

**THE ROLE OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN
ENSURING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA**

BY

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PROMOTER: PROFESSOR EOC IJEOMA

DEDICATION

To my beloved daughter, Theodora



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DECLARATION

I humbly declare that this thesis submitted to the University of Fort Hare for a doctoral degree in Public Administration, is entirely mine apart from the duly acknowledged works and has not been previously submitted to any other university for the purpose of any degree,



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2016



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ABSTRACT

This research was undertaken to investigate the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria.

This research aims to establish that with the adaptation of transformational leadership which is an effective leadership style, Nigeria's Fourth Republic leadership can facilitate good governance. In this regard, a Multi-factor Leadership Questionnaire was administered to ascertain the leadership type adopted by Nigeria's Fourth Republic leadership. In addition to this, an interview was conducted to gather information from top officials of the Nigerian government on how Nigeria's Fourth Republic leadership performed the role of effective leaders saddled with the responsibility of facilitating good governance in the country.

The findings of this research will be useful in addressing Nigeria's perennial poor leadership issues. It is also expected to impact on the choice of suitable leadership candidates in Nigeria. Finally information obtained from this research will also be utilised by the body of knowledge in Nigeria and indeed Africa on issues pertaining to leadership and governance.

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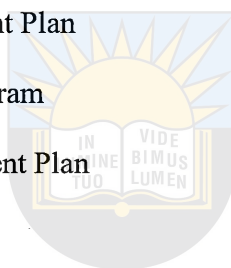
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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Effective leadership is incredibly important in Nigeria where there has been a perceived leadership problem since independence, over fifty-six years ago. Nigeria's leadership has been attributed to its stunted development and socio-economic problems such as poverty, corruption, domestic terrorism, armed robbery, kidnapping and many others. Based on this phenomenon, Lawal, Imokhuede and Johnson (2012:189) write that most of Nigeria's developmental problems originate from the sharp practices of past and present leaders. It is thus not surprising that the Transparency International Report on Corruption Perception Index ranked Nigeria and her leadership a lowly 136th position with an index score of 27 in 2014 (CPI, 2014). The ranking was on a scale of 0-100. A zero score was interpreted as "highly corrupt" while 100 "very clean". However, due to Nigeria's recurrent leadership failure, the country's ranking over the years remained in the same catastrophic range; 144th in 2013, 139th in 2012 and 143rd in 2011 respectively (CPI, 2014). Obviously, Nigeria's downward trajectory on corruption perception is a reflection of the level of governance during the country's fourth republic leadership under President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007), President Yar'Adua (2007-2010) and President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015), placed at 42.6%,42.7%,42.6%,42.7%, 41.6%,43.0%, 43.8%, 44.6%, 44.4%, 44.7%, 44.3%, 44.0%, 44.5%, 45.3%, and 44.9% between year 2000 and2014 respectively (IIAG, 2015). For Nigeria to improve on her downward trajectory in governance like her contemporaries including South Africa where Batho Pele ('People first' – A reform introduced in South Africa) was institutionalised by the leadership to entrench good governance; Nigeria has to adopt an effective leadership that will partner with anti-graft institutions to eradicate criminality and entrench good governance.

Governance is defined by the Worldwide Governance Indicator (WGI) research project as "the process and institution by which authority in a country is exercised; the process by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored and replaced; the capacity of government to manage resources efficiently and to formulate, implement and enforce sound policies and regulations; and the respect for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them" (Lawal & Owolabi 2012:3).

As the quality of Nigeria's leadership still remains a concern, governance under Nigeria's fourth republic (President Olusegun Obasanjo, President Musa Yar'Adua and President Goodluck Jonathan) has been scrutinised in this study which placed the current administration of President Jonathan at the 39th position out of 54 African countries analysed by the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG, 2015). This ranking was judged using such criteria as 'safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development' (IIAG, 2015). It is therefore observed that Nigeria's governance ranking had remained the same since 2009 and only made a slight improvement after five years of assessment (This Day Newspaper, 29 Sept, 2014). Nevertheless, Nigeria's current ranking compared with the 2009 ranking, plunged in safety and rule of law by 6.6 score points while human development also worsened by 0.3. The only improvements were in the categories of sustainable economic opportunities at 3.8 and participation and human rights at 6.4 score points (IIAG, 2015). Nigeria's downward trajectory in these assessments only confirms the notion that the nature of governance hinges on the quality of leadership (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:185).

There are different leadership approaches such as transactional and transformational leadership (Bass & Avolio 1994). Transactional leadership controls tasks for their subordinates and solicit compliance through reward (Bass 1990; Avolio, Waldman & Yammarino 1991; Bass & Avolio 2000) On the other hand, transformational leaders are visionary, and allow the followers to adopt the organisational vision, while improving their value, apprehension and developmental necessities (Cacioppe, 1997). Bass and Avolio (1990) introduced the Full Range Leadership Development Model which features the transformational and transactional leaderships and necessitated the administering of the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (Hayward, 2005), which according to Bass and Avolio (2000) is a valid assessment tool for leadership (transformational and transactional).

This research that deals with the assessment of the role of an effective leadership to enhance good governance in Nigeria utilises the MLQ to investigate the leadership approach (transformational, transactional, non-transactional) practised by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership. According to some authors, of all the leadership approaches, the transformational leadership approach impacts more on the efficacy of the organization (Bass & Avolio 1994). In the same vein, Mayer and Botha (2000) are of the view that transformational leadership is better than transactional leadership. In addition, there are research findings that have shown

the effectiveness of transformational leadership. Brand, Heyl, and Maritz (2000) confirm the marginal impact of transactional leadership compared to the strong, positive impact of transformational leadership in a study of the South African retail and manufacturing sectors (Hayward, Davidson, Pascoe, Tasker, Amos & Pearse, 2003).

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

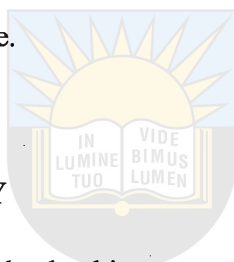
All over the world, socio-economic development is determined and sustained by the effectiveness of leadership to entrench good governance. However in Nigeria, the impact of failed leadership and governance have been attributed to the country's stunted development, and socio-economic woes characterised by corruption, poverty, kidnapping, armed robbery, domestic terrorism, etc.

Significantly, Nigeria's perceived failed leadership and governance have been largely blamed for Nigeria's developmental debacle and socio-economic saga; especially as the institutions established to tackle crime and corruption have themselves become objects of caricature in the face of mounting political manipulation by the leadership. According to Ogbeidi (2012:11), Nigeria's leadership hugely submerged in corruption; may have resulted into using the nation's anti-graft institutions to witch-hunt political opponents. Therefore, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) () may have found it increasingly difficult to remain impartial, independent and transparent. Consequently, Nigeria has earned the reputation of one of the most corrupt and lawless countries in the world. In fact, the downward trajectory in Nigeria's ranking by the Transparency International Report on Corruption Perception, which placed Nigeria as 136th in 2014, and the country's low governance ranking put at 39th out of 54 countries by IAG (2015) speaks volumes about Nigeria's leadership and governance.

Further, the country's colossal unemployment figure put at 20 million in 2014 and her listing in a World Bank report, as one of the five poorest nations in the world, portrays Nigeria as a country desperately in need of effective leadership and good governance (The Sun, 23 November 2014). Therefore, as Nigeria continues to grapple with perennial leadership and governance problems, there is an increased fear of the dismemberment of the federation of Nigeria; as the country manifests the same symptoms of a failed nation, adjudged in a sub-Saharan conference in 2005. Consequently, while, Odhiambo-Mbai (2003:23) attributes Nigeria's developmental woes to the country's poor leadership and bad governance, Achebe (1984:1) concludes that "the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of

leadership”. According to him, “there is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land, climate, water, air or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to their responsibility, to the challenge of personal example, which is the hallmark of true leadership”.

The finding of this research is significant in addressing the perennial problem of leadership and governance in Nigeria. Against this backdrop, it is expected to impact on the choice of the most suitable leadership approach necessary for Nigeria’s survival as a federation, and further provide the Nigerian electorate with information about the type of individuals that should be elected into future political leadership positions in Nigeria. Information obtained from this study is expected to be utilised by the body of knowledge in Nigeria on issues pertaining to leadership and governance.



1.3 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

1. To investigate the different leadership approaches and their impact on good governance in Nigeria.
2. To examine the link between Nigeria’s leadership approach and good governance in Nigeria.
3. To investigate how effectively leadership can entrench good governance in Nigeria.
4. To recommend a possible leadership approach that will adhere to the tenets of good governance and encourage better and effective leadership in Nigeria.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the dimension of leadership practiced by the Nigerian fourth republic and its impact on good governance in Nigeria?
2. What is the relationship between Nigeria’s perceived effective leadership and good governance?
3. What are the tenets of effective leadership that can entrench good governance in Nigeria?
4. What leadership approach can become the driver of good governance in Nigeria?

This study on the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance utilised the mixed methods research approach. The mixed methods research approach is a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research approaches which provides a better and well composed investigation (Teddlie & Tashokkori, 2012). However, the research draws mainly on the qualitative research approach, especially as it better provides the information required for the research question.

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis of this study focuses on the relationship between the perceived leadership approaches practised by the Nigerian government (under investigation) i.e. the transactional, transformational and laissez-faire leadership approaches and their influence on good governance in Nigeria. The investigation is to determine the perceived leadership behaviour of the Nigerian administrations under investigation.

1.5.1 Hypothesis:

With reference to effective leadership in Nigeria, what is the perception of Nigeria's leadership behaviour (transformational, transactional or laissez-faire). Consequently, how is it related to the governance criteria of safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development?

1.5.2 MULTI-FACTOR LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

To investigate the hypothesis above, a questionnaire called the Multi-factor leadership questionnaire (MLQ) was administered for data collection.

The MLQ is made up of a 5 point Likert scale for the purpose of the respondents choosing the most appropriate answer. The scale is as follows:

- 0 - Not at all
- 1 - Once in a while
- 2 - Sometimes
- 3 - Fairly often
- 4 - Frequently if not always

The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) consists of leadership factors which describe important elements of transformational, transactional and non-transactional leadership. These elements are included in the 45 statements of the MLQ questionnaire and calculated based on the MLQ rating scores above.

Once the MLQ has been collected by the researcher from the respondents, the questionnaires are coded. The scores are then captured by a Microsoft Excel spread sheet and then imported for statistical analysis utilising SSPS statistical software. Further, the leadership factors are calculated based on the MLQ rating scores. Each respondent's factor score is calculated using the sum of the applicable question. The eight factors become very significant in generating two more factors of transformational and transactional leadership. In determining the leadership style or behaviour of Nigeria's fourth republic leadership, the mean test was conducted through the data from the MLQ instrument. This mean test statistically indicated the significance level of each of the leadership styles tested. The leadership style with a p-value less than 0.05 is understood to be more significant while any leadership style found to have a p-value more than 0.05 is taken as less significant.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research used the mixed methods research approach which combines both the qualitative and quantitative research approaches in one study. The researcher identified sections of the research problem which required the use of both the quantitative and qualitative research methods. It is interesting to note that the mixed methods research approach provide a deeper, better and more balanced investigation into the role of effective leadership in facilitating good governance in Nigeria. Hence, while the quantitative research approach investigated Nigeria's fourth republic leadership style using quantitative research instruments and tools to accurately capture data, qualitative research was useful in investigating the relationship between the adopted leadership style of Nigeria's fourth republic leadership and good governance. Qualitative research was also relevant in providing information on the role Nigeria's fourth republic leadership played in facilitating good governance. However, the research drew mainly on qualitative methodological tools which appeared the most appropriate way to provide answers for the research question.

1.6.1 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

The quantitative research was used merely as a part of a mixed methods research approach adopted for this study. To investigate the different dimensions of leadership and their influence on good governance in Nigeria; a quantitative research had to be conducted through the use of the instrument called the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ). As stated previously, the result of this investigation was relevant in determining the perceived leadership approach of the Nigerian fourth republic (1999-2014). For data collection, the MLQ has two types of questionnaires to be administered on targeted employees of the Nigerian government. These employees included top management level staff, that were referred to as Leaders and their subordinates referred to as Raters.

These employees of the Nigerian government referred to as respondents were selected through convenience sampling method. Samples chosen by this convenience sampling method are based on their availability (Leedy, 1993). They included: one Senior Official each in the 10 Federal Government Ministries namely, the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources , the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Tourism, the Federal Ministry of Communication, the Federal Ministry of Education and Youth Development, the Federal Ministry of Environment, the Federal Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Federal Ministry of Health and Social Services, the Federal Ministry of Industries; The Head of Public Service, The Secretary to the Government; two junior staff each in the 10 Federal Government Ministries listed above; four Federal Ministry junior workers each that served under the administrations of Presidents Obasanjo, Yar'Adua and Jonathan. In all the total number were 44 respondents.

Thus, a total of 44 questionnaires were distributed to the selected respondents using a convenient sampling method. The distribution was as follows:

10 Top Senior Officials (Leaders) from the 10 selected Federal Ministries

20 Junior Staff (Raters) from the 10 selected Federal Ministries

01 Head of Service (Leader)

01 Secretary to the Government (Leader)

12 Junior Staff, 04 (Raters) each that served under each of the three presidents.

Out of the 12 top government officials (leaders) used for the research, 4 (leaders) each served under the three Nigerian presidents under investigation, i.e. President Obasanjo (1999-2007), President Yar'Adua (2007-2010) and President Jonathan (2010-2015). Similarly, out of the 32 junior staff chosen, 10 each served under President Obasanjo and Jonathan while 12 served under President Yar'Adua. In all there were 44 respondents.

In order to generate complete information for the use of the researcher, a governance appraisal was also necessary. Therefore, governance factor scores were obtained from The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) ranking criteria. For the purpose of this research, Nigeria's annual governance ranking was obtained from 2000 to 2014.

1.6.2 Data Analysis

Data from the MLQ was captured for statistical analysis (Statistica). Data analysis was done utilising SPSS statistical software. Eight leadership dimensions of transactional and transformational leadership was included and calculated based on their MLQ rating scores.

1.6.3 Dependability of the (MLQ) instrument

The dependability of the MLQ had been long-established by numerous experts globally (Bass & Avolio, 1997; Pruijn & Boucher 1994). The dependability of the MLQ had also been established in Nigeria (Yobe, 2012).

An instrument is reliable when it consistently provides an accurate measurement. Furthermore, the MLQ is reliable in terms of its content, concurrent and construct validity (Yammarino & Bass, 1990; Avolio & Bass, 1997).

Dependability of the Governance instrument (Ibrahim Index of African Governance)

The governance instrument called The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) established in 2007 is a highly reliable and dependable instrument for governance appraisal. It had been used successfully on an annual basis for governance appraisal in Africa (IIAG, 2015). The criteria used by The Ibrahim Index of African Governance includes; safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and development (IIAG, 2015).

1.6.4 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In order to provide the most appropriate answers to the research question, a mixed methods research approach was utilised, especially as it combines the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The qualitative research method was required to investigate firstly the link between leadership and governance and secondly how effectively leadership can entrench good governance in Nigeria. A qualitative research is relevant for interpretive inquiry necessary to comprehend what one sees, and hears. The aim is to have a holistic view of the entire investigation (Creswell, 2009).

For the qualitative study, the researcher chose to interview 20 top Nigerian government officials, made up of 2 permanent secretaries, one head of government, and five officials of the presidency and also four officials of the national legislature that served under the administrations of President Obasanjo, President Yar'Adua and President Jonathan respectively.

1.6.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The research utilised the mixed methods research approach, which combines the qualitative and quantitative research methods to provide a much balanced investigation. To ensure that the quantitative research results were captured accurately, computer application methods were used for data collection and analysis. These computer applications include Microsoft Excel and Statistical Presentation for Social Sciences (SPSS).

The qualitative research method also provided data collected through interviews; this data was transcribed and coded. It involved an exhaustive process of sorting, coding and re-classification. The codes were put into different categories to form patterns and commonalities.

For any other relevant information, books, periodicals, magazines, journals and the newspaper were used for content analysis. Empirical works of researchers were examined. The research drew mainly on qualitative methodological tools which provided suitable answers for the research question.

1.7 SCOPE AND DELIMITATION

The study is focused on the presidency of Nigeria during the tenures of President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007), President Musa Yar'Adua (2007-2010) and President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015). The study is on the role of effective leadership in ensuring good leadership in Nigeria.

The conceptual and contextual perspective that need not be covered are the military and civilian leaders of Nigeria prior to President Obasanjo's 1999 election, while the three leaders covered here are democratically elected individuals.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Ethical consideration for this research was undertaken in consideration of the professional code of ethical issues provided by Leedy (1997:116). Thus the researcher is expected to:

- Be scientifically objective
- Acknowledge his own limitations
- Respect the rights of privacy and dignity of persons
- Not to engage in investigations that will harm the respondents
- Hold in strict confidentiality, confidential information and all research findings presented without flaws or distortions. In this regard, confidential information divulged for use in this research will be respected. The researcher acknowledges the right of respondents to anonymity and confidentiality. Every effort has been made to keep names anonymous, and responses confidential. This research is written only for the purpose of doctoral research. The ethical clearance certificates will be obtained from the UFHGMRDC.

1.9 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS AND TERMS

1.9.1 Public Administration.

In the classification of concepts and terms used in the research thesis, Public Administration has been carefully explained in order not to reconstitute the problem created by its conceptual distinction with public administration. Hence without identifying its distinction, its use would remain ambiguous. Thus Public Administration is a discipline applicable in the practice of public administration (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2013). In other words, as an applied science, Public

Administration is “modelled on a frame of reference provided by a rigorous classification of the components of public administration as a social phenomenon” (Coetzee, 1991). In searching for a meaning for Public Administration, the concept of administration must not be overlooked.

