UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), AU (African Union), UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), WB (World Bank), UNESCO (United Nations on Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), and AfDB (African Development Bank) research reports. We have tried to highlight the positive aspects of recent developments, and also the transitional aspect of good governance in the African continent. We have also tried to avoid negative dimensions on the basis research data, which definitely shows over the last two decades Africa has made real progress and is still moving towards sustainable development, effective governance, and stable growth. And it is also predicted, at some time in the near future, Africa will have achieved significant growth and economic progress, and will have effective political institutions and better leaders. KEY WORDS: Good governance, changing dynamics, African continent, sustainable development, stable growth in economic, and better political prospect.

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the 1980s, the issue of good governance has dominated international discussion about development and international cooperation to Africa. Subsequently, 1980s and 1990s periods were considered by concerted struggle for democratization and good governance in Africa. The desire for freedom and justice, the political fallouts from the structural adjustment programmes, and the entrenched autocratic and repressive political institutions dominant in the most of the parts of Africa, long post-colonial and imperial legacy provided the better incentive and legitimacy for popular democratic struggles in the continent.

The democratic movements bolstered constitutional and political changes and reforms in many countries compelling the holding of elections and granting of civil, economic, social, and political freedoms. During 1996 till 2006, about 44 elections were conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa; and between 2005 and 2007, about 26 presidential and 28 parliamentary elections were held in Africa. And many more elections were conducted in Africa in 2011 peacefully (Ahmad Wani, 2014a).

The AfDB (African Development Bank) elucidate "governance as a process referring to the way, in which power is exercised in the management affairs of a nation" (cited in Mbata Mangu, 2014). It is stated that the AfDB decided to give due recognition to good governance because, in its opinion, governance is central to creating, sustaining, and enabling the environment for development; and sound development (including good governance) is inextricably linked to the efficacy of investment in finance. The AfDB's development policy for 21st century, has the main objective of the

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policy, is to mainstreaming governance in its operations.

The efficacy and need of good governance, to promote sustainable development, are well recognised globally. To promote development, states required the capacity to raise revenues and direct them to sound investments. They need to deliver public services efficiently and equitably for ensuring secure property rights. They need also predictable set of rules for operationalizing progressive and efficient markets (Mkandawire, 2007).

Over the last decades. Africa has witnessed its balanced and sustained period of economic growth since 1960s. This balanced growth has been acknowledged that it could not have been possible without substantial improvements in governance. Africa, as a whole, has witnessed dramatic improvement in economic governance and policy making, both at the micro and macro levels. Macroeconomic management is becoming much more effective and the business environment has also improved considerably as compared to past. The capacity of African states to deliver essential public services, for instance, health, education, telecommunication, and irrigation facilities has improved steadily.

Although the nation building constraints remain substantial, African countries are increasingly getting the basics rights, but more efforts are still required to strengthen welfare agendas. After assessment on the governance issue in African context, it still remains a mixed example. On aggregate measures of governance, Africa's performance has improved slightly in recent years; and the research shows that African nations are still behind the Asian nations, in terms of development and advancement. Aisha Abdullahi, AU (African Union) Commissioner for Political Affairs, on Monday, 20 May 2013, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 50th anniversary of African Union, said:

The focus should be on promoting peace and stability through integration, greater unity, democratization, and sustainable development. This would lead to a peaceful, prosperous, and united Africa driven by its own citizens. The democratic process has taken different turns and trajectories in different countries, with different levels of progress. While elections have become more regular, and other components of liberal democracy relatively improved compared to the situation that obtained two

decades ago; the quality of democracy and governance remains suspect in many countries. Strengthening democratic governance, in terms of the building of democratic institutions and the capacity of the state to manage the political and economic processes of society for developmental purposes, remains a major challenge for many African countries.¹

She further said:

Some of the key issues that engage the continent's attention include human rights with particular emphasis on the enforcement of all human rights instruments adopted so far at the national level; human security by focusing on improving the totality of individual security by tackling emerging threats, such as climate change, human trafficking, arms smuggling, cyber security, piracy, and other such threats; and peace and security through the ending of the scourge of war, which continues to take its toll on the human resources of Africa and reduces the quality of life of many African citizens in war torn parts of the continent (ibidem with footnote 1).

The AfDB (African Development Bank) entails many important principles, which are related to African development. *Firstly,* the necessity to create the basic extra-economic conditions that are imperative for the sustainable growth of the African economies, as for example, an effective and efficient public administration, a well-functioning legal framework, efficient regulatory structures, and transparent institutions for financial and legal accountability. In this context, it is the issue of the quality of the public goods supplied at country level that makes good governance, such an important concept.

Secondly, the concept of good governance refers to the developmental capabilities of the democratic challenge in Africa as rule of law, accountability, freedom of expression and association, and public choice of government are essential elements of Africa's renewal.