1.9.2 Administration

Administration is the coordination of resources (men and material) to meet organisational objectives (MacRae & Pitt 1980:7). Hence, for Cutchin (1981:6) administration is “the execution of public affairs by persons jointly engaged in working towards common goals.”

It is also defined as “activities of groups cooperating to accomplish common goals” (Simon, Smithburg & Thompson, 1971:3). Ultimately, public administration can be seen as an administration that has its goals focused on the entire community (Ijeoma, *et al.*, 2013). Furthermore, public administration is made up of activities undertaken by people in public institutions geared towards the provision of public services (Ijeoma, *et al.*, 2013).

1.9.3 Governance

A World Bank document defines governance as “the manner in which public officials and institutions acquire and exercise the authority to shape public policy and provide public goods and services” (World Bank, 2007:3). Another World Bank document on Africa describes governance “as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development” (World Bank, 1992:23).

Thus there are three different issues in the conceptualisation of governance, such as the form of political administration, the economic resources and the ability of government to formulate policies and discharge governmental functions (Adejuwon, 2012:29).

Hence governance is clarified as “a set of values, policies and institutions used by the society to administer the economic, political as well as social processes at different levels on the basis of interaction among the government, civil society and private sector (Sahni, 2004:42).

Recently in 1989, there has been the introduction of the concept of good governance by the World Bank publication entitled “Sub-Saharan Africa: From crisis to sustainable growth” (World Bank, 1989). However, Adejuwon (2012:29) argues that “the concept of good governance is not new. Since words like governance and good governance belong to the same group as ancient terms like state and government.”

In spite of this development, good governance is described by Downer (2000:27) as “the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights.” This is achieved without corruption or any atom of abuse and with regard for the rule of law. According to the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID), good governance involves three major components, namely; state capability, responsiveness and accountability (DFID, 2006:20).

1. State capability: The degree to which leadership and administrations can carry out their mandates. It ensures the quality, efficiency and effectiveness of policies and service delivery designed, formulated and implemented.
2. Responsiveness: Whether the needs and rights of the citizens are catered for by government policies and institutions, especially when it concerns the law and the protection of the rights of the citizens.
3. Accountability: Making the government and public institutions answerable for their actions. However, the concept of governance is never complete without leadership. Governance includes entirely the application of the greatest approach to carry out public administration (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2013). Hence this is through effective leadership.

1.9.4 Leadership

Leadership is defined with regard to the capability of leaders to influence others (Bennis & Nanus, 1985). Hence, it can also be described as the determination of management to bring together both workers and their work performance in order to achieve the organisational goals (Cronje, Toit & Motlatla, 2000).

New theories of leadership such as transactional leadership, transformational leadership and laissez faire leadership arose out of the complication of the traditional models (Bass, 1990).

Thus, out of these theories that constitute the new leadership approach, transformational leadership and transactional are the most effective (Burns, 1978). However, Burns (1978) also states that transformational leadership motivates followers to attain upper level goals desired by the organization.

1.9.5 PRELIMINARY FRAMEWORK FOR THE RESEARCH.

This research work is made up of five chapters. Chapter one has the general framework of the research. This includes the introduction and back ground of the research, the motivation of the research, the research problem and objectives, the research questions, significance of the research, and the relevance of the research.

It also has the research ethical consideration, design and methodology, population and size, scope, limitation of the study, a clarification of concepts and the theoretical framework. In chapter one, Nigeria's political leadership is blamed for Nigeria's lack of development and the numerous socio-economic problems associated with poor infrastructural development which include corruption, poverty, armed robbery, kidnapping, terrorism, etc.

Chapter two is the literature review. This chapter utilises information generated through primary and secondary data to examine the theoretical content of the research. Leadership and governance are examined in the content of the research. The impact of poor leadership and bad governance in Nigeria are also examined. Chapter two ends with a conclusion and reference.

Chapter three of this research focuses on the historical background of Nigeria and important policies uniting the diverse tribes that make up Nigeria since independence; such as Federalism. The chapter also examines political leadership and corruption, challenges of leadership and governance in Nigeria, and other vital issues.

Chapter Four focuses on the research methodology.

Chapter five of this research is on the research findings. The chapter ends with a summary, recommendation and a conclusion.

1.9.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter clearly presented the background of the study, which is an investigation into the role played by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership in ensuring good governance. In achieving this objective, the study first seeks to determine the leadership style adopted by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership (transformational, transactional or laissez-faire) before attempting to establish the relationship between the leadership style and good governance. Consequently, the research question was developed followed by the problem statement expressed around Nigeria's perennial leadership problems and governance issues.

The nature of the study and research methodology were presented and justified as a mixed methods research approach that combines both the qualitative and quantitative research methods. Instruments such as the multifactor leadership questionnaire, and an interview were utilized and their relevance explained. The Ibrahim Index for African governance was also utilised for the Nigeria's fourth republic governance appraisal. In terms of the ethical consideration, the responsibility or position held by some of the respondents in the Nigerian government, made it necessary to clearly express the intention of the researcher to keep names anonymous and contributions confidential.

The next chapter of this research will provide relevant theories for the theoretical framework of the study and review literature on leadership and governance as the study seeks to assess the role played by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership in ensuring good governance.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

In 1999, as Nigeria's fourth democratic journey started, the country was grappling with a lot of bad governance issues due to the many years of military dictatorship. The role of Nigeria's fourth republic leadership was simply to facilitate good governance, redeem the image of the country and revamp the economy. According to Ogbeidi (2012), bad leadership and administrative corruption was responsible for the lack of good governance in Nigeria. This study is therefore an investigation of the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria.

This chapter introduces theories that will provide the theoretical framework of the study. Important elements of the full range leadership development theory and the theory of sustainable development are chosen because of their relevance to leadership and good governance. Further, the chapter provides the opportunity to review literature related to leadership and governance.


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2.0 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There are numerous interpretations of leadership (Mullin, 1999). Northhouse (2013) believes leadership gives an individual the ability to influence others towards the accomplishment of common objectives. This view has been collaborated by Riggio and Murphy (2003) that posited that leadership enables an individual to influence others to realise organizational objectives cohesively and coherently. These authors have interpreted leadership from the point of view of a person's impact over others which enables them to achieve organisational goals. Although these authors were silent over the type of influence individuals had over others, other authors have identified the influence as a social influence. Thus leadership has been defined as a social influence an individual has over others for the attainment of organisational goals (Eze, 1995; Omolayo, 2000; Bamigboye, 2000). As a social influence, these definitions have characterised leadership as the wielding of influence to accomplish organisational goals.

There are still authors that have slightly different descriptions of leadership even though they still regard leadership as a social influence an individual has over others. Their point of contention is the nature of the social influence leadership has; preferring to portray the wielding of influence behaviour as the use of non-forcible means to move people towards a direction (Jago, 1982; Kotter, 1988; Gardner, 1990; Gerber, Nel & Van Dyk 1996; Akanwa, 1997). Though leadership definitions present slight differences in description, leadership is generally acknowledged to have an influence over others which simply makes them go the extra mile (Lawal & Owolabi 2012; Bennis & Nanus 1985).

Leadership has also been defined differently. Fiedler and Garcia (1987) view leadership as an individual elected or appointed by a group, to direct and co-ordinate the group to achieve a goal. The leader then plans, organises, directs and supervises the group's activities, developing cohesion and motivation among the members of the group which keeps them as one functioning unit. In essence, leaders are seen as people at the helm of affairs of a group, either through election or appointment, who have the capability of performing the traditional functions of leaders, by planning, organising, directing, supervising and motivating the group.

While this definition is significantly different from the others above, it is not as relevant as the definition of Bass and Bass (2008) to the conceptual framework of this study. Bass and Bass (2008) stated that transformational leadership motivate followers to go the extra mile beyond what they originally intended and deemed possible. The leader heightens their expectations and achieves greater standards of performance.

Significantly, as there are different interpretations of leadership, so are there different leadership theories which have developed over time and attempt to give meaning to the concept of leadership. These theories include the traditional approaches namely the trait, behavioural and contingency approaches. Others include the new leadership approaches which according to Bass (1990) also include the transactional, transformational and laissez faire leadership behaviours.

Concerning the traditional approaches, Senior (1997) opined that the trait approach views leadership effectiveness through the leader's personality. Apparently, the leader's distinguishing feature which gave him a peculiar advantage over others was seen as leadership effectiveness. The trait theory was highly criticised because it dealt on traits that differentiated leaders from non-leaders in various situations. It was also criticised for not

clarifying the significance of traits (Stogdill, 1948; Tosi, Rizzo & Carroll, 1986). In fact the trait theory failed to convince many authors that individuals inherit certain traits that qualify them as leaders. Nevertheless, the trait approach was appropriate in explaining that not every individual had leadership acumen necessary in facilitating good governance. In essence, the trait theory was similar to the great man theory which suggests that the capacity of leadership is in-built (Kendra 2012). The key contribution of the trait approach was that some people possess certain intrinsic characteristics that could result in effective leadership. The theory was the first theory to provide a conceptual understanding of leadership as it attempted to explain why people became leaders in business, politics and the military. However, based on the various criticisms of the trait theory, the behavioural approach was introduced.

The behavioural approach insists leadership effectiveness should be expressed through the leader's behaviour (Shriberg, Lloyd, Shriberg & Williamson, 1997). This approach was centred on people's actions instead of their distinguishing features that the traits approach what trait they had (Halpin & Winer, 1957). The behavioural approach established two kinds of behaviour, the task behaviour and the relationship behaviour (Northouse, 2001). The behavioural approach was relevant in explaining how the two kinds of behaviour overlap in determining how successfully tasks are achieved. The behavioural approach contributed enormously to the understanding of leadership by expressing what effective and ineffective leaders do; in terms of their task delegation, communication and role performance. The approach is relevant because it showed that leadership behaviour relates to the function performed as well as the fact that leadership behaviour can be seen and learnt; which has important implications in terms of this study. One of such implications is the fact that the role of effective leadership in facilitating good governance relates directly to the function performed which is good governance. This effective role performance of leadership can be seen and learnt. Hence Robbin (1996) opined that through training there could be an endless supply of leaders. However, the behavioural approach failed to discover that the leadership behaviour used in one situation may not be appropriate in another situation. Because the behavioural approach could not discover the appropriate leadership style suitable for all situations, other leadership models were introduced (Hellriegel *et al.*, 2004).

The contingency approach was the next approach to be introduced. The contingency theory matched leadership to suitable situations. The approach suggests that there is no particular

leadership style, or exact leadership function or specific leadership quality that is ideal for all situations (Gerber *et al.*, 1996). The approach was emphatic that different leadership styles can fit different situations. In other words, effective leaders change as the situation dictates (Mullin, 1999). The process of leadership is dynamic and changes from situation to situation to meet the observed changes, leaders, followers and situations in the environment (Hersey & Blanchard, 1977). One leadership style cannot be appropriate for every situation.

The relevance of this theory is that it demonstrates that leadership effectiveness is possible depending on how appropriate the leadership style is for the situation. To understand the role of effective leadership, it is necessary to understand situations in which the leaders lead. The role of effective leadership can then be determined when the leader accurately analyses the needs of the masses in terms of good governance and then applies a leadership style appropriate for the situation. Leadership effectiveness depends on how well the leadership style matches with the characteristics of subordinates and their tasks (House, 1977). However, the approach, relevant as it is to the conceptual understanding of leadership, failed to offer some general acceptable principles of leadership (Bass 1990). Concerning the issue of principles of leadership, Robbins (1996) opined that integrity is not based on specific situations. Rice also criticised the approach for not showing the relationship style and situation.

These traditional approaches above; trait, behavioural and contingency approaches were criticised for not being severely tested (Bass 1990). This led to the introduction of the new leadership approaches which according to Bass (1990) comprise only the transformational and transactional leadership approaches. The transactional leadership approach is generally categorised by the type of transactions made between the leader and his subordinates. These transactions are at times based on an unhealthy relationship between the leader and the subordinate. Bass (1978) writes that transactional leadership refers to an exchange relationship between the leader and his subordinate intended to satisfy their self-interests. Kouzes and Posner (1995) posited that the transactional leader is similar to the traditional manager. Hence the transactional approach is based on the concept that the leader has the responsibility to determine job tasks, and also the obligation to reward or punish subordinates that fail to meet expectations (Wolinski, 2010). In this context, the transactional leader is portrayed from his contingency reward and management-by-exception-active roles which involves dangling carrots at deserving subordinates to the strict monitoring and control of

events to prevent deviations from the planned objectives. This is unlike the leader's portrayal in his management-by-exception-passive role, where he only intervenes when there are problems. A major contribution of the transactional leadership approach is role clarification which occurs when the leader enables the subordinates to know exactly what is required of them to meet set objectives (Hayward, 2005).

Transformational leadership approach on the other hand inspires followers to exceed expectations. The transformational leader is not interested in role clarification like the transactional leader above. This motivates the followers of transformational leaders to change their attitude and commitment towards organizational goals (Yukl, 1989). Because the main focus of the transformational leader is to build relationships of trust and mutual respect with his followers. The transformational leader changes his followers through his inspirational nature and ethical considerations and principles. In essence the transformational leader becomes a role model and therefore motivates followers to attain greater heights. Bass and Avolio (1990) opine that transformational leaders influence their followers by developing them to have visions of what else they can contribute to accomplish organisational goals.

Nigeria's fourth republic leadership can arguably be categorised under Bass' (1990) suggestion of the transactional and transformational approaches. The question is which one of these approaches has Nigeria's fourth republic leadership adopted. Perhaps after narrowing Nigeria's leadership investigation into transactional and transformational approaches, one can easily argue that Nigeria's leadership does not measure up to the virtues of transformational leadership in terms of; vision, ethical behaviour, change agent, developmental attitude and trust by their followers. This leaves us with the option that Nigeria's leadership approach might be transactional.

Against this backdrop, President Obasanjo's (1999-2007) decision to fight a war against the Niger-Delta restive youth during his administration is perhaps comparable to the transactional leadership approach; which uses reward and punishment as incentives to solicit compliance (Bass 1990). Arguably, President Musa Yar 'Adua in 2007 may have also adopted the same leadership approach when he rewarded with amnesty the same Niger Delta militants previously punished by Obasanjo. Transactional leaders are also comfortable when there is no change in the status quo. They will also rather leave it unchanged when they leave office

(Howell & Avolio 1993). This explains Nigeria's developmental debacle and the malaise of corruption that have remained perennial problems over the years.

In terms of the relationship between each new leadership approach and governance, transformational leadership approach has been shown to be more effective in governance than any other new leadership approach. In a study conducted in Malaysian LGAs, transformational leadership showed its effectiveness on good governance when it was utilised to curb employee corruption. Thus it was concluded that transformational leadership is excellent in promoting good governance (Mohamad, Daud & Yahya 2014). In another study, Indrianawati (2010) conducted a survey to determine the impact of leadership on good governance in the University of East Java in Indonesia. It was concluded that there is a strong relationship between transformational leadership and good governance.

Hence Ukaegbu (2010) writes that the transformational approach which according to Bass and Riggio (2006) is characterised by vision and high ethical standards is also enterprising in preparing and organising people to participate in the process of change, and inspires a sense of collective efficacy. The transformational leader empowers beyond impoverishment, and promotes followers to the point of self and national actualisation. As a matter of fact, the transformational leader is keenly interested in qualitative education, revolutionising infrastructure and modernising agricultural production. Consequently, there might be a linkage between the virtues of transformational leadership above and the tenets of good governance which includes "participation, accountability, management effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusiveness, transparency, consensus orientation and responsiveness" (Fardaus & Khan 2006).

Also included in the leadership literature are leadership styles (Lewin, 1939 in Kendra, 2012).

- Authoritarian or autocratic leadership style
- Participative or democratic leadership style
- Delegative or Laissez-Faire leadership style

In the same vein, Zerva and Lassiter (2005) suggested various other leadership styles that include: the coercive, task-oriented, bureaucratic, affiliative, empowering, pacesetter or charismatic and coaching leadership. Further, Goleman (2000) included the commanding and visionary leadership styles. There is another leadership style called the coaching leadership

style which develops workers for future endeavours and involves delegation of tasks, skills development and outcome assessment (Kendra, 2012).

Further, the visionary leadership style is utilised to mobilise followers to work towards realising a vision (Goleman, 2000). The authoritarian leader takes independent decisions without consulting his subordinates (Kendra, 2012). Consequently, the authoritarian leadership style is used to impose on subordinates what they must do, how it must be done and when to do it. The commanding, coercive and bureaucratic leadership styles are also classified as autocratic (Onolememen, 2015). As these leadership styles emphasise subordinate and task control through instructions, Deleli (2010) argued that the different leadership styles are in fact related and used simultaneously by leaders. However, one leadership style alone may not be enough to entrench good governance. How then can a leadership approach facilitate good governance in Nigeria?

Leadership has a role to play in facilitating good governance; because the quality of the leadership approach adopted determines the quality of governance ((Okonjo-Iweala 2012; Lawal *et al.*, 2012:185). Nigeria's leadership issues have led to bad governance as indicated by Nigeria's governance scores for the period under investigation (2007-2014) put at 44.6%, 44.4%, 44.7%, 44.3%, 44.0%, 44.5%, 45.3% and 44.9% respectively (IIAG 2015). Significantly, Nigeria's poor leadership approach is responsible for the country's downward trajectory in governance rankings, developmental and socio-economic woes (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:185; World Bank, 1989:188).

Therefore, the onus is on leadership to play an effective role that will facilitate good governance in Nigeria by instituting elements which a world bank document (1989) identifies as; "an efficient public service, an independent judiciary and legal framework to enforce contract, an accountable administration of public funds, an independent public auditor, responsible to a representative legislature, respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government, a pluralistic institutional structure and a free press" (World Bank 1989).

A better comprehension of the role of effective leadership in entrenching good governance in Nigeria can be gained through a review of the concepts and theories of governance. Significantly, good governance has become a precondition for the socio-economic development of Nigeria (Lawal & Owolabi 2012:4).

Good governance, according to a World Bank group (2011) explanation, is the process in which power is exercised through a country's economic, political and social institutions. Further, governance has been viewed as the administration of a country's socio-economic resource for sustainable development (World Bank 1992).

Potter (2000) attributes good governance to "sound development management" that encompasses the entire public sector management; accountability; legal framework for development (reform); information and technology; government legitimacy; efficiency and effectiveness of government in the initiation of suitable policies, important decision making; effective implementation of policies for excellent service delivery. Good governance can also be attributed to the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted in terms of its legitimacy, commitment to improved public welfare, responsiveness to the needs of the citizenry, competence to maintain law and order, public service delivery, ability to provide a conducive condition for productive activities and equitable in its conduct (Lawal & Owolabi, 2012:4).

Some relevant theories of governance identified by Toikka (2011) include, "normative, environmental, reflexive, adaptive and deliberative". Furthermore, the Vienna School of Governance (2012) listed some other theories of governance which includes argumentative, cultural, democratic and legal, network, political and system transition and transformation.

The reflexive governance theory has processes that enable the division of governance into first and second-order reflexive governance (Sairinen, 2009). The deliberative theory views governance as a process that facilitates the participatory process of democracy specially as it concerns language interpretation in process of making decision. Furthermore, the argumentative theory deals with constitutional conditions for the commencement of government administrations, with emphasis on arguments forwarded in the interpretation of policy-making and governance (Fischer, 2003). The transformation and transition theories focus on the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority in governance from one administration to another. The theory as it relates to governance is similar to the transformational leadership approach (Toikka, 2011; Davis, 2011).

The leadership that can facilitate good governance, and drive public management development in Nigeria is transformational leadership. This is because Nigeria's is grappling with corrupt leaderships attributed to the country's stunted development, stale infrastructure

and socio-economic woes. Madueke (2008) believes the transformational leadership approach can lead to positive changes. Transformational leadership can ensure good governance in Nigeria by entrenching the tenets of “participation, accountability, management effectiveness and efficiency, equity and inclusiveness, transparency, consensus orientation and responsiveness” (Fardaus & Khan 2006).

In a similar study in Malaysian LGAs, transformational leadership was instrumental in promoting good governance that curbed employee corruption (Mohamad, Daud & Yahya 2014). Evidence found in the US Air force shows that commanders evaluated higher in a transformational leadership survey led better squadrons (Bass & Riggio, 2006). There are also similar studies on the effectiveness of transformational leadership in the USA and Canada armed forces (Hayward, 2005). Studies conducted to investigate the impact of leadership and good governance in the University of East Java in Indonesia, concluded on a strong relationship between transformational leadership and good governance (Indrianawati, 2010).

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Full Range Leadership Development Theory

Empirical Evidence

At this stage of the study, attention is drawn to the review of relevant theories with empirical evidence to support, such that it gives clarity to the discourse. The full range leadership development theory was introduced by (Bass & Avolio, 1994; 1997). The theory posited that the three leadership styles consisting of the transformational leadership style, the transactional leadership style and the laissez-faire leadership style have different impacts on individual and organisational outcomes (Bass, 1990; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992). In relation to the discourse, the theorists imply that the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria will accomplish different governance outcomes depending on which leadership style is adopted (transformational, transactional or laissez-faire leadership). In other words, each leadership style has its own impact on the leader's behaviour and the governance outcome. In addition to this, the full range leadership development theorists also categorised the leadership styles ranging from the best to the worst in the order of transformational leadership the best, transactional leadership the next and laissez-faire leadership the least. Burns (1978) confirmed the supremacy of the transformational

leadership style when he asserted that between transformational and transactional leadership styles, one can distinguish between ordinary and extra ordinary leadership. The superiority of transformational leadership over the other leadership styles has been attributed to the leader's charisma and motivation. Bass (1985) agreed that the transformational leader is acknowledged generally for his ability to transform his followers to attain high performances through four dimensions: charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration. One way of pursuing the issue of good governance in Nigeria is to sensitise the Nigerian electorate to elect only candidates with proven transformational leadership qualities to offices of leadership in all the political parties in Nigeria.

The transactional leader on the other hand is associated with ordinary leadership because his leadership style merely focuses on the satisfaction of lower needs. Bass (1985), asserts that the transactional leader uses lower needs satisfaction as a means of motivating subordinates. Through contingency reward the transactional leadership solicits compliance by developing unhealthy relationships with subordinates. Transactional leaders also use management-by-exception-active, which involves strict monitoring and control of subordinates to avoid deviations (Hayward, 2005). Management-by-exception-passive occurs where the leader fails to act until the mistake is made. The full range leadership development theory is adopted for this study because Nigeria's fourth republic leadership style appears to be transactional in nature since they lack the personality traits and motivation ascribed to transformational leaders that leads to good governance and have exhibited the characteristics of transactional leaders in their actions on the Niger Delta insurgency, Boko Haram terrorism and civil servants increase in remuneration with borrowed funds.

Empirical evidence confirms the superiority of transformational leadership over all other styles of leadership. In South Africa, evidence drawn by Brand, Heyl and Maritz (2000) in the retail and manufacturing sectors revealed a strong relationship between transformational leadership and performance, than any other leadership style. The superiority of transformational leadership is not exclusive to South Africa. In Nigeria, transformational leadership was found to have a strong relationship with the employee performance of a courier company (Yobe, 2012). Research conducted in the military of the United States of America, Germany and Canada have all shown that transformational leadership has the strongest impact on performances (Brand *et al.*, 2000). Against this backdrop, the transformational leadership style has a strong influence on the performance of organisations

(Bass & Avolio 1994). The performance of transformational leadership is superior to that of transactional leadership (Mayer & Botha, 2000). Transformational leadership has also been found to facilitate good governance in countries. In a study conducted in Malaysian LGAs, transformational leadership was strongly linked with the facilitation of good governance responsible for the elimination of employee corruption (Mohamad, Daud & Yahya 2014). Nigeria beset with bureaucratic corruption and bad governance issues will need transformational leadership to unleash the ethical potential of citizens, to pursue transparency and accountability, thereby generating good governance. Further, research conducted in the University of East Java in Indonesia, found a strong relationship between transformational leadership and good governance (Indrianawati, 2010).

Theory of Sustainable Development

The research also adopted sustainable development theory because of Nigeria's poor governance issues due to the perceived inability of Nigeria's leadership to develop the country in a sustainable manner.

The term sustainable development was first used by the Brundtland Commission. It was defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (United Nations, 1987 and Smith, c. and Rees, G.1998). A document of the United Nations, World Summit Outcome also refers to sustainable development. In this document, economic development, social development and environmental protection are described as the "interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars of sustainable development" (Reinecke & Hagen 2012, cited in Alao & Alao 2013: 54).

Nigeria's fourth republic leadership (1999-2014) formulated policies that seemed to focus on good governance through sustainable development. These leaders include: President Olusegun Obasanjo, President Musa Yar'Adua, and President Good luck Jonathan.

The policies executed during President Obasanjo's administration in 1999:

- National Economic Empowerment Strategies (NEEDS)
- State Economic Empowerment Strategies (SEEDS)
- Local Government Economic Empowerment Strategies (LEEDS)

- Monetization Policy
- Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)
- Banking Reforms
- Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC)
- Poverty Alleviation Strategies-Microfinance, SMEDAN, PAP, SMSE
- Deregulation and Privatisation Policy

The next policy for good governance tagged the seven point agenda in 2007 was intended to decrease poverty and offer security. It was intended to be implemented in conjunction with the millennium development goals. The policy included:

- Critical Infrastructure
- Niger Delta
- Food Security
- Human Capital Development
- Land Tenure and Home Ownership
- National Security and Intelligence
- Wealth Creation



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The next policy was called transformation agenda in 2011 after the sudden death of President Yar'Adua in 2010. The policy was:

- Infrastructure Development
- Poverty Reduction
- Employment Generation
- Security
- Rural and Agriculture Development
- Health and Education Sector Revitalisation
- Niger Delta Development

Transformation Agenda formulated by President Jonathan also focused on sustainable development. The policy aimed at inclusive and non-inflationary growth, employment generation, poverty alleviation and value orientation of Nigerian citizens (Gyong, 2012:95).

To achieve these objectives, the policy was developed for the transformation of the entire economy through the diversification into non-oil sectors.

These theories were ideal for Nigeria, since good governance had been compromised by poor leadership. Consequently, it is acknowledged that Nigeria's leadership lacks the virtues of good governance because of unethical practices which include bribery and corruption, self-enrichment due to one's position, nepotism, and lack of accountability in governance (Odhiambo-Mbai, 2003).

Significantly, good governance plays a vital role in the pursuit of socio-economic development (Adeosun 2012). Further, socio-economic development affects the lives of the populace. A world bank document (1989) translates these virtues of good governance to include; an efficient public service, an independent judiciary and legal framework to enforce contract, an accountable administration of public funds, an independent public auditor responsible to a representative legislature, respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government, a pluralistic institutional structure and a free press.

It was recommended that Jonathan's leadership should first and foremost honestly use all the agencies established to combat corruption at his disposal to entrench transparency and accountability and other virtues of good governance. Lawal, Imokhuede and Johnson (2012) believe the corrupt, visionless leadership in Nigeria since independence not only impoverished Nigeria but is responsible for the misadministration and gross mismanagement of the nation's resources. Indeed, the failure of President Jonathan to establish a professional ethical standard in the civil service is a major pitfall (Olanrewaju, 2009).

2.4 LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE APPROACHES

There are so many approaches to leadership. Hence various authors have defined leadership in different ways. Eze (1995) opined that leadership is a rational concept involving an influencing agent and the influenced. The view of (Nirenberg, 2001) is that leadership has to do with the leader's mutual interaction with his followers. Leadership has also been described as a social influence over an individual or group of individuals (Bamigboye, 2000).

As a matter of fact good leadership determines the socio-economic and political development of a country (Lawal *et al.*, 2012: 185). Unfortunately, the reverse is the case as bad leadership also has a devastating effect on socio-economic and political development. This is why leadership guarantees the success or failure of countries and organisations.

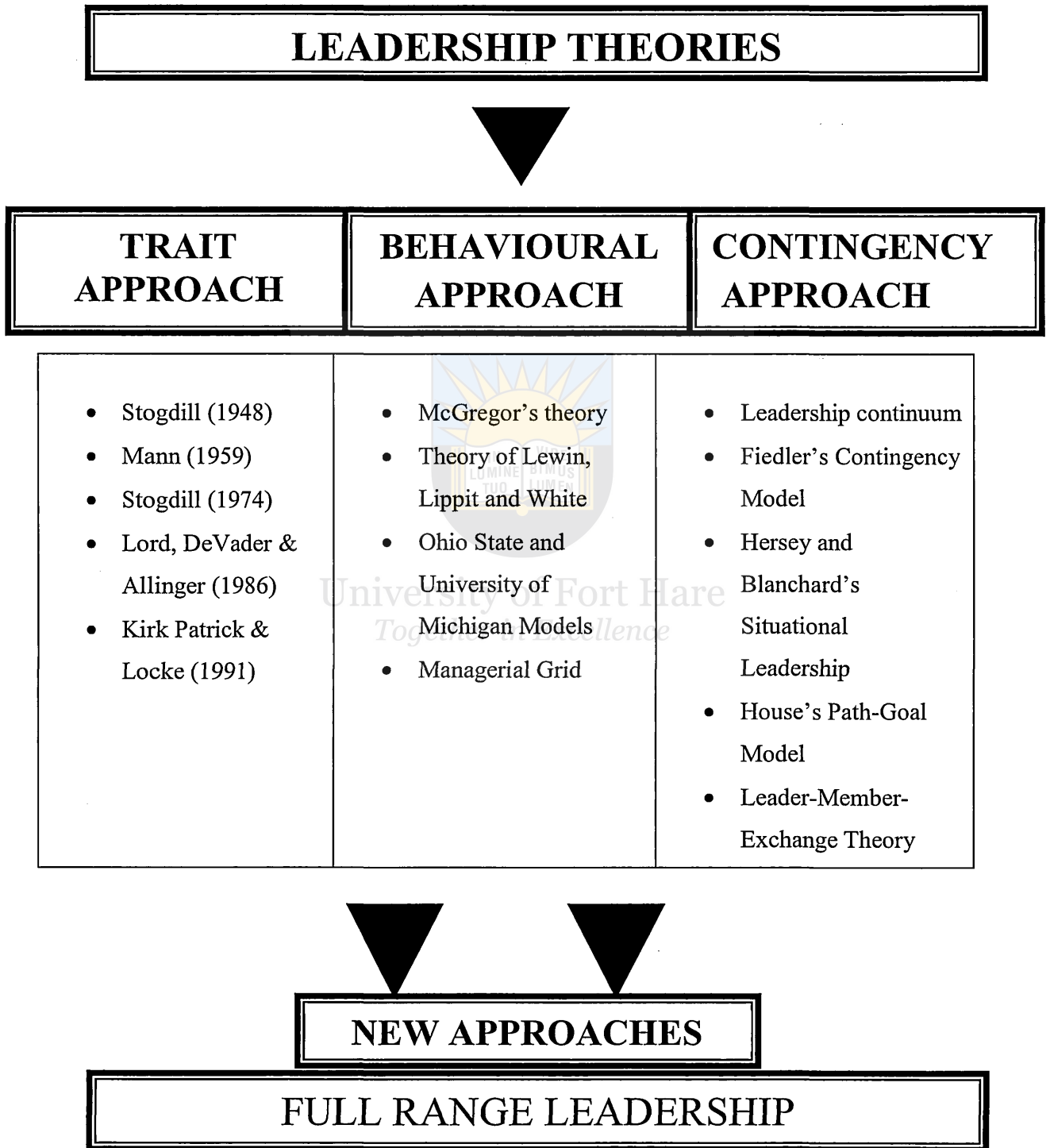
Political leadership is seen as the critical oil that permits the wheel of government to spin (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:187). It perpetually describes the officials who are involved in the administration of the affairs and resources of a nation by formulating policies for her wellbeing (Ogbeidi, 2012:4). Political leadership is necessary for the formulation of policies that should impact on human development in the form of economic and developmental goods and services such as education, health and water and sanitation” (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012).

As indicated in Figure 2.1, there are diverse leadership styles categorised into various distinct theories centred on traits behaviours, situational/contingencies, (directive, supportive and participative), and the new approaches to leadership.

Leadership theories try to interpret the element involved in the development of leadership or its nature and significance (Bass, 1990).

To really comprehend leadership theories, a comprehensive study of leadership and its basic approaches was undertaken (Schilbach, 1983). Further, Robbins (1996) introduced the three broad approaches and the new approaches.

Figure 2.1: BASIC LEADERSHIP APPROACHES

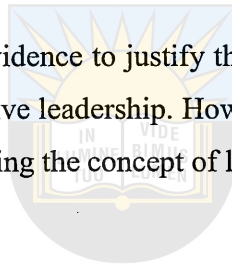


Adapted from Amos and Ristow (1999). Small Business Management Series Human Resources Management, pp. 134

2.4.1 Trait Approach

In the twentieth century, according to Stogdill (1974), there was a thorough categorisation of leadership as indicated on Table 2.1. Leaders were associated with a particular Trait Leadership style which assumed that every leader was born with a unique personality (Bernard 1926). In other words, leaders were attributed to an innate quality and intrinsic characteristics which made them effective leaders (Yobe, 2012:31). These traits differentiate leaders from their followers and emphasised their physical and personality characteristics (Yobe, 2012:31). As a result of these attributes, studies were undertaken based on the idea that leaders were not made but born great. Researchers then studied leaders' personality, mental and physical features but were unable to identify the trait associated with greatness.

The trait approach failed to provide evidence to justify the claim that certain innate qualities in individuals are attributable to effective leadership. However, the trait approach became the first systematic attempt at comprehending the concept of leadership.



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Table 2.1 Studies of Leadership Traits and Characteristics (Northouse, 2002:18)

Stogdill (1948)	Mam (1959)	Stogdill (1974)	Lord, DeVader & Allinger (1986)	Kirk Patrick & Locke (1991)
Intelligence Alertness Responsibility Initiative Persistence Self-confidence Sociability	Intelligence Masculinity Adjustment Dominance Extroversion Conservatism	Achievement Persistence Insight Initiative Self-confidence responsibility cooperativeness tolerance influence sociability	Intelligence Masculinity Dominance	Drive Motivation Integrity Confidence Cognitive ability Task knowledge

Table 2.1: Displays a summary of traits and characteristics identified by researchers from the trait approach (Northouse, 2001).

The trait approach was criticised owing to the fact that researchers could not produce such leadership traits suitable for the situation. Thus Stogdill (1948) argued that there is no consistent set of traits in leaders that are different from non-leaders in most situations. Based on the criticisms of the trait approach, Tosi, Rizzo and Carroll (1986) concluded that the trait approach fails to establish the importance of traits in leadership. However, no matter the level of criticism, the trait approach received over the assumption that leaders have a different set of traits, the theory revealed the fact that selection could be the critical condition to effective leadership in organisations rather than training (Robbins 1996).

The criticisms levelled against the trait approach were not ignored; it inspired researchers to shift their attention to what happens between leaders and the work context (Riggio, Ciulla & Sorenson 2003).

2.4.2 Behavioural Approach

Behavioural approach was aimed at understanding what makes leaders effective. It examined the type of behaviour effective leaders exhibit at work. In other words, the behavioural approach was centred on finding out how successful leaders act and not their physical and mental abilities (Halpin & Winer, 1957). The idea behind the behavioural approach is that leadership is composed of two categories of behaviours, namely the task behaviour and the relationship behaviour (Nyengane, 2007:19). Thus these two categories of behaviour interact in such a way that the leader influences the group to accomplish its objectives.