Thirdly, good governance manages to the consolidation of market reforms although quite different development paths are possible within the context of market-oriented economic systems; good governance, therefore, requires an adaptation and continuous improvement of market oriented systems in a specific socio-

¹See, for example, news on "The Fifty Anniversary of African Union" in *The Guardian*, 24 May 2013. Available online also at: http://www.mg.co.za/article/2013-05-25-africa-day-extravagant-celebration-of-50-years-of-unity [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

economic context and other affairs of the institutions (Ahmad Wani, 2014b).

Obviously, we found that African countries have taken a number of bold initiatives on governance as one of the essential factors for sustainable economic growth and development for reducing poverty and ameliorating the conditions of the people. However, these initiatives are still constrained by a number of critical impediments that should be tackled to increase the prospects of governance and if development aims are to be attained.

AFRICAN EXPERIENCE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE: CHANGING DYNAMICS

It can be said that Africa has the right to take pride in its achievements and success. Yet, it should be striving continuously to build on them, address structural loopholes, and confront future challenges and impediments. In this regard, it is most decisive to win the battle for peace and security; the people of Africa must achieve their struggle in the field of good governance and development, thereby other problems could be managed and resolved easily once, it will be ensured that good governance got strong roots in the policy making and policy implementation process in the African continent.

The AU (African Union) is comprised of 53 African nation-states, emerged in 2002 before this it was known as the OAU (Organization of African Unity), which was formed in 1963. With change in name now, the AU has introduced new policies and programmes. The main objectives of the AU are to: (1) provide a forum for African economists, from the continent and from the diaspora, to weigh in on current development of the continent, and foster dialogue among African economists and policymakers; (2) encourage and enhance research relating to integration and development of the continent; (3) promote knowledge sharing as an important component of effective policy making; and (4) provide clear recommendations to assist African countries in reformulating their economic policies with a view to addressing current socio-economic challenges (cited in http:// www.au.int/en/about/nutshell, 9/10/2014).

The AU is striving for strong and unified African continent based on strong policies and programmes. It's the main target of the AU that how can they achieve the suitable and sustainable economic growth throughout African continent in order to curb the unemployment problem and other problems prevailing in Africa and to ensure sustainable development. The vision of the AU is: "An integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in global arena".²

In his memorable book, *Speak of Freedom*, Kwame Nkrumah, the former President of the Republic of Ghana, expressed the same concern, when he stated that: "*The whole of Africa must be free and united, only then we will be able to exercise our full strength in the cause of peace and the welfare of mankind"* (cited in Mbata Mangu, 2012). Kwame Nkrumah consistently advocated the immediate establishment of the united states of Africa that would assume the responsibility for making political unity and economic development a reality in the continent (Mbata Mangu, 2012).

Arab Spring has clearly emphasized upon democratisation and highlighted the legitimacy gap in Africa. The states affected by cycle of violence and political disturbances were among Africa's best performers. However, their political institutions failed to give political voice to the population, or to hold leaders to account for their performance. Arab Spring can be considered as edge in the democratisation movement. Arab Spring was actually a strong movement against longstanding undemocratic rule in the Muslim world, where only chosen few got some privileges and majority were suffers. The credit go to the young youth (male/female), who fought shoulder to shoulders against the evils of dictatorship and raised their voices for the establishment of true democracy based on rule of law and justice.

Periodic elections are now increasingly the norm across Africa, with 17 presidential elections conducted in 2011. A small but growing number of countries have now

²See, for example, the conference published research material on "The African Union and New Strategies for Development in Africa" in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on 1-3 December 2003. Available online also at: http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article415 [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

witnessed peaceful transfers of power through the ballot boxes, including Cape Verde, Botswana, Mauritius, Senegal, Ghana, Benin, Tanzania, and Zambia. Of 19 African countries, that have held at least two successive elections, 12 have shown remarkable signs of democratic consolidation, such as improvements and increment in voter registration and participation rates.

Over the past decade, African governments have renewed their political commitments to industrialization and have adopted several bold initiatives at the national and regional levels to strengthen prospects of achieving their objectives. The reports on Africa's rising in REDA (Report of Economic Development in Africa), in 2011, welcomes the new developments and argues that the optimal industrialization path and policies will vary across African countries, because of differences in endowments, political, and geographic conditions. Subsequently, the report stressed and emphasised that a new industrial policy is needed to induce structural transformation and engender development in African economies (REDA, 2011). These are all welcome outcomes, because of the strong move towards democratisation.

The report also suggests that efforts to promote industrial advancement in Africa should be centred on: (1) promoting scientific and technological innovation; (2) creating linkages in the domestic economy; (3) fostering entrepreneurship; (4) improving government capabilities; (5) adopting appropriate monetary and fiscal policies; (6) avoiding exchange rate overvaluation; (7) enhancing resource mobilization; (8) strengthening regional integration; and (9) maintaining political stability (REDA, 2011).