The behavioural approach, according to Nyengane (2007:19), highlights the action of the leader. Significantly, this approach can reveal the differences between the actions of an effective leader and those of the ineffective leaders (Nyengane, 2007:19). Consequently, it involves the effective and ineffective leaders in terms of their actions at the work place, their ability to delegate authority to subordinates, the way they communicate and execute their roles (Hellriegel, Jackson, Slocum, Staude, Amos, Klopper, Louw & Oosthuizen 2004). The behavioural approach to leadership suggests that what impacts on followers is the leader's action, and not his personality traits (Shriberg, Lloyd, Shriberg & Williamson, 1997). Therefore, the behavioural approach to leadership was extensively examined. The main behavioural models comprise McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y. (McGregor, 1960, the Ohio State and University of Michigan Model Bass (1990), and the Managerial Grid Model (Blake and Mouton, 1964). These models as indicated in Figure 2.1 are based on the following: McGregor's (1960) Theory X and Theory Y model advocated two different theories of leadership behaviours; one negative theory which was considered as theory X and the other, a positive theory considered as theory Y. Both theories suggested that leadership behaviours are based on assumptions about employees. Theory X assumes that employees dislike work and will dodge it whenever the opportunity comes. Hence to McGregor (1960), managerial action included coercing workers, controlling their tasks, and directing how they behave. On the contrary, McGregor's (1960) theory Y assumes that workers love to work and

can interpret work positively given the right conditions. Hence, managerial behaviours entail reassuring, providing positive support and rewards.

The Ohio State and the University of Michigan leadership studies discovered two primary independent elements which they described as employee-oriented leadership and production-oriented leadership (Bass, 1990). There was research that examined the behaviours of leader's and how they treated their followers (Bass, 1990). This theory broadened management's insight to include both people-oriented and task-oriented activities.

Another model, the managerial grid model was developed by Blake, Shepard and Mouton (1964). Blake, Shepard and Mouton (1964) identified the two-factor model of leadership behaviour closely related to the ones found at Ohio State and the University of Michigan and named these as factors "concern for people" and "concern for output". In another development, they included flexibility which became the third variable. In their own words leaders can only parade behaviours that are either one of these two primary classifications (task-oriented or people-oriented). Depending on which one of the classifications is most often paraded, a leader can be associated with any one of the classifications (Blake, Shepard & Mouton, 1964). Significantly, a leader's behaviour appropriate in one situation may not necessarily be appropriate in another. This is owing to the fact that the behavioural approach did not provide for a particular leadership style appropriate for all situations (Hellriegel *et al.*, 2004). This criticism opened the way for the discovery of the contingency model.

2.4.3 Contingency Approach

Contingency theory represents a shift from the leader to matching the leader's behaviour to an appropriate situation the leader works (Nyengane, 2007:21). The contingency leadership style focuses on the linkage between the effectiveness of the leadership style and the situation. In fact, the situational approach lays emphasis on the situation as a dominant feature in effective leadership in combination with the leader and the subordinate (Yobe, 2012:31). However, the contingency approach does not recommend any single leadership style, leadership function or leadership quality as suitable for every situation (Nyengane, 2007:21). In this approach, the leader's effectiveness depends on how best his leadership behaviour fits the situation. According to House (1977), effective leadership is determined by the relevance of the leader's style of leadership to the subordinate's characteristics and task. The contingency models as indicated in Figure 2.1 include the Leadership Continuum of

Tannenbaum and Schmidt, Fiedler's Contingency Model, Hersey and Blanchard's Situational Leadership Model and House's Path-Goal Model and the Leader-Member Exchange theory (Bass 1990). These are discussed as follows: Fiedler's (1967) contingency theory suggested that a perfect match leader's personality and situation are necessary for an effective group performance. Hellriegel and colleagues (2004) suggested leadership demanded the matching of a situation and the leader's style. However, the leader's effectiveness can be influenced by some situational factors which include; leader relationship with member, task structure, and the power and position of the leader.

In the situational theory suggested by Hersey and Blanchard (1977), the leader should be able to behave at the level of the member's maturity which was classified in two ways: directive behaviour (initiating-structure and production-centred) and supportive behaviour (consideration-structure and employee-centred). Directive behaviour is similar to the initiating structure or task oriented leadership styles. Directive leadership instructs subordinates on what to do. The directive leader is generally expected to closely control and inspect the performance of his subordinates, describe their roles, standardise their actions and behaviour. The directive leadership behaviour does not entrust subordinates with decision making, or even allowing them participate in the decision making process. According to Nyangane (2007: 22), it encourages a one-way communication between the leader and the member, which allows for the dominance of the leader over the subordinate.

Supportive behaviour is like the consideration or people-oriented leadership style. Supportive leaders are concerned about their subordinates (Samuel, 2011). They encourage a two-way communication and also offer socio-emotional support for subordinates as the subordinate matures which includes increases in capacity, ability, education, experience, motivation, self-esteem, confidence (Nyangane, 2007:22). Further, as the subordinate matures, supportive behaviour also encourages them in terms of directing their behaviour to take responsibility over specific tasks (Nyangane, 2007:22). These involve delegating, participating, selling and telling (Nyengane, 2007:22). However, at a certain high level of maturity, there becomes a need to decrease both types of orientation. In this case, directing and supporting could be replaced with negotiating and participating. However, all of these are eventually withdrawn or engaged only when it is desired (Nyangane, 2007:22).

Participating Leadership style involves all cadres of his employees in making and implementing decisions. (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta, 2004). The path-goal theory of leadership (House, 1971) proposed that group performance and satisfaction depended on the appropriateness of the leader's behaviour in terms of meeting the needs and desires of the group as well as the characteristics of the task. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the leader to offer coaching, guidance and personal support to members. Further the path-goal theory also suggested that team member favoured very organised regime when confronted with diverse, mutually dependent tasks and vagueness. In the path-goal theory, the leaders introducing structure and closely monitoring the task of the member assists in intensifying the path-goal relationship and enhances the group's coordination, satisfaction and performance (Nyangane, 2007:22). The leader also takes decisions for the member should the member fail to make effective judgement about situational arrangements.

The problem of the contingency approach, according to Rice (1978), is that whatever linkage that exists between leadership styles and situation has been poorly explained. However, for Bass (1990), it is a failure to advance universal principles of leadership. Robbins (1996) opined that the principles of integrity do not depend on particular situations to materialise. Therefore, Kotter (1990) contested the validity of the assumption of the contingency approach which suggests that leaders are moulded by the situation. According to him, it is plausible for effective leaders to mould the situation around them. The aforementioned approaches which include the trait, behavioural and contingency approaches failed to provide satisfactory answers on the impact of leaders on followers. These approaches were criticised for being deficient in rigour, generality and standard measurement (Bass, 1990). These approaches were generally untested and too specific in their description of leadership in terms of the aforementioned approaches. Consequently, there was a desire to include a leadership principle that provided for the needs of followers.

For a long time, most works on leadership centred on transactional leadership. The transactional leaders had the ability to motivate their subordinates to accomplish expected levels in terms of performances. They assisted their subordinates develop task responsibilities, accomplish objectives and become confident in meeting desired goals and understand the linkage between their needs and rewards (Bass, 1990). Transactional leadership style determines job tasks for their subordinates and induces compliance through reward (Bass, 1990; Avolio, Waldman & Yammarino 1991; Bass & Avolio 2000). It has been

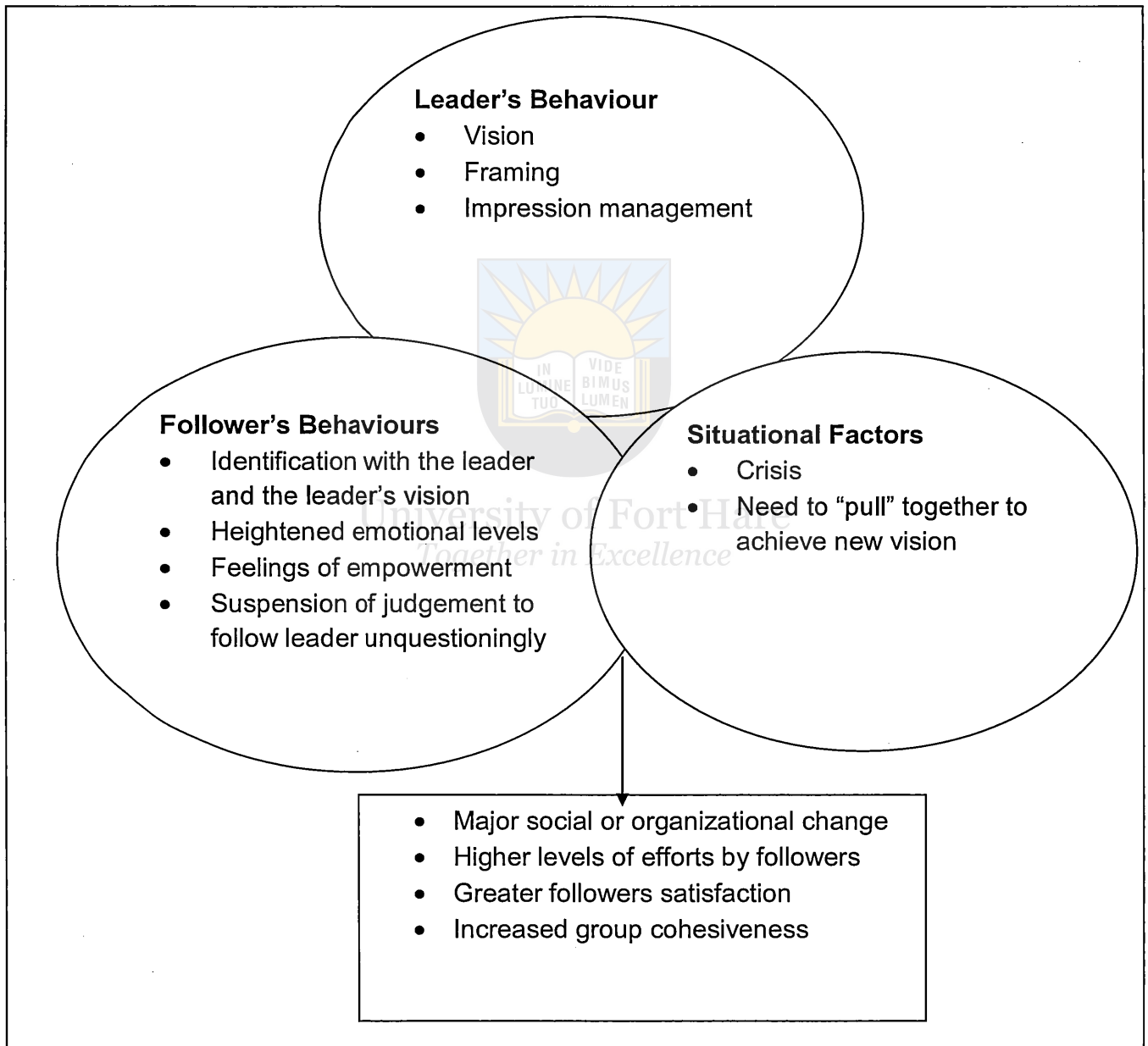
referred to in conjunction with transformational leadership style as a prominent leadership style (Burns, 1978). This is however dependent on the dimension of the transactional leadership style adopted. Hence in the opinion of Bass and Avolio (1995), transactional leadership style has three dimensions namely contingent rewards, management-by-exception (active) and management-by-exception (passive).

Contingency reward for instance portrays transactional leadership style as capable of achieving objectives only by soliciting compliance through reward and punishment (Voon, Lo, Ngui & Ayob 2011:2).

Management-by-exception (passive) is regarded as the dimension of transactional leadership style which intervenes in the work performed by subordinates only after their poor performance (Bass & Avolio, 2000). Management-by-exception (active), the third dimension in the category of transactional leadership depicts the leader as keenly interested in the success of the venture undertaken by his subordinates by monitoring their performance in order to avoid deviations and errors in their performance (Bass & Avolio, 2000).

In response to global competitiveness and dynamism, leaders around the world have realised the need to change their method of operation for the survival of their organisation (Kotter, 1990). Hence a new leadership approach described as the most appropriate for leaders has emerged. The leadership style identified by Bass (1990) is transformational leadership style. The transformational leader also influences his followers to achieve organisational goals without soliciting compliance through reward or punishment (Senior, 1997). Burns (1978) writes about the transformational leadership style, as the leadership style that encourages followers to develop a positive change of attitude for the attainment of higher level goals. These traits attributed to transformational leaders enhance the intrinsic and not extrinsic intentions of followers, contrary to the transactional leadership style. It also motivates followers without the use of a reward or punishment associated with the transactional leadership style (Senior, 1997). Although transformational leadership is generally acclaimed to be superior to transactional leadership; there are authors who argue that such contention is deceptive because all leadership styles are transactional (Locke, Kirkpatrick, Wheeler, Schneider, Niles, Goldstein, Welsh & Chah, 1999).

Figure 2.2 Transformational Leadership Model.



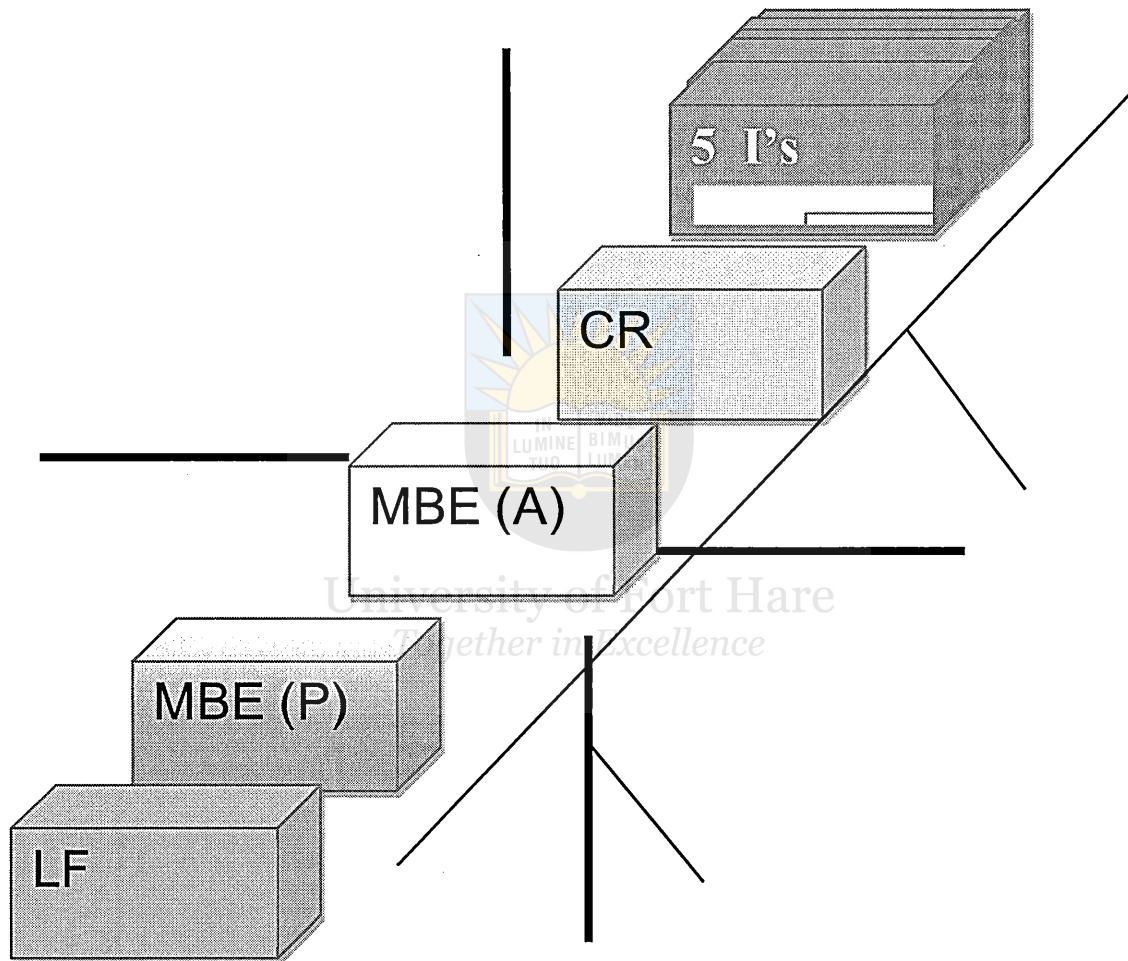
Adopted from: Hellriegel *et al.* (2004). Transformational Leadership Model

Figure 2.2 indicates that transformational leadership theory incorporates the trait, behavioural and situational approaches. In recognition of the trait theory, the transformational leadership theory also postulates that certain traits leaders and followers possess can be observed, learnt and developed (Nyengane, 2007:25). The theory also proposes that the unique personality trait in leaders is responsible for the behaviour and action which influences followers to achieve goals (Nyengane, 2007:25). A very important aspect of the transformational leadership approach is that behaviours exhibited by leaders go beyond tangible inducements but also motivate the followers to abandon their self-interests for the interest of the entire group (Bass, 1990).

Figure 2.2 demonstrates that incorporating the trait, behavioural and situational approaches produces universally acclaimed principles of leadership not inhibited by culture or geographical boundaries. Therefore, transformational leaders are acknowledged as change agents and role models (Nyengane, 2007:25). They are visionary, trustworthy and motivators who influence followers to achieve greater levels (Bass & Avolio, 1990). Consequently, the transformational leadership approach is sometimes called the full-range leadership approach.

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Figure 2.3 Full Range Leadership Approach



Adopted from: Bass and Avolio (1994:5). A model of the Full Range Leadership Development Theory

As portrayed by the model on Figure 2.3, Bass and Avolio's (1997) Full Range leadership Development Model consist of seven leadership behaviours that an effective leader must have. It describes a variety of transformational and transactional and laissez-faire leadership behaviours and is characterised by such phenomena as active, passive, effective and ineffective leadership behaviours.

The model on Figure 2.3 demonstrates the several occasions each one of these behaviours is required by leaders. The seven leadership elements are clustered according to their leadership styles (Bass & Avolio, 1994). Thus the transactional factors derived from the full range leadership development model consist of contingent reward and management-by-exception. Contingent reward describes the relationship between the leader and his follower where the leader explores such strategies as rewards, promises and praises to solicit his follower's compliance to accomplish their organisational goals. However, the disadvantage of this strategy is that without an incentive, a leader cannot get his followers to comply or go the extra mile to achieve set objectives. Management-by-exception behaviour on the other hand is disadvantageous as it can lead to high employee turnover, poor work attendance, generally associated with poor work satisfaction. In the full range leadership development model, laissez-faire is the least effective of the leadership behaviours (Bass & Avolio, 1990b; 1997).

Significantly, transformational leadership has four dimensions of leadership behaviours identified as effective in leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1994). These dimensions include idealised influence, intellectual stimulation, individualised consideration and inspirational motivation (Bass, 1990). These dimensions are also referred to as the Four I's (Bass, 1990).

Yukl (1998) refers to the idealised influence (Charisma) dimension as capable of bringing out of a follower a strong reaction and bond with the leader. Further, Bass & Avolio (2000) opined that the idealised influence dimension transforms leaders into role models (Bass & Avolio, 1990). Idealised influence has also been associated with the creation of vision and goals that would inspire their workers to look beyond their self-interests to accomplish group interests (Voon *et al.*, 2011:2).

Inspirational motivation inspires great performances in followers (Bass, 1997). This is because the transformational leadership is depicted as motivators who inspire their workers to be obligated to their organisational goals (Voon *et al.*, 2011:2).

Individualised consideration happens every time leaders treat employees as individuals in order to improve and develop their skills. The rapport between the leader and the followers encourages mentoring, care, support and training of followers (Yukl, 1998). In other words, transformational leaders pay attention to the individual concerns of their followers, which enhances their growth and development. Furthermore, in the dimension of individualised consideration, the transformational leader acting as a coach or mentor should pay keen attention to worker's need for development and achievement (Voon *et al.*, 2011:2). Finally, intellectual stimulation happens as leaders motivate their followers in terms of creativity and innovation (Bass & Avolio, 2000). This is because the intellectual stimulation dimension allows transformational leaders to encourage innovation and creativity in their workers in such a way that they have the confidence to try new ways of solving old problems (Voon *et al.*, 2011:2).

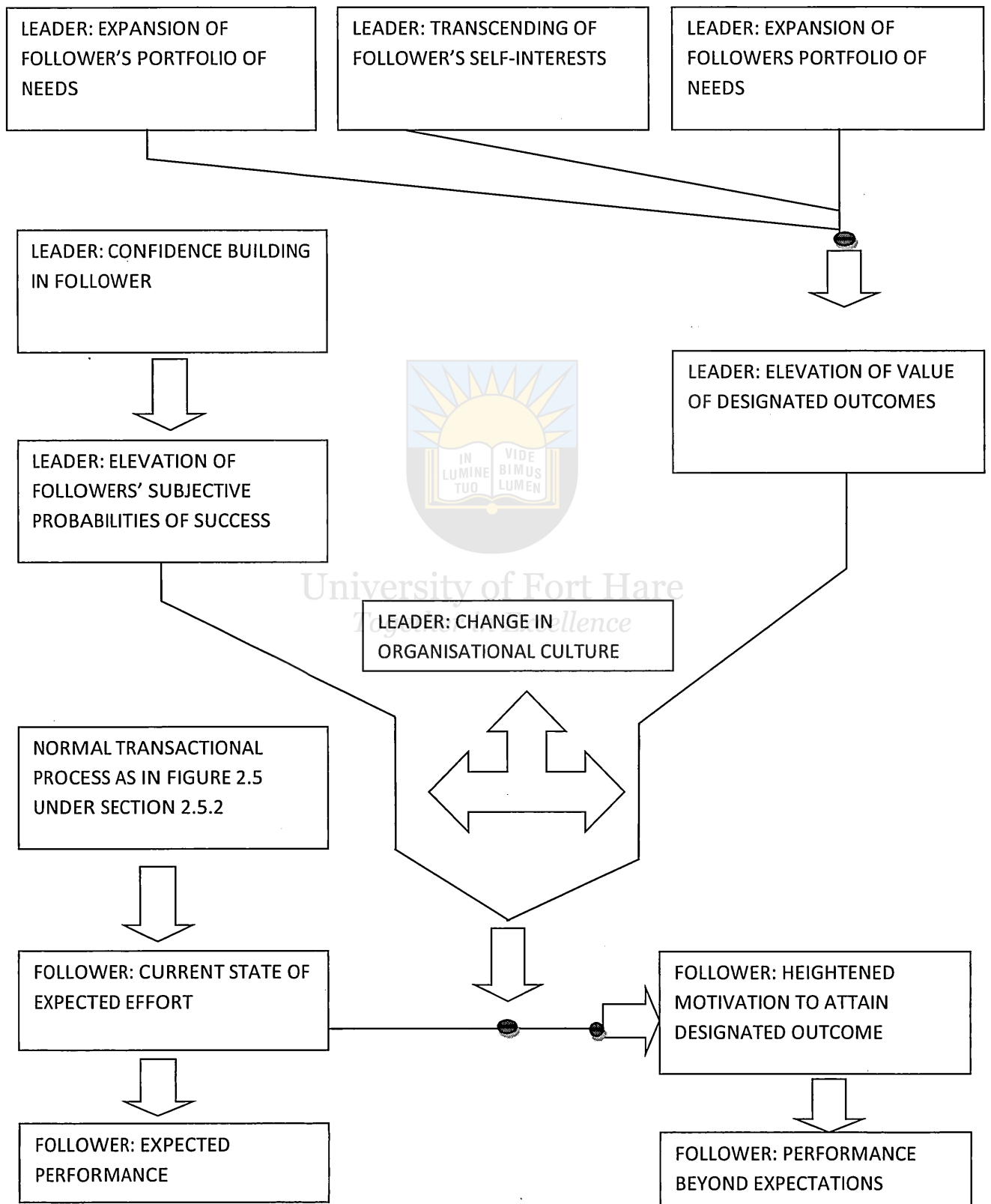
Laissez-faire leadership style has been known to neglect their responsibilities as leaders (Bass & Avolio, 1994). They would rather not change the status quo (Howell & Avolio, 1993).

2.4.4.1 Transformational Leadership Style

Transformational leadership is described as the leadership style that influences followers to develop changes in attitudes and build commitments towards organisational objectives (Yukl, 1989). As a matter of fact, transformational leaders appeal deep to the ethical considerations and principles of their followers, increase their expectations and motivate them to go the extra mile to achieve organisational goals (Bass, 1995). Bass and Avolio (1990) concur that transformational leaders motivate their followers, by making them develop visions of what extra effort they can employ to achieve organisational goals.

Another aspect of transformational leadership worth mentioning is that they ensure that members understand the relevance of sharing organisational goals and values (Burns, 1978). This brings about team development, improves trust and confidence in the followers and also a sense of loyalty and pride in associating with the leader (Nyengane, 2007:29).

Figure 2.4: The Transformational Leadership Process



Adopted from: Bass(1985a).Transformational Leadership Process.

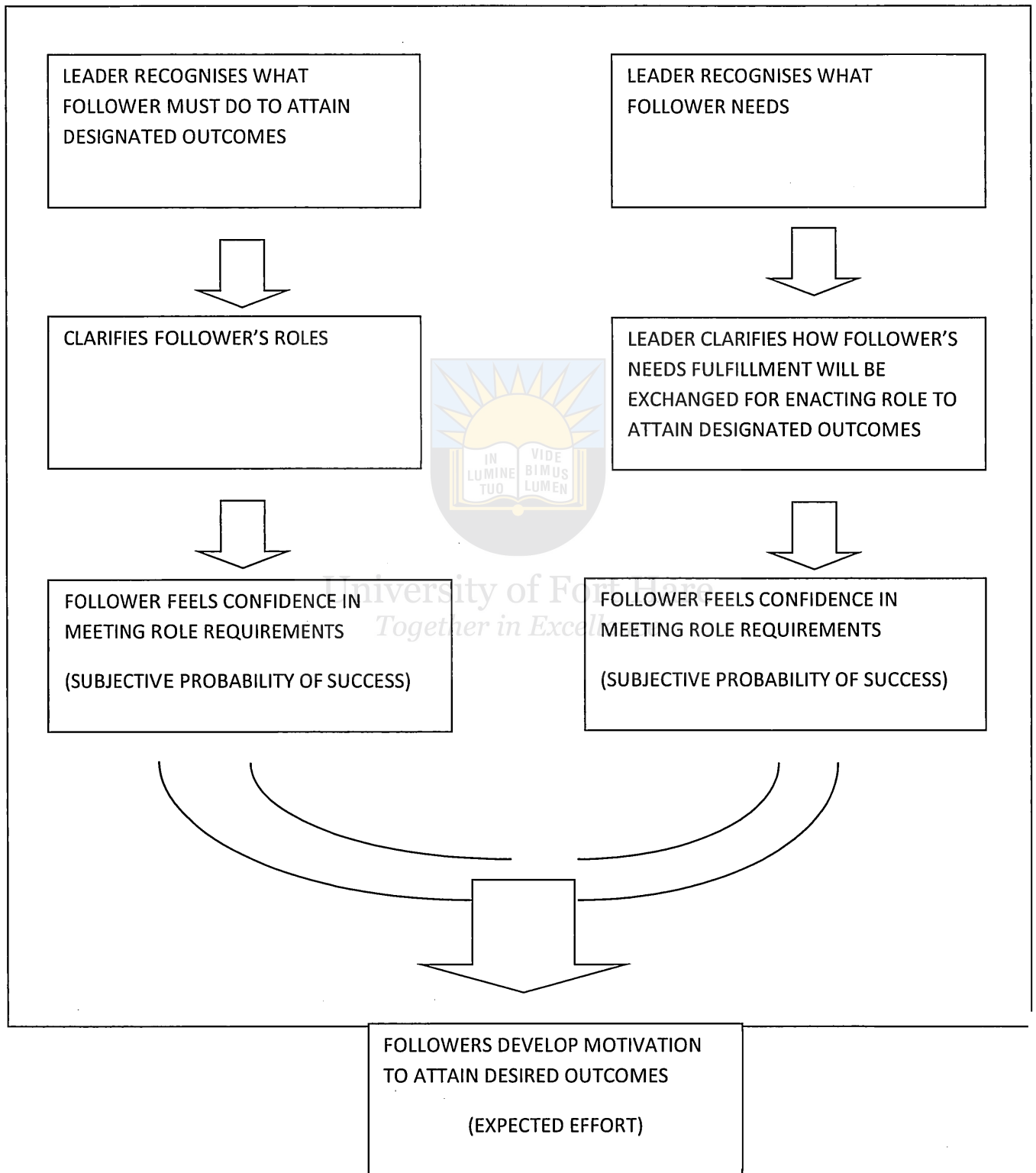
2.4.4.2 Transactional Leadership Style

The transactional leadership theory which is based on both the social learning and social exchange theories postulates the principle of give-and-take in leadership (Deluga, 1990). Thus it has been associated with the use of contingency rewards and management by exception (Bass, 1985).

Contingency reward encourages the utilisation of an inducement to solicit the compliance of a subordinate. Contingency reward entails the use of a reward by a leader to spur subordinates to action in order to achieve agreed upon goals (Nyengane, 2007:33). According to Nyengane, the use of incentives such as pay rise and promotion for deserving subordinates facilitates compliance, and enables the transactional leader to achieve set goals. Hence the transactional leader is able to command from subordinates to a reasonable extent loyalty, commitment and performance (Bass, 1985).

Management by exception active is another element the transactional leader utilises to monitor followers to eliminate mistakes in work performances. However, in its utilisation, there is no attempt to change the status quo (Bass & Avolio, 1995). In another dimension, referred to as management by exception passive, the leader intervenes only as a corrective measure, when there are mistakes in the work performance (Nyengane, 2007:33).

Figure 2.5 Transactional Leadership Process



Adopted from: Bass (1985a). Transactional Leadership Process.

2.4.4.3 Laissez-Faire Leadership Style

The laissez-faire leader has been described as extremely passive, and uninterested in abdicating his responsibilities to the organisation since the leader is essentially uninvolved in leading (Bass & Avolio, 1994). This extremely passive leadership phenomenon has been described as an absence of leadership (Nyengane, 2007:35). Laissez-faire leadership (management by exception) describes how leaders only intervene in the work procedure when expectations have not been met.

2.4.4.4 Transformational and Transactional Leadership Styles

Bass (1985) reformed Burns' concept of transformational leadership and described it as an extension of transactional leadership (Nyengane, 2007:35). By integrating both leadership styles, Bass (1985) intended to better accomplish set goal and objectives. This opinion suggests that both leadership styles ideally should be paired for more effective results between leaders and subordinates (Nyengane, 2007:35). In the same vein, the linkage of transformational and transactional leadership styles has been identified as the way to affect group effectiveness (Guzzo, Yost, Campbell & Shea 1993).

This opens up arguments about the effectiveness of transactional leadership which is generally considered to be less desirable than transformational leadership. Hence although (Mayer & Botha, 2000) contend that transformational leadership is superior to transactional leadership, others like Locke, Kirkpatrick, Wheeler, Schneider, Niles, Goldstein, Welsh and Chah (1999) do not subscribe to this notion which they contend is false. They propose that all leadership is transactional. Arguably, Goleman's (1995) publication on emotional intelligence extends this argument. This is because there is evidence that the concepts of transformational and transactional leadership are not associated to the same level of emotional intelligence. For this reason, some authors believe that the concept of transformational leadership which has been proven to have superior emotional intelligence than the concept of transactional leadership is the effective leadership (Palmer & Jankens 2001; George, 2000). Again, Ugoani (2014:58) corroborates the fact that transformational leadership is the effective leadership style because it has superior emotional intelligence which produces leadership effectiveness. This leadership effectiveness is generally associated with the ability to motivate and inspire others, create awareness of the goals and objectives of

the organisation, improve the personal development of subordinates, etc. Therefore, in buttressing his assertion, Ugoani (2014) declares that “transformational leadership and not transactional leadership is linked to the concept of emotional intelligence and capable of influencing good governance”.

2.5 Governance

Governance is an important concept operated at various levels such as households, village, community, municipality, nation, region and globe (Ijeoma, Nzewi, & Sibanda; Ijeoma *et al.*, 2013:183). According to them, governance has three types; political, administrative and economic. Therefore, Sahni (2004) holds the view that governance comprises values, policies and institutions utilised by the society to manage political, socio-economic processes through communication with various stakeholders that include the government, civil society and private sector. Furthermore, Sahni (2004) writes that governance is a tendency where the authority makes better use of socio-economic resources to facilitate development by exercising power, exerting influence and managing the country socially as well as economically. In collaboration, a World Bank document on Africa expressed governance as the method of utilising power to develop a country through the management of her economic and social resources (World Bank, 1992). Doig (1995) like the (World Bank, 1992) reiterates that governance entails the application of control and use of political authority over a country and the administration of her resources for social and economic development. Furthermore, the view of Downer (2000) is that governance is the process whereby public establishments handle public activities, administer and control public resources and ensure human rights.

As stated above, governance can be good or bad. Governance can be good when the citizen’s benefit from the relationship they have with their leaders and bad where the benefit is not mutual (Ijeoma, 2012).

The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) research project, defines good governance as the entire authority vested in the running of the affairs of the country, made up of intricate mechanisms, processes and institutions which citizens and groups utilise to express their interest, exercise their legal rights and reconcile their differences. It is made up of the political, economic, legal, judicial, social and administrative authority and consequently the government partnering with the private sector and civic society. It also embraces a wide strategy and specific initiatives to fortify the civil society with the task of making government

more accountable, more open and transparent and more democratic (Lawal & Owolabi, 2012:3). The concept of good governance is generally associated with accountability and transparency, probity and a result-oriented leadership; the rule of law, freedom of speech and association, free and fair election (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:187; Adamolekun, 2002).

Good governance has several mechanisms of which some promise the reduction of corruption. Good governance is generally viewed as the government without corruption, dishonesty, fraud, blackmail, pursuit of personal interest and so on (Ugoani, 2014). The elements of good governance include:

- Accountability
- Participation
- Rule of law
- Consensus
- Respect for human rights
- Independence of the judiciary
- Eradication of corruption
- Freedom of information
- Administrative competence
- Administrative neutrality: merit based public service (Plumptre John Graham, 1999).



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2.5.1 ELEMENTS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

The elements of good governance are those qualities peculiar to good governance. These characteristics of good governance are attributed to the elements below:

1. Accountability: accountability is a relationship where the electorate has the right to demand from the political class an explanation of their action and impose penalties for bad performances (Ijeoma, *et al.*, 2012:28). Accountability has been described as the performance of an individual's responsibilities and his demeanours in public office; it is a vital instrument in the fight for the implementation of human rights (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012:27).

It provides a means for people and organisations to identify unscrupulous public office holders and make them accountable (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012: 27). The realisation of developmental objectives is achievable through stronger forms of political accountability. This is a key element of good governance. Accountability is the responsibility of government institutions, the private sector and civil society to the general public and their institutional stakeholders.

Developmental debacle and socio-economic woes are consequences of a weakness or absence of political accountability. By eradicating corruption, political accountability contributes to economic development.

Some other aspects of accountability are answerability and enforcement.

- (A) Answerability: Answerability is the responsibility of the government, its agencies and officials to explain and justify their actions, resolutions and decisions to the general public and those institutions saddled with the duty of enforcing accountability (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012: 28).

The responsibility of the political class to be accountable is answerability. This requires a free press to expose corrupt practices and misdemeanours.

- (B) Enforcement: Enforcement requires that the public or the institutions that enforce accountability can sanction wrongdoers or remedy unethical behaviour (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012:29).