Based on the above reports, it can be asserted that African policy makers need to rethink their growth strategies, and find ways and means to make them more compatible and relevant with the objective of sustainable development for the entire region. Sustainable development, as recognized in the Brundtland Report, was emphasized in these words: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (cited in AfDB, 2011).

As acknowledged at the United Nations World Summit in 2005, sustainable development comprised of three interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars: (1) economic development; (2) social equity; and (3) environmental sustainability. In particular, it requires that policymakers take into account the consequences of their choices and decisions on future generations; and that social welfare is maximized inter-temporally rather than currently (AfDB, 2011).

Growing Stability and Prosperity: Better Results of Good Governance in Africa. In the field of macro-economic, African nations have achieved a lot of progress, with sound macro-economic management, low budget deficits, and realistic and stable exchange rates. External account balances, budget deficits, and government indebtedness have all fallen in recent years. This progress of African nations in macro-economic management have helped to make African economies more resilient and interdependent in the face of recent global economic crisis and inflation period.

AfDB (African Development Bank) recognises the focal point of governance to Africa's development and that reforms will only succeed with genuine leadership by regional member countries. Assisting African nations to build capable and responsive states is one of the main strategies of the work in Africa region. The priorities – chosen to reflect the comparative advantages – are strengthening transparency and accountability in the management of public resources, particularly natural-resource management, and helping to build a supportive environment for private-sector development (AfDB, 2011).

The international community, think tanks, civil society, and other international organisations, they believe that the deep rooted desire for integrity and development in Africa can be best served by good governance mechanism, manifested through the promotion of democratic principles, popular participation, human rights, and rule of law.

The concept of "good governance" has been defined by a number of international institutions, including the WB (World Bank), IMF (International Monetary Fund), and UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), as the capacity of a country to establish a "framework of order and stability, formulate and implement effective policies, and create an environment durable for economic and social development" (cited in Peerzada & Ahmad Wani, 2012). The idea of good governance has attracted the attention of most African nations and the extent to which African countries have practiced it, over the last two or three decades of democratization is remarkable and has been considered as a strong move towards progress and stability in the African region (Ahmad Wani, 2013).

The role of emerging powers in Africa is vital and commendable, more importantly the role of China, which has boosted economic development, infrastructure, transportation system, and telecom engineering in Africa. China today is the largest donor to Africa. Therefore, it is accepted fact that the credit for change in Africa also goes to China's for its positive role in development in Africa. China has provided food donations worth 443.2 million Yuan (69.58 million USA Dollar) to the Horn of Africa, which is suffering from severe drought and famine. According to a Chinese official, "This is the single largest grain donation to foreign countries ever delivered by Chinese government, since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949", said Lu Shaye, Head of the Department of African Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry.³

Meanwhile, China-Africa trade volume surpassed 100 billion USA (United States of America) Dollar in 2010, and reached 79 billion Dollars in the first half of this year, growing by 29.1 per cent year on year. From the end of 2009 to August 2011, China delivered 113 end-to-end projects, 137 batches of supplies, and 13 cash donations to African countries, and launched 66 technical cooperation projects. Again, according to Lu Shaye, "China is actively pushing forward on 100 clean-energy projects for Africa" (ibidem with footnote 3).

Therefore, it can be said without any exaggeration that among the international community and among all nations, the China role is tremendous for assisting to African

nations; and China role in development sector in Africa has highly been recognised by the world community. It can be said, may be in future, Africa will have achieved a lot of progress for which the continent was striving for/from the very beginning.

Good Governance Promotes and Maintains a Culture of Peace. The quest for tolerance, a culture of peace and unity has been at the centre of political endeavours in the African continent. Africa has to learn from past mistakes and follow the model of other developed and emerging countries, in terms of their development and stable economic growth. African national governments, regional organisations, and civil society have organised activities and launched many activities to promote these ideals, in the hope of consolidating peace and unity, and accelerating popular participation in development. More recently, UNESCO (United Nations on Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) and AU (African Union) have embarked on important joint initiatives in this area, bringing together civil society and government together to have a discourse on this subject.

It is appropriate in this context to mention the AU's plan to establish AU Clubs, or Associations, in member states of the organisation. The constitution of these AU Clubs enshrines the following dimensions: (1) to popularize and fully support the objectives and principles of the AU; (2) to promote national and international peace, understanding, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, and respect for human rights; (3) to contribute to the promotion of genuine peace, justice, security, full participation, and empowerment of women; (4) contribute to the strengthening of AU capabilities in conflict prevention, management, and resolution (Ahmad Wani, 2013).

The AU is making a major effort to establish peace in the conflicting regions of Africa. They have discussed different agendas for the reformation and reconstruction of Africa, but still there is lot to be achieved. Conflicts must be assessed through scholarly lenses, so that the nature of the conflict will transformed amicably without any political wrangle and dispute.

³As cited in website at: http://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/china-makes-single-largest-grain-donation-africa-official [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

The Charter of OAU (Organization of African Unity), which was adopted by the leaders of 32 independent African states on 25th May 1963 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, grew out of this debate and represented a judicious compromise between the notion of loose association of states and the federal ideal. The lofty objectives and intentions of the OAU are articulated in Art II (I) of the Charter: (1) to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states; (2) intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa; (3) defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence, to eradicate all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination from Africa; and (4) promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the UN or United Nations and Universal Declaration of Human Rights (cited in Ahmad Wani, 2013).

Good Governance: Paraphernalia of Empowerment. Good governance is an essential stage towards meeting the objectives of sustainable and people-centred development, prosperity, and peace. Good governance is defined by rule of law, the existence of effective state institutions, transparency and accountability in the management of public affairs, respect for human rights, and the meaningful participation of all citizens, particularly women, in political processes and decisions affecting their lives (Peerzada & Ahmad Wani, 2013).

It is very important to be noted here that good governance is such mechanism, which can be used for the empowerment and betterment of entire society without any distinction of religion, colour, region, community, and caste. Through good governance, the rule of law, social justice, and equilibrium could be maintained in any modern society. Looking the role and efficacy of good governance in the African region, we found that the continent has progressed lot, because of the establishment of the good governance package in the main stream policy making and policy implementation. Good governance has made African nations much more responsible, and it has paved a way towards social justice, rule of law, accountability, and credibility.

Empirical evidence confirms that the good governance is critical for sustainable economic growth as measured by high per capita income. Africa is on the move: economic and political progress is reshaping the continent significantly. Over the past decade, many African countries experienced steady economic growth and political governance is improving (REDA, 2011). Undoubtedly, based on the reports, it can be pointed out that due to good governance Africa has changed a lot after 1980-1990 onwards. Let us be optimistic and very clear that though African nations have not overcome all the constraints, but the way African nations are moving it looks like that in some year's new African history has to be written that will be the history of sustainable development in Africa.

African governments, by taking responsibility for legal system, have had greater success and contribution in making their public authorities somehow accountable to the rule of law, and they have also strengthened transparency and accountability in the public and private institutions. And independent media, free and fair elections in Africa are the real outcomes of good governance in Africa, what we have observed in recent times.

We found that good governance is the better mechanism to check the power and especially the misuse of power. Good governance is required at every level to maintain all institutions whether political, economic, judicial, and law making bodies on right track. Through good governance, people can be empowered to participate fully in decision making at national and local governance (Peerzada & Ahmad Wani, 2013).

According to one prediction, based on data given by the Goldman Sachs Investment Bank Forecast in 2005, Nigeria would be the 20th largest economy in the world by 2025 and the 12th largest by 2050; ahead of Italy, Canada, and South Korea. Having identified Brazil, Russia, India, and China – as the four emergent power houses of the world economy referred to as the BRICs – it included Nigeria among "the Next Eleven" countries which comprises of Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, South

Korea, Turkey, and Vietnam.⁴

These research trends about the changing dynamics of good governance in Africa are the hallmark for building strong nations with strong institutions. And Nigeria role in the African continent is accepted, because it has various rich resources in the region; it cannot be compared with small nations in Africa; and, however, it can be counted second giant nation after South Africa in the African continent. Not only resources Nigeria has, but its leadership and role for the development of other neighbouring countries in the region is well known phenomenon which cannot be denied.

Obviously, we have to recognise the capacity and capability, which African nations are showing in the present modern scenario. This is enough to say that African continent is changing with very fast speed, but it needs to be pointed out here that nation abuilding is not a one day project, or one day task; it takes nations years to build themselves. The fact of the matter is that African continent is changing and its change is dynamic, not static; its dynamism can be seen in all the reports, and we have to accept this reality that its blessed land on earth having enough resources, but it's ironic somehow there lies weakness in somewhere in political institutions and leaders who are holding them. Therefore, it can be said that restructuring and reconstructing will be required for better Africa.

CHALLENGES OF GOOD GOVERNANCE AND AFRICAN RESPONSE

UNEC (United Nations Economic Commission)'s report for Africa tracks the progress of and challenges to good governance in Africa. The report shows that the decentralization, tax evasion, and corruption are major hindrances which continuously threaten the good governance project in the region. However, on the other side, the report stated that governance is overall improving in Africa, for instance, voter participation is increasing and political parties are growing stronger. Political infrastructure, though

still weak, but it is gaining legitimacy and popularity.⁵

Yet, there many constraints remain unresolved, including the denial of rights to women and children, biased electoral commissions, and law enforcement agencies that violate the rights of the people; and also there are many places still ethnic conflict going on, such as in Nigeria between Muslims and Christians animosities, these are the rampant challenges to good governance. And to be very honest in elucidating the facts about Africa, one of the major challenges, which number of African nations are still facing, is the corruption disease and leadership crisis. Opposition parties also have a very less influence on government policy. Lack of peace, order, and stability can be counted some of the other impediments to good governance in Africa (*ibidem* with footnote 5).