2. Participation: This is where the citizens are involved in policy making. Participation of the citizenry is the basis for good governance (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific). For the UNDP, participation is fundamentally a human right. The World Bank also acknowledges that participation increases developmental efficacy since its rationale has been attributed to greater state capacity.

Therefore, the UNDP has emphasised that development depends on participation because government alone cannot perform every task necessary for sustainable human development. Hence it requires the active involvement and partnership of citizens and

organisations (Smith, 2000). In a democracy, voting remains the most important form of political participation, although the participative model advocates a much more direct involvement in the democratic process (Smith, 2007).

The representation of designated groups such as managing bodies of local institutions is another strong form of participation. This type of participation may combine the administration of services with the organisation of productive activity and show of influence on planners and decision-makers (Smith, 2007).

Empowerment is a good way to achieve participation.

However, among the poor, political participation is weakened by dependency, economic isolation and bullying at work. Hence government needs to eliminate the limitations imposed by poverty, freedom of association and behaviours at work (Smith, 2007).

3. **Transparency:** Transparency means the process of policy making and implementation is open; the rules and regulations are vigorously followed (Ijeoma, Nzewi & Sibanda, 2013:185). It suggests the comprehension of free available and accessible information by the people directly affected by it and its enforcement (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific). Transparency in government helps inhibit corruption by public officials.
4. **Rule of law:** No one is above the law. Good governance involves a legal framework that is fair and enforced impartially. It requires the protection of minority rights (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific).
5. **Consensus:** Interests are reconciled to reach a consensus for majority decisions taken.
6. **Respect for human rights:** The rights of every citizen are protected.
7. **Independence of the judiciary:** Separation of the judiciary from the executive.
8. **Corruption:** Eradication of corruption

9. Freedom of information: Press freedom, freedom of speech

10. Administrative competence: Efficiency and effectiveness of the public service

In the alternative, bad governance may be described as a root cause of societal ills. These societal ills are characterised by a World Bank booklet which gave symptoms of bad governments as follows:

2.5.2 ELEMENTS OF BAD GOVERNANCE

The elements of bad governance are those peculiar features that characterise bad governance. Governance is considered to be bad when the leadership is not doing much to improve the standard of living of the citizens. Odhiambo-Mbai (2003) attributes bad governance to poor service delivery and developmental debacle in Africa. The following elements characterise bad governance.

1. Inability to clearly demarcate between what is public and private.
2. Inability to institute a predictable outline of law and government behaviour conducive to development or chance in the application of rules and laws.
3. Executive guidelines and procedures, licensing necessities etc. which hinder functioning markets and inspire rent seeking.
4. Priorities that do not foster development, causing the misallocation of resources
5. Selfish or non-transparent decision making.
6. Excessive cost, poor public service delivery, and poor policy implementation (Mollah).

2.5.3 THREE COMPONENTS OF GOVERNANCE

According to Nzongola-Ntalaga (2002), governance consists of economic, political and administrative governance.

Economic governance has to do with taking decisions concerning the country's economic activities and those that affect the country's relationship with its contemporaries.

Political governance is the decision making that involves the formulation of policies. Administrative governance describes the structures and processes utilised to achieve political and socio-economic development (Nzongola-Ntalaga, 2002).

2.5.4 GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNANCE

Government refers to government institutions involved in decision making within a certain administrative legal framework and are financially accountable to the resources they use (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2013:186). It involves those authorised to oversee the country's laws. Governance, on the other hand, involves government and the procedures of persuading and negotiating with a number of private and public sector organisations to accomplish desired results. Governance involves the collaboration between the major stakeholders, the public, the private and non-governmental organisations.

Governance includes the state, the private sector and the civil society. The state describes the political and public sector institutions. These institutions of governance must be consulted to foster sustainable human development by creating political, legal, economic and social conditions for poverty eradication, job creation, environmental protection and the advancement of women (Microfinance Development Centre, 2002).

2.6 THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

Nigeria, situated in West Africa, spreads over an area of 923,768.00 sq. kilometres and lies between latitude 40 and 140 North of the equator and longitudes 30 and 140 East of the Greenwich meridian. Nigeria is a tropical country.

In West Africa, Nigeria is bounded on the East by Cameroun, and the West by Benin. On the North of Nigeria is Niger and the South the Atlantic Ocean.

Nigeria is a federal republic and a replica of the United States of America. The Presidential System of government gives executive power to the President. Nigeria's Presidential model also has influences of the Westminster System in the composition of the upper and lower houses. The President of Nigeria holds the position of head of state, head of government and head of a multi-party system.

The Presidential System which is representative and democratic allows the government to exercise executive power. Legislative power is exercised by the government and the legislative houses namely the Senate and the House of Representatives. These two institutions make up the National Assembly which is the law making body in Nigeria. The National Assembly also acts as a check on the excesses of the executive arm of government. The Supreme Court of Nigeria is the highest judicial arm of government in Nigeria. Nigeria practices the concept of separation of powers similar to the United States of America.

2.6.1 NIGERIAN LEGAL SYSTEM

Nigeria has adopted the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary and the British common law (due to Nigeria's British colonial past). Nigeria's Common law is an imitation of the common law systems of England and Wales and other Commonwealth countries. The Nigerian Constitution provides the constitutional structure for the country's legal system which is based on English law (derived from Nigeria's British colonial influence), Common law, customary law, (derived from indigenous traditional norms and practices) and Sharia law (practiced only by the Northern states in Nigeria and derived from Islam).

2.6.2 EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The President of Nigeria is the chief of state and head of government. He /she is head of the Federal Executive Council.

The executive branch is broken down into Federal Ministries, each ministry is led by a minister appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Ministries also have Permanent Secretaries who in their capacity as senior civil servants work hand in hand with the Ministers.

2.6.3 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The two legislative chambers that make up the National Assembly in Nigeria are the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Senate is made up of 109 members and presided over by a Senate President. The House of Representatives in like manner is made up of 360 members and presided over by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

2.6.4 JUDICIAL BRANCH

The judiciary of Nigeria is made up of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, the Court of Appeals, the High Courts and other trial courts called Magistrate Courts, Customary Courts, Sharia Courts and other specialised courts. Nigeria has a National Judiciary Council that is an independent executive body that separates the judiciary from the executive arm of government.

As indicated in Table 2.2, the Supreme Court of Nigeria is presided over by the Chief Justice of Nigeria and thirteen associate justices who have been appointed by the President of Nigeria on the recommendation of the National Judicial Council. These appointments are subject to confirmation by the Senate.



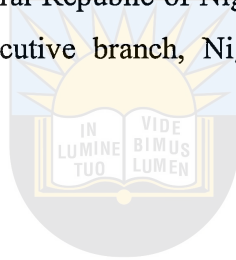
Table 2.2 JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF NIGERIA

OFFICE	OFFICE HOLDER	ASSUMED OFFICE
Chief Justice	Aloma Mariam Mukhtar	2012-2014
Chief Justice	Sylvester Umaru Onu	1993
Associate Justice	Umaru Atu Kalgo	1998
Associate Justice	G.A Oguntade	2004
Associate Justice	Sunday A. Akintan	2004
Rtd. Chief Justice	Mahmud Mohammed	2014-2016
Chief Justice	Walter Nkanu Onnoghen	2017
Associate Justice	Ikechi Francis Ogbuagu	2005
Associate Justice	F.F. Tabai	1999
Associate Justice	Ibrahim Tanko Muhammad	2007

2.6.5 CONCLUSION

As has been stated, this study seeks to determine the role played by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership in facilitating good governance. In this chapter, various definitions of the term leadership were presented in an attempt to give meaning to the concept. The different theories of leadership namely the traditional approaches to leadership (trait, behavioural and situational approaches) and the new leadership approaches (transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership behaviours) were also included.

Various interpretations of the concept of governance were also presented in the chapter. Attempts were also made to differentiate between government and governance. Some important issues that concern the Federal Republic of Nigeria were reviewed. These include Nigerian legal system, Nigerian executive branch, Nigerian legislative branch and the Nigerian judicial branch.



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CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NIGERIA

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter Nigeria's historical background reveals how the country's diverse ethnic and religious dichotomy was exploited by the British imperialists through different administrative traditions. Okafor (2013) opined that the imperialists exploited the remarkable difference between the territories they ruled in Nigeria for commercial gain.

The chapter also explains Nigeria's Federalism introduced by the 1954 constitution and its aim to foster unity among the diverse ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. The political leadership of Nigeria made up of the country's first, second and third republics and the military incursion into politics are also reviewed along with the malaise of corruption in Nigeria. Further, the chapter reviews the challenges of leadership and governance, socio-economic development in Nigeria and the public administration.

3.0 HISTORY OF NIGERIA

Although there are discrepancies over the exact number of ethnic nationalities in Nigeria; Nigeria's diverse ethnic and religious dichotomy contributed to the quest for a "unified political entity". However, Nigeria is a multi-ethnic entity grappling with long standing issues of resentment between ethnic groups (Adetiba, 2013). According to Adetiba (2013), this revulsion or resentment was created by the inequality orchestrated by the British as a result of their administrative tactics that allowed for the domination of only three major ethnic groups in the distribution of socio political goods. Afigbo (1991:27) emphasized that the ethnic dichotomies did not arise from the primordial pluralities but from the diverse administrative traditions and socio-economic development established during the British mis-tutelage (Afigbo cited in Okafor, 2013:131).

Significantly, Nigeria's pre-colonial era, was characterised by various ethnic groups that were inclined to their different socio-cultural, political, economic and religious practices. Some of these ethnic groups that consisted of small villages grew into dynasties, empires, kingdoms, chiefdoms and engaged in inter-tribal wars to extend their territories and to receive tributes.

The British interest in some of these territories that later became known as Nigeria began as a result of trade.

Afigbo (1991:16-17) acknowledges that the British imperialists were initially interested in the trade with the peoples of West Africa. However, in 1862 the British discreetly acquired Lagos and within 35 years, increased their influence over the entire western Nigeria. In 1885, the British again acquired the area around the Bight of Biafra in the East and made it a protectorate of the Niger Districts. Interestingly in 1900, the Niger coast protectorate merged with the protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Further in 1900, the British acquired the Northern area and declared it the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. This vast area was administered through the Royal Niger Company. Hence at the end of 1900, the British imperialists were in complete control of three colonial territories. Each one of these territories was different geographically, culturally and had its own distinctive language. It presented the perfect advantage required by the British to administer the territories conveniently.

Therefore, the remarkable differences between the territories were exploited by the colonialists for their administrative convenience and commercial gain (Aziegbe, 2014; Okafor, 2013). Hence in 1906, when the number of protectorates reduced to two with the merger of southern Nigeria and the colony and protectorate of Lagos, the remaining two protectorates; the Southern and Northern Nigeria were again in 1914 merged under the colonial administration of Lord Lugard. Okafor (2013: 130) opined that administrative convenience and commerce were the main reasons behind the amalgamation.

According to him, it solved some problems between the North and the South which were identified as the rationalisation of railway policy, border disputes, development of the North with the resources of the South and the rationalisation of administrative policy at both the centre and local levels. Furthermore, “indirect rule” the colonial administrative style that had since 1900 been successfully implemented in the Northern protectorate was extended to the South. Indirect rule made it possible for the colonialists to source funds locally while administering through the local chiefs or existing traditional structures.

Okafor (2013:131) writes that the amalgamation of these territories worsened the suspicion and the fear of domination between the North and the South. All attempts to foster unity through a unified administrative system failed. Ethnicity bred the fear of domination, revulsion and resentment. The divergences in the structures of political parties during the

time of the Richards constitution in 1946 were largely derived from the multi-ethnic dichotomy. Hence the search for the unification of ethnic entities increased.

Suberu (2010:460) opined that the first attempt at unifying Nigeria, under colonial rule was in 1954 when federalism was introduced. According to him, the 1954 constitution became the instrument the British utilised to foster unity and administer the multi-ethnic nationalities that comprised of the North and South colonial administrative regions, the three dominant ethnic groups and hundreds of ethnic minority groups.

3.1 FEDERALISM

The 1954 constitution introduced federalism into Nigeria. It was intended to foster unity among the diverse ethnic nationalities that clustered under the British colonial tutelage. It was aimed at curbing the increasing ethnic conflicts, fear of domination, revulsion and resentment among ethnic nationalities in order to accommodate their differences. Suberu (2010: 460) opined that Federalism in Nigeria served the purpose of holding together multi-ethnic groups that comprised of the colonial administrative regions (North and South), the dominant ethnic groups called Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo respectively and hundreds of ethnic minority groups. Most of these multi-ethnic groups were either Muslims or Christians. It may be asserted that it was necessary to have a united Nigeria before independence in 1960.

However, even though the Nigerian federalism was necessitated to foster unity among disparate and diverse ethnic nationalities, its conception has been widely criticised. Okafor (2013:133) contended that federalism was an imposition by the colonialists executed for administrative and economic gains, they neither “instituted the stable structures” nor allowed the “arrangement to evolve through local peculiarities and consent”. Suberu and Agbaje (1998:336) suggested that the Nigerian federalism was “devolutionary” simply because it lacked the “integrative identities and values of civic reciprocity and mutual respect associated with a voluntary compact or a bargain to join federalism” (quoted in Okafor 2013).

Significantly, despite various reorganisations since independence in 1960, the Nigerian federalism is often the target for Nigeria’s socio-economic and political inadequacies (Okafor, 2013:132). The Nigerian federation since independence in 1960 has barely survived the problems associated with poor leadership, bad governance and a terrible civil war. During the post-independence era, Suberu (2010:461) opined that there was a mixture of the

Parliamentary system of government and (three regions) federal structures; similar to what The Mid-West region became the 4th region admitted in 1963.

However, with the Parliamentary styled democracy came divergent views of ethnic groups that were hitherto hidden by the colonialists to foster unity. Political parties formed along ethnic and religious lines and their leaders exploited these differences and flared ethnicity, tribalism, the fear of domination, ethnic conflicts and corruption. According to Ogbeidi (2012:6), the First Republic with the leadership of Sir Tafawa Belewa as Prime Minister and Nnamdi Azikiwe as President, was marred by widespread corruption. The situation presented the platform for the military to exploit for Nigeria's first coup and counter coup which had religious and ethnic undertones. The situation culminated in a bloody civil war in 1967. For the three years that the war lasted to the post war era of 1979, Nigeria was ruled by military dictators. During this time, the federal structure produced 12 states and later 19 states. The Second Republic which this time introduced a Presidential system of government started in 1979 and ended in 1983. The tenure of President Shehu Shagari which operated on the existing 19 states federal structure was also characterised by wide spread corruption and ethnic and religious sentiments. At the return of the military in a coup in 1983, by General Muhammadu Buhari until the end of military rule in 1999, the number of states in Nigeria increased to 36.

As a matter of concern, since the Nigerian civil war ended about 45 years ago, there have been very few improvements in Nigeria's socio-economic and political issues attributed to federalism. However, the basic tenets of federalism in Nigeria according to Walts and Blindenbacher (2000:24-5, cited in Okafor 2013:133) include:

1. The existence of two or more orders of government, each acting directly on their citizens;
2. A formal constitutional division of legislative and executive authority and the allocation of resources between the orders of government;
3. Provision for the representation of direct regional views within the federal policy making institution;
4. A supreme written constitution that cannot be unilaterally amended by one order of government;
5. An umpire in the form of courts to rule on interpretation or valid application of the constitution;

6. Processes and institutions to facilitate intergovernmental collaboration in those areas where governmental responsibilities are shared or inevitably overlap.

In fact, it may be argued that there have been certain contemporary conflict manifestations in Nigeria's federalism that threatened the effectiveness of the national question. The national question identifies important unsolved issues or issues that have not been amicably settled that threatens Nigeria's sovereignty. The national question is practically about how best to structure Nigeria's federalism in order to cater for diverse ethnic interests especially those that concern access to power and the equal distribution of the country's resources. Attempts at answering these sensitive questions undermine the national interest and ushers in a type of distributive federalism (Okafor, 2013:134). Hence, Adejumobi (2007:219) opined that the Nigerian federalism has become distributive with the formation of dependent states, the changes made to the revenue allocation formula, the oil windfall and the conception of the federal character principle.

These have de-emphasised the issue of production and wealth creation in the federal structure and emphasised the sharing of the national cake (oil revenue) which has aggravated the same conflicts, competition, distrust and dissatisfaction among ethnic nationalities that have threatened Nigeria's unity and independence. Some issues that have generated much tension over the years have been Nigeria's fiscal federalism, resource control and state creation.

Fiscal federalism involves the division of revenue and expenditure functions among the three tiers of government in Nigeria (Aigbepue & Ainabor, 2011:26, cited in Okafor, 2013:135). In other words, fiscal federalism hinges on the amount of resources to be allocated to the three tiers of government, namely; the federal, state and local government. There were clamours for a new allocation formula which will give states at least 40% (Okafor, 2013:136). Significantly, according to Okafor (2013: 136), "section 164 (2) of the 1999 constitution provides for the National Assembly to consider the revenue account principles of population, equality of states, internal revenue generation, land mass, terrain and population density". The principles of derivation were to apply on all proceeds from every national resource and should not be less than 13% (Elaigwu, 2002:86 cited in Okafor, 2013: 137).

Another issue that generated so much tension over the years was the dispute over resource control. Indeed the issue of resource allocation seemed to have instigated or prompted the

concern for resource control. Adele (2008:80) agreed that the unequal distribution of the revenue from the sale of crude oil was a major factor for the clamour. Other reasons put forward include:

1. Reduction in the funds received by oil producing states due to the rejection of derivation as a fundamental principle of revenue allocation.
2. Stunted infrastructural development in Nigeria and the oil producing areas in particular.
3. Emergence of democracy that granted freedom to express grievances hitherto suppressed by the military.
4. Introduction of Sharia

3.2 POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN NIGERIA

Significantly, Nigeria endowed with abundant natural resources should not have socio-economic problems associated with poverty and the living standards of the populace. However, numerous observers of the developments in Nigeria are in agreement that corrupt political leadership since independence has been the major contributory factor to Nigeria's socio-economic misery. In the opinion of the famous novelist Chinua Achebe, the trouble with Nigeria, without mincing words, is simply and squarely the political leadership in Nigeria. Lawal *et al.*, (2012:185) are equally merciless in their proclamation that socio-economic and political development depended on the quality of the leadership. According to them, Nigeria's socio-economic and developmental woes are caused by the corrupt practices of past and present political leaders (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:189).