Eleven million youth are expected to enter Africa's labor market every year for the next decade. Despite rapid growth in formal wage sector jobs, the majority of these youths are likely to work on family farms and in household enterprises, often with very low incomes. To boost young people's earnings, governments need to hasten overall business climate reforms, strengthen basic education, and make land, infrastructure, training, and financing more accessible.⁶

It is also very important to mention here that African democratic experience was not so good in past decades. However, its improving recently the governments are tackling the main issues of people in Africa, but giving good jobs to youth African nations have to go for foreign direct investment, so that many new factories, new companies can be created where the unemployed youth can be given job opportunities for that purpose. We found that there are need of many nations like India, China, Japan, South Korea, European and American nations, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and other international

⁴See, for example, news on "Nigeria Cannot Do Without the North" in *Vanguard*, 11 March, 2014. Available online also at: http://allafrica.com/stories/201403110204.html [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

⁵As cited in website at: https://www.sites.sandiego.edu/wl reader/toc/2010reader/chapterinfrastructure-and-governance/obstacles-to-good-governance/ [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

⁶Read news on "World Bank Expects 11 Millions to Join Africa's Labour Market Nearly for Next Decade" in *Ghana Business News*, 27 January 2014.

partners to invest in Africa; thereby the issues of poverty, unemployment, and other basic welfare issues could be resolved.

Over the last many years, AU (African Union), AfDB (African Development Bank), and many regional and international organisations are puting many efforts to sortout the challenges which African nations in general are facing. These organisations are working strongly on the issue of accountability, efficiency, and credibility of the African institutions, to make them

more accountable and just institutions for the people of Africa. Especially, these institutions are working to sortout the problem of poverty, unemployment, and corruption from Africa. They are also trying to establish peace and harmony inside Africa. And more importantly, they are working to boost the economy of the African nations by giving them new strategies and vision to come out from the mess of poverty and to build strong financial capacity and capability to create sustainability in Africa.

On the Secondary School Enrolment of in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2005/2011. Donna Clifton & Alexandra Hervish (2013) reported that in many Sub-Saharan African nations, the children aged 15 to 19 years old are still lacking the foundational skills, which are essential for them to be trained enough so that they would be able to work, either in public and private sector, because of their good skills, but unfortunately they are still lacking these type of skills. The reason they give is that, most of them, they do not receive proper education or they are dropout from the schools due to poverty reason. In accordance to the data that in Eastern Africa, 33 per cent of girls and 39 per cent of boys of lower secondary-school age are not attending schools (Clifton & Hervish, 2013). See the figure 1.

Further, Donna Clifton & Alexandra Hervish (2013) mentioned that in some countries, however, the situation is much

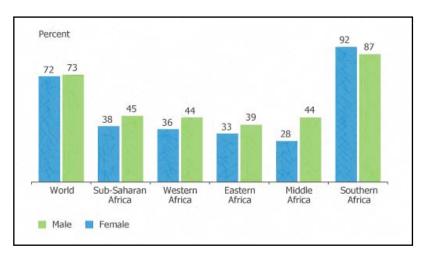


Figure 1: Lower Secondary-School Age in Africa (Source: Clifton & Hervish, 2013)

more worst such as in Niger, where 83 per cent of girls and 74 per cent of boys are not attending schools. Some students left schools to work in low-skill jobs, where the possibility of advancement is very limited, and national education systems is not successful enough to provide them opportunities, so that these children's could gain these critical skills in the future become market oriented youth (*cf* ILO, 2012; and UNESCO, 2012).

Recent reports of ILO (International Labour Organization) and UNESCO (United Nations on Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) have recommended to the governments, the private sector, and international donors to make integrated, comprehensive policies and strategies, thereby the conditions of children in Africa can be ameliorated and this can be done when basic education with skills will be given to all children, so that they will be able to work anywhere (ILO, 2012; and UNESCO, 2012).

Some other strategies entails policies to improve labour standards and social protection for youth, for instance, acceptable wages and better work conditions; and programs that target specific youth populations, like disadvantaged and downtrodden young women, to boost their skills and employability. Second-chance education for individuals with low or no foundational skills will help these youth catch up later in life. Decision makers need to understand the suppressed voices of

young people and allow them opportunities for dialogue so that this problem could be managed (ILO, 2012; and UNESCO, 2012).

Recommendations also entail improving the ability to measure the mismatch between what youth know and what employer's need. Therefore, it can be said that compatibility of educational skills, with market oriented demands, has to be taken into consideration by the policy makers in Africa. This is the better way to give youth better skills for receiving better jobs.⁷

Recent research shows that from the last some years economies of Sub-Saharan Africa are witnessing rapid growth, at an average rate 5.3 per cent in GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth in 2012 was counted in recent years, which shows the economies of Sub-Saharan Africa are going above the world average of 3.3 per cent growth level per year. In the meanwhile, it is said that approximately 2 million people will enter to the labour markets from now until 2015. With a greater appreciation of the size and economic potential of young people and more comprehensive education-to-employment strategies, Sub-Saharan Africa will be able to make the most of this opportunity for development and stability in the region (UNESCO, 2012).

On the Reducing Poverty Challenges by 2030. Economic index shows that in 1990, about 56 per cent of the population in Africa lived on under \$ 1.25 a day, accounting for 15 per cent of those living in poverty worldwide. Over the subsequent two decades, the region's poverty rate level has gone down to 48 per cent; it means that the region is continuously going toward growth and progress. However, Sub-Saharan Africa's poverty rate is expected to fall further to 24 per cent by 2030, representing 300 million people, but its share of global poverty balloons to 82 per cent. This is predicted on the basis of economic data that Sub-Sharan

Africa picture of economic condition is going to be much more better in coming years.

Over the past some years, 11 economies in the region witnessed virtually no better progress and growth such as Benin, Central African Republic, Comoros, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Madagascar, and Swaziland; while the condition of four other economies are anticipated to stagnate over the coming time based on present forecasts and these economies can be categorised as Comoros, Madagascar, Malawi, and Swaziland.

On the other, there are some major economies in Africa, such Nigeria and South Africa. Nigeria is the world's eighth largest oil exporter country in the world. Almost 90 per cent of its economy is tied with oil. But, the major concern is that 80 per cent population of Nigeria daily earning is 2 dollar per day. The wealth is concentrated in the 20 per cent urban class. As far as the South Africa is concerned its quite rich economy in whole Africa, but second richest country is Nigeria.

The researchers believe that for reducing poverty in Africa, the policy maker in Africa have to go for the FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) since, according to them, the continent is very rich by natural resources, but the only thing is Africa needs investments so that poverty could be reduced, the gap between rich and poor could be balanced, and jobs can be created for the millions of unemployed youth in the African continent. Therefore, it can be said that more liberalisation and privatisation is needed for African economies, so that poverty challenges could be mitigated (cf Clifton & Hervish, 2013; Monga, 2013; and Peerzada & Ahmad Wani, 2013).

Whereas it is being anticipated that three per cent of Africans in 2030 are expected to be poor simply, because their country growth rates will be lagging behind the regional performance. These individuals start between 70 cents and \$1.25, and remain there two decades later. It is found and classified these type of people are moving too slowly as compared to other developing countries people in Africa (Monga, 2013).

Over the last decade, Sub-Saharan Africa's economies have gained 5 per cent growth a

⁷See, for example, news on "Promoting Youth Employment in Africa" in *African Economic Outlook*, 7 June 2012. Available online also at: http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/in-depth/youth_employment/ [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: March 24, 2014].

⁸See also http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/Africa/Report/Africas-Pulse-brochure_Vol7.pdf [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

year, or around 3 per cent in per capita terms. Evidence from household surveys suggests that this has, on average, translated into gains for the poor: of the countries in the region with available data, half saw per capita consumption of the poorest 10 per cent of their populations rise by 3 per cent or more a year during the period. Forecasts indicate that growth rates should remain high in the foreseeable future, so it is not unreasonable to anticipate that a 3 per cent annual increase in income is sustainable for many of those living in poverty (Hawksworth, 2010). According to WB (World Bank) document, it says that:

[...] the economic activity remains better in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, underpinned by robust domestic demand. The economic condition for the region is positive, although the region is vulnerable to both a sharp decline in commodity prices and the fragility of the global economy (cited in Ferreira et al., 2013:2).

On the Corruption Disease: Some Reflections from Africa. Nevertheless, the continent is going for democratisation and good governance from last two or three decades, but to point out this reality that corruption and conflict remain two major serious barriers to development in many African countries. Experts estimate that African states lose as much as \$ 148 billion annually, because of huge corruption rampant in most of the African countries, amounting to approximately one quarter of GDP (Gross Domestic Product). The TI (Transparency International), the global coalition against corruption (index), showed that some of the countries are major threat of corruption, such as Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Libya, Guinea Bissau, and Eritrea; and the countries which got least score, but the index also shows that slightly the corruption in Africa is going down (cited in http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2013/results/, 9/10/2014).

Countries like Rwanda, Mauritius, Namibia, Ghana, South Africa, Senegal, Tunisia, and Burkina Faso are counted among the least corrupted countries listed in Africa by TI (Transparency International). Corruption is endemic in most African societies. The reasons of corruption, in some of the African nations, have been narrated and these causes have been cited: (1) institutions, such as the legislature and judiciary, are weak; (2) the rule of law is not strictly enforced; (3) political patronage is the norm; (4) the independence and professionalism of the public and private sectors have been eroded; and (5) civil society lacks the means to hold perpetrators to account (http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2013/results/, 9/10/2014).