Corruption has been defined by The United Nations Global Programme against Corruption as the "abuse of power for private gain" (UNGPAC, 2012). Going by the definition, it can be asserted that the malaise of corruption is a source of Nigeria's impoverishment. Hence Lawal *et al.*, concord that Nigeria's leadership that is deficient in accountability and transparency is affected by the malaise of corruption (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:190). Against this background, it is logical to agree with most authors of Nigeria's political leadership that since independence in 1960, Nigeria has had a number of unethical and visionless leaders that lacked both leadership acumen and vision.

The root of corruption is traceable to the Nigerian political class from the advent of the modern public service. In 1956, a top echelon of Nigeria's political class, and Premier of the defunct Eastern Region, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was implicated in the Foster-Sutton Tribunal report for his unethical conduct as a principal stakeholder in the affairs of the defunct African Continental Bank in defiance of the code of conduct for government officials that specified the abandonment of holdings in private business by public officials (Ogbeidi, 2012:12). Further in 1962, the Coker Commission of Inquiry found the Premier of the defunct Western Region, Chief Obafemi Awolowo guilty of corruption which led to the deterioration in the fortunes of the defunct Western Region Marketing Board (Coker Commission, 1962).

In spite of the allegations of corruption against Dr. Azikiwe, he was never prosecuted. According to Ogbeidi (2012:12) Dr. Azikiwe's political party, the NCNC instead gained the support of the colonial government because of its national unity disposition and subsequently Dr. Azikiwe became Nigeria's President during the First Republic in 1960 with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa as Prime Minister. According to Ogbeidi (2012:6), this administration was dented by the sharp practices of government officials and the reckless and affluent living of Federal Representatives and Ministers. As a matter of fact, no member of the first republic could be exonerated from the wide spread corruption of the administration. This government was replaced in a coup d'état on 15th January, 1966 by the military over allegations of corruption. General Aguiyi Ironsi the most senior military officer at the time became the Head of State. He immediately set up some commissions of inquiry to investigate the widespread corruption in the public sector and the deposed administration. However, the Ironsi regime was unable to punish the perpetrators of corruption in the first republic because of the counter coup led by General Gowon in July 1966 which toppled the Ironsi-led junta. General Gowon led Nigeria in the 1970's, a time of unprecedented boom in oil wealth and his government like all the others was characterised by massive corruption (Ogbeidi, 2012:7). The Gowon led junta was again toppled in a coup led by General Murtala Mohammed who instituted a number of probes which indicted Gowon's government and other government officials (Ogbeidi, 2012:7). The leadership of General Mohammed was brought to an abrupt end only after six months in office when he was assassinated in an abortive coup. He was succeeded by General Olusegun Obasanjo who was not interested in the prosecution of offenders. The Obasanjo administration conducted Nigeria's second democratic election in October 1979 that ushered in President Shehu Shagari and Nigeria's Second Republic.

The Shehu Shagari led democratic government was marked by widespread corruption. Elected officials looted funds with impunity. According to Ogbeidi (2012:8) Nigeria lost over 16 billion USD in oil revenue during this period. President Shagari was deposed in a military coup d'état that was led by General Muhammadu Buhari on the 31st December 1983. Consequently, the Buhari junta arraigned corrupt officials of the Shagari government before tribunals of inquiry. Many of Shagari's state governors got lengthy prison sentences. General Buhari led junta immediately instituted a ruthless campaign to eradicate indiscipline in Nigeria. However, he was toppled in a bloodless coup by General Ibrahim Babangida on 27 August, 1985.

Babangida's regime institutionalised corruption in Nigeria. The corrupt practices of General Babangida's administration was investigated and documented in the 1994 Okigbo Panel Report on the Reorganisation and Reform of the Central Bank of Nigeria. The report revealed that General Babangida's administration and the top echelon of the Central Bank of Nigeria squandered about \$12.4 billion oil windfall between 1988 and 1994 (Ogbeidi, 2012:13). General Babangida reluctantly handed over to the Interim National Government led by Shonekan on 26th August, 1993. The Interim Government was toppled in a military coup led by General Sani Abacha on 17th November, 1993. The Abacha led junta again made corruption endemic in Nigeria (Ogbeidi, 2012:9). It was estimated that Abacha stole public funds which amounted to USD 4 billion (International Centre for Asset Recovery 2009, cited in Ogbeidi, 2012:9).

On Abacha's sudden demise in June 1998, he was replaced by General Abdulsalami Abubakar who eventually handed over power to a democratically elected government for Nigeria's Fourth Republic led by President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999 (Ogbeidi, 2012:9). Obasanjo's government institutionalised corruption as a way of life in Nigeria and during the first tenure of his administration his federal ministers had allegedly stolen more than N 23 billion of tax payer's money (Ogbeidi, 2012:17).

In addition to his position as President of Nigeria, Obasanjo was in charge of the petroleum ministry. During this time, there were allegations of poor maintenance work and wastage of over \$400 million set aside for the Turn –Around maintenance and repairs of the refineries. During Obasanjo's tenure at the Petroleum Ministry and as President of Nigeria, corruption at

the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) was legendary; from fraudulent financial operations to fraudulent sales of crude oil and natural gas (Ogbeidi 2012:17). The National Identity Card scandal which involved \$214 million was another high profile scam perpetrated during Obasanjo's administration. On the completion of two tenures characterised by corruption Obasanjo was replaced by President Yar'Adua in 2008.

President Yar'Adua died within the first tenure of his administration which led to the inauguration of President Goodluck Jonathan as his successor (Ogbeidi, 2012:9).

President Goodluck Jonathan, arguably Nigeria's most educated president to date, was also accused of corruption.

Jonathan's administration was alleged to be involved in fraudulent practices in the oil sector, the pension commission, and the mint and paper company. As such, President Jonathan was implicated in a number of sharp practices which included a three multi-billion dollar oil corruption scandal (Reuters, 27 October, 2014). In the same vein, Reuters writes that "a parliamentary report detailed a \$6.8 billion fuel subsidy fraud. A government investigation revealed what could be captioned "corrupt cut price crude sales to oil majors" that cost the treasury billions. Further, a former central banker had reported that between \$10 billion and \$20 billion had been diverted by the state oil firm over 18 months between 2012 and last year".

3.3 THE CHALLENGES OF LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

Significantly, the success or failure in governance is guaranteed by the quality of leadership. Since independence in 1960, Nigeria has been grappling with leadership problems. Hence by all developmental parameters, Nigerian has fallen short of achieving economic prosperity and improved standards of living for her citizens. This phenomenon is perhaps due to the fact that Nigeria's political leadership lacks emotional intelligence. Arguably, since independence Nigeria has produced a political leadership with high intelligence quotient because of their level of academic attainment or training in the military. However, it can be argued that these leaders lack emotional intelligence which, according to Ugoani (2014), "is the reciprocal of good governance". Due to their poor leadership acumen, Lawal *et al.*, (2012:189) asserts that

there is no difference between Nigeria's current and previous republics or even her military and civilian administrations in terms of leadership and governance.

Corruption which probably is the greatest threat to socio-economic development is a significant challenge of leadership and governance in Nigeria. In fact, most of Nigeria's developmental woes are traceable to the corrupt practices of Nigeria's political leadership (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:189). In spite of Nigeria's oil wealth, the scourge of corruption and the lack of integrity of the leadership have left the country impoverished. Most disturbing is the fact that the scourge of corruption has worsened the plight of the poor; mainly because of Nigeria's stunted social development, poor infrastructural development, inefficient and ineffective public service etc.

Accountability and Transparency of Nigeria's political leadership is another problem that challenges leadership and governance in Nigeria. This is because Nigeria's leadership is characterised by the absence of accountability and transparency (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:190).

Hardly can one imagine any administration in Nigeria since independence devoid of embezzlement and misappropriation of funds.

The neglect of the rule of law including judicial decisions is another challenge to leadership and governance. As a matter of fact, the callous political leadership Nigeria has had since independence, military or civilian have disregarded the rule of law in many of their actions and decisions. The independence and enforcement capability of the judiciary has been weakened by the leadership through patronage appointments.

Indeed, from statistics based on governance parameters, various administrations in Nigeria have not fared well in what Khan (2006) termed "respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government". Most Nigerian presidents have misused the machinery of government at their disposal.

A consequence of good leadership is definitely good governance. Good governance is achieved when leadership is devoted to the virtues a world bank document (1989) translates to include; "an efficient public service, an independent judiciary and legal framework to enforce contract, an accountable administration of public funds, an independent public

auditor, responsible to a representative legislature, respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government, a pluralistic institutional structure and a free press” (Adeosun, 2012). However, in Nigeria due to the perceived poor leadership, the country is grappling with the opposite of these aforementioned elements. The consequence has been the malaise of unrivalled corruption, poverty, armed robbery, kidnapping, domestic terrorism and other socio-economic vices.

One of the many impacts of poor leadership on Nigeria have been corruption and stunted development of infrastructure in virtually every sector of the economy. Look at Nigeria’s educational and health care sectors that have deteriorated so badly (Ogbeidi, 2012:19). Basic necessities including pipe borne water, electricity and roads have become unaffordable luxuries. This is because government has drastically reduced spending on these important necessities. To state the obvious, the situation is such that only the rich can now afford to have electricity and water through boreholes and generators.

Corruption simply hinders development which relies on the performance of leadership (Lawal, *et al.*, 2012: 185). Corruption is the cause of Nigeria’s developmental problems (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:189). For instance, the administration of President Obasanjo’s failure to account for the \$400 million supposedly spent on the Turn –Around maintenance and repairs of the nation’s refineries at the time President Obasanjo was in charge of the petroleum ministry, caused Nigeria’s dependency on imported fuel. Amazingly, the so called maintenance work yielded no results and nobody was held accountable (Adekeye, 2003:30). Again, during the administration of President Obasanjo, the report by the Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (RMAFC) indicated another case of fraud where 445,000 barrels of crude oil supposedly sold by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) between January and July 2002 was omitted in its financial report. The report instead mentioned a shortfall of N302 billion as revenue that was not declared within the seven months duration.

Every attempt made by the then chairman of RMAFC, Haman Tukur to compel the Presidency to coerce the former Group Managing Director of NNPC, Jackson Gaius-Obaseki to return the stolen money fell on deaf ears. Finally, the issue was dropped when the joint panel composed of members of the National Assembly assigned to probe the allegation was

hindered by the Presidency and the top echelon of the ruling People Democratic Party on the grounds that the probe would tarnish the image of the country especially as the Presidency was in charge of the petroleum ministry (Adekeye, 2003: 30-31; Ogbeidi 2012:17).

Why then should we expect to refine petroleum in Nigeria, generate, transmit and distribute electricity, maintain roads, fund education, hospitals or attain our economic potential even with our substantial resources, when our finances are been embezzled and our resources mismanaged. Perhaps another such example is the unabated corruption perpetuated by President Jonathan's administration which led to the recent abandonment of an estimated 11,886 laudable federal government projects across Nigeria (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012:12).

Further, the economic impact of corruption between 1988 and June 1994 alone set Nigeria back to the tune of \$12.4 billion (Ogbeidi, 2012:12). If these funds were added to the country's external reserve, the Nigerian currency (Naira) would have gained in strength against major currencies like the dollar (Ogbeidi, 2012:15). Alternatively, Nigeria's external debt could have been serviced with the money to eliminate the problems associated with debt and interest rate hikes on the populace.

As a result of corruption and poor leadership, Nigeria was ranked by the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) which is released every year by Transparency International among the most corrupt countries in the world. In 2001, Transparency International ranked Nigeria as number two most corrupt country among 91 countries (Ogbeidi, 2012:20). In 2002, Nigeria's rating improved to third most corrupt country in the world on a list of 102 countries (The Transparency International Corruption Index, 2002). In 2003, Nigeria's Corruption perception Index rating also languished at number two most corrupt country out of 133 listed (The Transparency International Corruption Index, 2003). Similarly, in 2005, the country made a slight improvement and was placed within the first ten most corrupt countries of the world (Ogbeidi, 2012:21).

A further assessment of Nigeria's economy revealed that the unemployment rate was 20 million while another 100 million lived in deprivation (The Sun, 23 November, 2014). Inevitably, Nigeria was assessed as one of the five poorest countries in the world (The Sun, 23 November, 2014). This phenomenon does not indicate the strong linkage between the

state, governance and socio-economic development, thus Ijere (2014:46) believes such phenomenon are indicative of persistent corrupt leadership overridden by ethnic, religious and tribal sentiments that have weakened the institutions established to fight corruption, instituted high level corruption and hindered sustained socio-economic development. Emphatically however, corrupt leadership rejects liberal democratic values or institutional mechanisms created to establish checks and balances, thereby minimising the excesses of the leadership class. This is the sole reason why the problems of corrupt leadership makes Nigeria look lawless.

Nigeria has good laws and constitutional provisions and organisations saddled with the responsibility of tackling corruption. However, Ogbeidi (2012:59) writes that there has not been any full commitment on the part of Nigeria's leadership and public officials to support anti-graft organisations such as the EFCC (Economic and Financial Crimes Commission) saddled with the responsibility of investigating individuals in all sectors living beyond their means of livelihood and the ICPC (Independent Corrupt Practices Commission) established to investigate public sector corruption cases such as bribery, gratification, graft and the abuse of office. Interestingly, both institutions were established in 2000 and 2003 respectively by the administration of President Obasanjo.

Apparently, these anti-graft institutions were established as ineffective regulatory institutions that are deficient in their operational mechanisms. For instance, the 1999 constitution is fraught with controversies over which regulatory institutions (the EFCC, ICPC or the National Assembly) has the responsibility to investigate and prosecute economic and financial crimes suspects. This constitutional deficiency inhibits the prosecution process by causing delays, and eventually causing the release of suspects without punishment for the crimes committed.

In addition to this controversial deficiency, the President of Nigeria, influenced the appointment of the head of the anti-graft institutions as well as the election of the head of the National Assembly, the upper and lower legislative chambers. In other words the heads of these regulatory institutions were in no doubt loyal to the president. Hence Ogbeidi (2012:11) believes the real interest in the anti-graft agencies might have been to witch-hunt political opponents; since as a matter of fact it was difficult to believe that the Nigerian corrupt

leadership that established them was sincere in its fight against the same corruption which almost submerged them (Ogbeidi, 2012:11).

Again there are Arthurs that are convinced that the EFCC might have been set up only to diffuse the pressure from the Financial Action Task Force on Money laundering that accused Nigeria and twenty-three other countries of hindering their effort to eradicate money laundry. Indeed, as a result of the apparent ineffectiveness of the regulatory institutions, some individuals listed on Table 3.0, with proven cases of financial fraud were made to pay paltry fines for stealing millions of dollars of tax payer's money. A good example is James Ibori who was acquitted of all the counts of financial misconduct brought against him by the Nigerian Authorities and imprisoned by the British Authorities for the same charges he was acquitted of in Nigeria.

Table 3.0 SOME CASES OF CORRUPT PRACTICES IN NIGERIA.

S/N	Name	Case Status	Amoun	Status Suspect(s)
1	Ayo Fayose (former Governor of Ekiti State)	Arraigned on 51 counts	N 1.2 billion	Case pending, granted bail
2	Adenike, Grange (former Minister of Health)	Arraigned on 56 counts	N300 million	Discharged and acquitted
3	Joshua Dariye	Arraigned on 23 counts	N700 million	Case pending, Granted bail since
4	Saminu Turaki (former Governor Jigawa state)	Arraigned on 32 counts	N36 billion	Case pending, Granted bail since
5	Oji Uzor Kalu	Arraigned on 107 counts	N5 billion	Case pending,
6	James Ibori	Arraigned on 170 counts	N9.2 billion	Case pending,
7	Iyabo Obasanjo (former Senator)	Arraigned on 56 counts	N10 million	Case pending,
8	LuckyIgbinedion	Arraigned on 191 counts	N4.3 billion	Case determined,
9	Gabriel Aduku	Arraigned on 56 counts	N300 million	Discharged and

10	Jolly Nyame (former Governor of Taraba state)	Arraigned on 41 state counts	N 1.3 billion	Case pending, Granted bail since 2008
11	Chimaroke Nnamani	Arraigned on 105	N5.3 billion	Case pending,
12	Michael Botmang	Arraigned on 31	N 1.5 billion	Case pending,
13	Roland Iyayi	Arraigned on 1 1	N5.6 billion	Case pending,
14	Prof. Babalola Borishade	Arraigned on 11	N5.6 billion	Case pending,
15	Boni Haruna (former	Arraigned on 28	N254 million	Case pending,
16	Femi Fanikayode (former	Arraigned on 47	N250 million	Case pending,
17	Bode George (PDP	Arraigned on 68	N 100 billion	Jailed in October
18	Rasheed Ladoja (former	Arraigned on 33	N6 billion	Case pending,
19	Senator Nichola Ugbane;	Arraigned on 158	N5.2 billion	Case pending,
20	Hamman Bello Hammed	Arraigned on 46	N2.5 billion	Case pending,
21	Adamu Abdullahi (former	Arraigned on 149	N1 5 billion	Case pending,
22	Attahiru Bafarawa (former Governor of Sokoto state)	Arraigned on 47 count charge	N1 5 billion	Case pending, Granted bail by
23	Hassan Lawal	Arraigned on 37	N75 billion	Case pending,
24	Kenny Martins (Police Equipment Fund)	28 count charge	N7.740 billion	Case pending, Granted bail since

25	Esai Dangabar, Atiku Abubakar Kigo, Ahmed Inuwa Wada, John Yakubu Yusufu, Mrs. Veronica Ulonma Onyegbula and Sani Habila Zira	16 count charge	N32.8 billion	Case pending, Granted bail by court
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Adopted from: Ijeoma et al (2012). Africa's Public Service
Delivery & Performance Review, pp 57.