Africa is not having the same leadership, which it was having during independence period. For Africa to be renewed, power has to be given those who will be honest and sincere leaders. Those on whom the burden of leadership will fall in future must fully comprehend the nature of their responsibilities, duties, and obligations. African leaders have to follow the long destiny of Mandela, who was really a great leader and icon for Africa. Who was always prepared for the rights of people of Africa? And who stands by truth and morality? These type of leaders are always alive in the world history, because of their marvellous contribution for their nations.

UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime) for Southern Africa Representative, Jonathan Lucas, has identified corruption as "a crime against development, democracy, education, prosperity, public health and justice – what many would consider the pillars of social well-being" (cited in Sundaram & Chowdhury, 2013). The TI (Transparency International) on Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), released in October 2010, identified Africa as the most corrupt region in the world (TI, 2010).

TI, further, elaborates that the transparency and accountability can be improved by the regular publication of information on how governance and anti-corruption efforts are being implemented to achieve progress on the Millennium Development Goals. TI initiatives could also entail national-level access to information laws, information campaigns on citizens' rights, and joining international initiatives to publish information on particular sectors, such as natural resource revenues (*cf* TI, 2010; and UN, 2010).

⁹As cited in http://www.africaleadership.org/rc/the%20challenges%20of%20leadership%20in%20africa%20development.pdf [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

It can be said that the governments in Africa must include anti-corruption measures in their development strategies, if progress is to be made in this field. Public opinion must support anti-corruption strategies to be a major force in creating an environment, in which corruption is not accepted.¹⁰

The African countries can have the same RTI (Right to Information System), which India made and implemented in 2005 for preventing corruption disease. This right to information is the best channel of transparency and accountability, because it will make institutions accountable and responsible. Any individual if he/she is the citizen of India has the right to disclose the information about any public official, if he/she feels that that public official is not working properly, that individual can also write in the courts if he/ she finds anything like misappropriation of public property, then, a person involved such fraudulent activity can be charge sheeted, then, put him/her in prison. Therefore, African nations needs very strong laws and judicial system, so that nobody can violate the constitution of the country (Peerzada & Ahmad Wani, 2013).

On the Lack of Vibrant and Robust Civil Society. Civil societies are catalysts and guardians for development of public interests and their non-alignment with government efforts make them clear and constructive. Civil society keeps the government on its toes. However, a lot is yet to be achieved in this regard in Africa.

Civil society can play an important role in democratic society. To say that civil society is watchdog on the activities of governments would not be wrong. We believe that the existence of an active civil society is crucial to the vitality of political democracy. The nurturing of civil society is widely well perceived as the most effective means of controlling repeated abuses of state power, holding rulers accountable to their citizens, and establishing the foundations for durable and democratic government.

The main question that arises here is whether civil society is playing its role in the African continent honestly, or does it fear the political authorities? Alternatively, is it on the side of the political authorities in order to secure its material interests, forgetting the human interests which must be above everything? However, remained a daunting challenge, as civil society organizations have operated under severe constraints, notably the detention of their members, interference with foreign travel, public vilification by government, and surveillance by security agencies.

Here, we can reiterate this fact that civil society is dynamic and its very important mechanism for preservation of political democracy. Thus, the uniqueness of the civil society is making other sectors work, leveraging their potentialities, and enabling solutions. As stated by Hilary Clinton, prominent women figure from USA (United States of America), as follows:

Governments should view civil society not as a threat, but as an asset. A genuine democracy is like a three legged tools: one leg is responsive and accountable governments, the second leg a dynamic job-creating private sector, and the third is robust and vibrant civil society.¹¹

It is very important to mention here that the dynamism of the civil society varies from country to country; there is tremendous increase in the activities and influence of NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) these days in Africa. In addition, the fact of the matter is that in many countries in Africa still civil society is facing number of challenges, for instance lack of financial support, sometimes restrictions on speech, somewhere civil society organisations cannot work independently, and in some conflicting zones in Africa many civil society members have been killed and kidnaped also. Nevertheless, in this messy environment, civil society is working for humanitarian purpose which must be acknowledged.

The obvious reality on the ground is that there is a legacy of weak civil society given the fact that throughout the 1960s and 1970s,

¹⁰See also http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index. php?option=com_content&view=article&id=605:corruption-inafrica-a-crime-against-development&catid=87:african-financea-economy&Itemid=294 [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

¹¹As cited in http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_FutureRoleCivilSociety_Report_2013.pdf [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

most governments in the continent reluctantly narrowed and minimised the role of the civil society in African continent. However, since the late 1980s, the situation has been slowly changing. While a few governments that restrict the vibrancy of civil society organisations are still in existence, political systems that encourage pluralism are now the norm rather than the exception. This changing scenario paved a way to strong civil society, which could be counted an edge for better democracy in Africa.

On the Conflict and Security Dilemma. Conflict also continues to hamper African development. Although there has been a decline in the past two decades, in 2006 almost half of all the world's high-intensity conflicts were in Sub-Saharan Africa. The costs of these conflicts, both direct and indirect, are numerous. The cost of armed conflict in 23 Sub-Saharan African countries between 1990 and 2005 has been placed at USA \$ (United States of America Dollar) 284 billion.

According to Oxfam research reports, an average of USA \$ 18 billion per year; and represents an average annual loss of 15% of GDP (Gross Domestic Product), which is oneand-a-half times the average African spending on health and education combined (cited in Ncube, Jones & Bicaba, 2014). We found that these macro-economic impacts are massive, but do not tell the story of the dramatic human impacts in affected regions. Compared with peaceful countries, Sub-Saharan African countries in conflict have on average 50% more infant deaths, 15% more undernourished people, 20% more adult illiteracy, and 2.5 fewer doctors per person, as per the report of Oxfam (cited in Ncube, Jones & Bicaba, 2014).

In addition, government spending, which could otherwise have been directed to social sectors, goes into military spending during times of conflict. The nations' wealth is mainly spent in quelling one uprising or another. From Nigeria to Zimbabwe, Rwanda to Sudan, Liberia to Democratic Republic of Congo, cases of ethnic conflict and civil unrest are reported. According to Scott Straus, a Human Rights theorist, said that conflict reduction mechanisms, in particular international peacekeeping and regional diplomacy,

have substantially increased on the African continent (Straus, 2013).

Peacekeeping is now more prevalent and especially more robust than in the 1990s. Regional bodies, such as the AU (African Union), ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), ECCAS (Economic Community of Central African States), IGAD (Inter-Governmental Authority on Development), and SADC (Southern African Development Community), are quite active in most conflict situations. They have exhibited greater resolves in conflicts as diverse as Côte d'Ivoire, Sudan, the Central African Republic, and Madagascar. Scott Straus, further, states that "the bigger point is that we may be witnessing significant shifts in the nature of political violence on the continent. Wars are on the decline since the 1990s, and the character of warfare is also changing" (Straus, 2013).

We do agree with the analysis of Scott Straus (2013) that Africa is becoming more peaceful. Therefore, Scott Straus' political analysis and diagnosis of the political dynamics and shifting nature of Africa was being based on scholarship, cannot be easily rejected given the data from UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), UNIDO (United Nations Industrial Development Organization), and other international reports about the changing dynamics of Africa.¹²

CONCLUSION 13

The fact of the matter is that the world is changing, and the developing countries are in transition, but they are becoming stronger day by day as demonstrated by the worlds emerging economies. Africa is also showing

¹²See, for comparison on Scott Straus' political analysis and diagnosis, at: http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/PolicybDocuments/FINAL%20Briefing%20Note%206%20Inclusive%20Growth.pdf [accessed in Bandung, Indonesia: October 9, 2014].

¹³ Acknowledgements: We would like to thanks to the Centre for Civilizational Dialogue and the Library Staff of the UM (University of Malaya) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, for giving us an opportunity to collect research data. We would also like to thanks to Library Staff of MU (Mekelle University) in Tigray, Ethiopia, for giving us the opportunity to collect the research material on good governance in African context. However, all contents and interpretations about this article are solely rested to our (two authors) responsibility academically.

better growth and economic stability. The data shows that Africa is, in fact, rising very fast and it has been projected by world organisations and developmental reports that Africa would be better in terms of development and growth in 2030-2050.

More importantly, research shows that the conditions of Sub-Saharan Africa would have changed by 2030-2050. And it is also projected that this region would be free from poverty and conflict. The research also shows that some countries in Africa can join the emerging economies of the world as a good example, based on its growth is Nigeria. Therefore, Nigeria has the full chances to reclaim its effective role in the African continent and across the globe.

Research proves "Nigeria as giant of Africa", because Nigeria has enough resources and its change is dynamic. It is said that looking at the growth and economic development of Nigeria; the time is not far off when it can be included among the largest economies in the world. There are other countries from Africa which are rising, such as Ghana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Botswana, Burkina Faso, and many others.

It would not be an exaggeration that the role of external powers is also very vital for strengthening and boosting the economies of Africa. Based on the above mentioned data, it can be said undoubtedly that emerging powers have played crucial role for shaping and regulating the African economic and their developmental affairs. Among the emerging nations, the major role is being played by China in Africa, and other powers who are also shaping the destiny of Africa can be categorised, such as India, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. Among other external powers which can be listed are Western powers and the European countries, in which their role cannot be denied in bolstering the development in Africa.

In summation, it can be stated that the Africa has seen widespread improvements in macro-economic management and in the quality of its business environment. Although the challenges remain substantial, African countries are increasingly getting the basics rights. Nevertheless, improving the quality of

governance remains one of the most important challenges facing Africa today.

While there has been no shortage of ambitious reform plans and changes to laws and institutions, sustained improvements in government performance have proved hard to achieve. Even though some progress has been made, a lot more still needs to be done to improve the overall state of governance on the continent. The AfDB (African Development Bank) has made "governance one of the pillars of its long-term strategy in 2013 to 2022". 14

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