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3.5 THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NIGERIA

All around the globe, socio-economic development is sought after by responsible governments. Socio-economic development is characterised by social and economic development. In this regard, it translates into improvements in living standards which include the economic wellbeing of the citizenry. Oye-Adeniyi (2014:52) writes that socio-economic development is intricate and multi-dimensional; it involves social, economic, cultural processes and other aspects of life. History has it from time immemorial that humans have not relented in their attempts to conquer the environment and improve their standard of living. This is man's quest for development. Development is associated with qualitative and quantitative increase in capacity, abilities, ingenuity and well being.

Gboyega (2003) believes development as an idea encapsulates all effort towards the improvement of the conditions of human lives in every way. Development can also be lasting when there is a sustainable advancement in the material wellbeing of individuals, not necessarily the rich or powerful alone, in such a way that today's use of resources does not endanger the future. Ohagwu (2010) opines that there is a difference between development and change, growth or modernisation. Development is not only about providing more money for the less privileged, but also about improved productivity, that guarantees increases in income, and ensures improved standards of living (Isiugo-Abanihe, Isamah and Adesina, 2002). Chrisman (1984) views socio-economic development as a process of societal improvement, where advancements in people's living standards are obtained through partnerships between all sectors, corporate organisations and other organisations in society.

3.5.1 CHALLENGES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

That Nigeria's socio-economic development is stunted is to state the obvious. Corrupt leadership has become a major clog in Nigeria's path to socio-economic development (Ogbeidi, 2012:18). Invariably, Nigeria's desire to attain the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) has become far-fetched. As a consequence, Nigeria is now grappling with the reality of the retardation of the country's social, economic and infrastructural development which has given rise to socio-economic menace such as poverty, corruption, armed robberies, kidnapping, domestic terrorism, etc. Hence the cycle of poverty has grown out of proportion

with all the problems associated with it. Also, as the environment is not as conducive as it should be for investment, unemployment levels have risen high. These conditions have caused the unparalleled hardship endured by numerous Nigerians and the resort to criminality by a few disgruntled elements. Indeed all forms of criminality are harmful to Nigeria. However, corruption has affected Nigeria's economic potentials in spite of the country's abundant human and natural resources (Ogbeidi, 2012: 20). Thus today Nigeria is considered one of the poorest countries in the world due to the country's corrupt leadership's stunted socio-economic development. In 1999, Nigeria's per capita GNP (Purchasing Power Parity) of \$820 placed the country 199th out of the 209 nations assessed in the World Bank's year 2000 World Development Report (World Bank, 2001). In 2010, Nigeria's per capita GNP (PPP) of \$2,365 placed Nigeria 138th out of 180 nations; the GNI per capita (PPP) of \$2,160 ranked Nigeria 172nd out of 215 nations in the World Development Report (World Bank 2011). These statistical figures are representative of Nigeria's poverty and poor living standards.

Ogbeidi (2012:18) apportions the bulk of the blame for Nigeria's inadequate infrastructure on the country's post independent political bureaucracy and the military elite. Without doubt, it was their leadership that severely plundered the nation's financial patrimony with impunity. Also disturbing is that these political elite atrociously squandered about \$400 billion of development assistance provided to redirect the country's socio-economic development between the period of Nigeria's independence in 1960 and the end of the military era in 1999. These finances so callously embezzled under successive administrations were equivalent to six times the resources spent on rebuilding Western Europe after the ruins of the Second World War (Ribadu, 2007). In Nigeria, though roads and railways are important facilities for transportation and essential for economic prosperity, the reality is that the railway system is largely underdeveloped in spite of its importance to transportation (Akinwale, 2010). This is also the reality of the health sector where most facilities are obsolete giving way for counterfeit and adulterated drugs until Professor Dora Akunyili under the auspices of the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) put a stop to it.

The education sector is not better. In fact, the standard of education in Nigeria is on the decline due to this phenomenon. However, things were not always like this. After Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country inherited some basic infrastructure from the British

colonial government. Some tarred roads, functional railways, ports, urban electrification, health centres, schools and basic communication appliances and network etc. (Akinwale, 2010). However, there are authors that have persistently blamed Nigeria's socio-economic challenges on colonialism. According to them, Nigeria's developmental challenges arose out of the structural deficiencies occasioned by the exploitative nature of colonialism designed to make the colonies permanently vulnerable and underdeveloped. Though rightly too, colonialism contributed, it is not enough to take the bulk of the blame after all there are former colonies that have attained socio-economic development.

Nigeria, before 1954 when federalism was introduced by the British colonial government, comprised diverse people of multi-ethnic, cultural and religious affiliations (Okafor, 2013:131). These tribes were pre-occupied with fear, hatred, nepotism, and various other ethnic sentiments that sectional and ethnic domination rather than Nigeria's socio-economic development became apparent. Thus with the passage of time, ethno-tribal disposition prevailed and became part of several successive administrations. In contemporary Nigeria, tribalism has eaten deep into Nigeria's everyday life, politics and governance. It affects Nigeria's agitation and struggle for political power, the method of appropriation and distribution of values, policy formulation and implementation, etc (Ijere, 2014:48). Though there has been a significant infrastructural development in Nigeria since independence, yet the level of infrastructural development is still inadequate (Onolememen, 2015:73).

3.5.2 LEADERSHIP, DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND STRATEGIES IN NIGERIA

Over the years, Nigeria has adopted a number of development plans and strategies. These include; Community Boards of 1954, The Farm Settlement Scheme of 1959, The First National Development Plan Period (1962-68); The Second National Development Plan Period (1974-1980); The Third National Development Plan Period (1975-80); The Fourth National Development Plan Period (1981-85); and the Post Directorate for Employment, Green Revolution, Mass Mobilization for Self-Reliance and Economic Recovery, River Basin Development Authority, National Accelerated Food Production Programme, the National Livestock Development Programme, the Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure, the Integrated Rural Development Programs, the National Economic Empowerment and

Development Strategy, the Vision 2010, the Vision 2020, the Seven Point Agenda and The Transformation Agenda etc (Oye- Adeniyi,, 2014:53; Alao & Alao, 2013:53).

3.5.2.1 THE FIRST NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1962-1968)

A national development plan is an outline of economic policy designed to eradicate poverty and inequality in a country. Lawal and Oluwatoyin (2011) opined that the first national development in Nigeria was aimed at the development of health, education and employment and improve access to these incentives. However, the plan did not provide for rural infrastructural development. At the time, agriculture was the major foreign exchange earner. The plan failed because it depended heavily on external funding.

3.5.2.2 THE SECOND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1970-1974)

The plan was formulated shortly after the Nigerian civil war ended in 1970. It focused on the rehabilitation of economic activities in the war affected places. The plan enumerated five objectives for a united, just, strong and self-reliant nation but failed again to provide for rural infrastructure development. However, some mention was made in the plan for village regrouping; perhaps to avoid the colossal cost of economic and social infrastructure such as health, electricity, water, educational facilities for the war affected areas. The paltry sum allocated for socio-economic development was not sufficient.

3.5.2.3 THE THIRD NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1975-1980)

Though similar to the objectives of the second plan, the third plan for the first time focused more seriously on rural infrastructure development. The plan was intended to minimise regional differences and foster national unity through the implementation of an integrated national development. The plan consisted of rural electrification scheme, the establishment of River Basin Development Authorities, the building of small dams and boreholes for water supply and the construction of feeder roads for agriculture and the rural electrification from large irrigation dams.

3.5.2.4 THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM (1980-1988)

Structural adjustment is a program of reforms created to readjust the structure of the national economy to be more self-sufficient and stable (Akinyele, 1988). The program necessitated the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank providing loans to impoverished countries.

The structural adjustment program was initiated by the military to restructure and diversify the Nigerian economy to other productive sectors and lessen the over dependence on oil (Alao & Alao, 2013:53).

3.5.2.5 THE FOURTH NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1981-1985)

The fourth plan had some unique features. First, it was formulated under a new constitution founded on the premise of the presidential system of government. Second, the plan provided for local government tier to function on its own. The plan provided for the balanced development of both the different sectors of the economy and the geographical areas in Nigeria. It recognised the essence of rural infrastructure development as a means of enhancing the quality of life in the rural areas. With regard to rural transportation development, the local governments in Nigeria planned for intercity/village bus services, the building of motor parks and petrol stations. For the provision of potable safe drinking water, the plan also provided for rural water supply schemes in addition to the huge borehole drilling programs of the previous plan.

3.5.2.6 THE POST FOURTH PLAN PERIOD (1985 -1990)

This plan provided for the establishment of the Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) under decree 4 of 1987. The directorate was intended to provide rural infrastructure. The Directorate was also to provide feeder roads, rural water and sanitation, rural housing and electrification for the improvement of the lives of rural dwellers.

3.5.2.7 DFERRI PROGRAMS INCLUDE:

- The mobilization of rural dwellers for greater interaction with government. Organisation of rural communities to form unions and associations for the provision of common facilities
- For the provision of rural infrastructure such as feeder roads, water and sanitation, housing and electrification for the rural population.
- For productive activities such as food and agricultural production, rural industrialisation and technology;
- For extracurricular activities such as socio-cultural and recreational activities, intra as well as inter community activities that promote community cohesion.

The implementation of the DFERRI programs was planned to be organised in two phases. Further, the target was the provision of potable safe drinking water to 250 communities in each state in Nigeria. It also had as a target the construction of 90,000km of feeder roads and the building of houses for rural dwellers, promotion of health facilities and agriculture. To ensure industrial growth and improve the conditions of the rural environment, the directorate planned to start its rural electrification during the second phase that commenced in June 1987.

3.5.2.8 VISION 2010 (1993-1998)

Nigeria' first perspective socio-economic development plan, Vision 2010 was introduced by the military for a complete economic realisation that would protect the lives and property of every Nigerian. It was intended to eliminate corruption, money laundering and advance fee fraud, establish the modality for an enduring democracy, and democratic society.

3.5.2.9 THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT (ADP)

The Agricultural Developmental Project was established on the advice of the World Bank in 1970; the pilot project was situated in Funtua, Gombe, and Gasua. The project was extended to Plateau State (Lafia Agricultural Development Project now in Nasarawa State), Kogi, Benue, Kwara and Oyo State. The ADP project was aimed at improving the standard of living of low income rural dwellers, which entailed the provision of farm inputs such as

fertilizers, fungicides, pesticides, and assortments of high yielding seeds, provision of credit facilities in cash and kind, land clearing, feeder roads and extension services. This initiative brought about significant growth in the agricultural sector, between the late 1980's and the early 1990's. However, its greatest challenge was the withdrawal of funding from the World Bank (Oye-Adeniyi, 2014:54).

3.5.2.1.0 OPERATION FEED THE NATION (OFN)

Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) was established almost at the same time as the National Accelerated Food Projection Program (NAFPP) by the military in 1976. The objective was to sensitize Nigerians about the relevance of agriculture in national development. It inculcated agricultural ideas from school to the traditional knowledge practiced by farmers. However the project was phased out at the end of the military regime that initiated it (Oye-Adeniyi, 2014:54).

At the return to democracy in Nigeria, the following developmental programs had been initiated:

3.5.2.1.1 MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

In September 2000, the United Nations suggested eight Millennium Development Goals intended to ensure socio-economic development. These goals include:

1. Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieving universal primary education
3. Promoting gender equality and women empowerment
4. Reducing child mortality
5. Improving maternal health
6. Combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases
7. Ensuring environmental sustainability
8. Developing a global partnership for development (Willis, 2005).

3.5.2.1.2 VISION 2020

The second plan, Vision 2020, is an economic business plan intended to make Nigeria become one of the top 20 economies of the world by the year 2020.

3.5.2.1.3 THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (NEEDS) (1999-2004)

NEEDS reform programme centred on consolidating democracy mainly on four strategies, which included reforming government and its institutions, private sector growth and the implementation of a social charter and value re-orientation. This was concentrated on reforms in banking and telecommunication sectors.

3.5.2.1.4 SEVEN-POINT AGENDA

This policy earmarked seven sectors of the economy as the key sectors for the transformation of the whole economy. These sectors included energy, agriculture, education, infrastructure, wealth creation, poverty alleviation, land reforms and security. The policy was intended to project Nigeria by the year 2020 as one of the 20 most developed nations of the world.

3.5.2.1.5 TRANSFORMATION AGENDA (2011-2015)

A five-year development plan that arose out of the need to reposition Nigeria's quest for development; the plan aimed at transforming critical sectors of the economy through the implementation of important policies, programmes and projects, that are hinged on the rule of law, equality, peace and justice. Transformation Agenda formulated largely for the attainment of national goals and collective aspirations was also intended to put Nigeria into the comity of the 20 most developed economies of the world by the year 2020.

3.5.2.1.6 CHALLENGES OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND STRATEGIES

Most of the socio-economic development plans and strategies introduced in Nigeria were similar, with slight differences only in nomenclature.

The socio-economic development plans and strategies were unsuccessful because of implementation problems and poor leadership commitment. In the process, Nigerians witnessed new development policies and strategies with every successive government in Nigeria while the old policy of the previous government was abandoned.

Consequently, for decades, Nigerians were saddled with a number of leaders with diverse economic policies. Ozohu-Suleiman (2013) agrees that the constant change in leadership caused the proliferation of policies. Gyong (2012) writes that the second democratic republic of Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979 introduced the policy of Green Revolution.

In 1984, General Muhammadu Buhari under military rule hinged his policy on Structural Adjustment Programme. General Sanni Abacha in 1993 had a policy that tried to utilise domestic effort to achieve development, while Chief Olusegun Obasanjo introduced the restructuring of the banking and telecommunication sectors and also initiated what he tagged National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategies.

This trend continued with Jonathan's reverse policy called Transformation Agenda intended to diversify Nigeria's economy into critical non-oil sectors as against the 7-Point Agenda policy of his predecessor that was based mainly on seven key sectors of the economy. It could be argued that though these policies may not have been all embracing as far as the developmental needs of Nigerians are concerned, but if they had been completely implemented Nigeria would have been better developed socio-economically.

3.6 LEADERSHIP REFORMS IN NIGERIA

Nigeria's leadership has instituted a number of reforms from 1960-2010 under the categories of economic, administrative and socio-political reforms (Onolememen, 2015:56).

These reforms include the civil service reforms, the National Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), business and electoral reform policies, the Niger Delta development reform plan, the road map for power sector reform and the road sector reform programme in Nigeria articulated by the National Planning Commission (2004) and the Oxford Business Group (2011), and the Federal Government of Nigeria (2012) respectively.

3.6.1 ECONOMIC REFORM

In 1960, during Nigeria's first political dispensation, the Nigerian economy relied heavily on agriculture. However, this trend changed, during the Military regime of General Yakubu Gowon as the country's economy experienced a period of boom from oil production and exportation. This phenomenon is revealed in the third national development plan (1975-1980)

and the fourth national development plan (1981-1985) published by the Federal Ministry of Economic Planning (1986).

Consequently, the period of economic prosperity in Nigeria led to the initiation of significant economic reforms in the country. One of such economic reforms was the privatization policy that was significant in redirecting public sector governance which involved the privatization of about 116 enterprises (Onolememen, 2015:57). Interestingly, these enterprises included various government owned enterprises generating losses in the aluminium, telecommunication, petrochemical, insurance and hospitality industry (Onolememen, 2015:57). The privatization program was significant in creating 18 companies for power generation, transmission and distribution out of the Power Holding Company of Nigeria (Onolememen, 2015:57).

There have also been reforms in the energy sector of Nigeria. In 1960, there was a total dependence on coal and the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) for energy supply. However, these resources were inadequate which led to the reforms in the sector (Onolememen, 2015:57). Consequently, from 1960 when Nigeria depended almost entirely on coal to the year 2010, which culminated in Nigeria's abundance in oil and liquefied natural gas (LNG), the energy sector has had significant energy reforms. Onolememen (2015) listed the following as the energy reform phases of Nigeria:

- Government determination to break the monopoly of NEPA in the electricity industry by encouraging the private sector to invest in the industry and create competition.
- Government supervision and regulation of energy policy through the formation of the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission.
- The privatization of the energy industry intended to create competition
- Developing consumer awareness on the efficient use of energy.
- Deregulation program initiated.

Another significant economic reform in Nigeria was introduced by President Olusegun Obasanjo in the year 2000 after his administration inherited an ailing economy characterised by frequent changes in policy, poverty, poor governance issues, inflation, unemployment, budget deficit and corruption (National Planning Commission 2007). According to

Onolememen (2015), a poverty alleviation program initiated to alleviate poverty, create jobs and rural infrastructure developed into an elaborate economic reform program tagged the national economic empowerment and development strategy (NEEDS). Based on the aforementioned, the goal NEEDS became to alleviate poverty, create jobs, generate wealth and value reorientation. For NEEDS to be a success and facilitate growth, the strategy was to promote private sector investment. Thus, the National Planning Commission (2007) recognised the following important issues:

- There must be justice, constitutional democracy, elimination of corruption, rule of law and good governance.
- There must be security of life and property in order to invite foreign and domestic investment to enhance economic growth.
- Pursuance of an effective policy on the development of infrastructural facilities as well as developing maintenance culture for the existing ones.
- Developing professionalism in the civil service in order to transform the socioeconomic framework of Nigeria.
- Reinforcing the relationship among the various tiers of government to promote good governance.

The banking sector reform was another economic reform initiated by the Obasanjo administration. Hitherto, the sector was not financially strong (Onolememen, 2015:59). To improve the financial status of the sector and increase domestic credit available to the private sector, a bank consolidation exercise had to be launched in 2004. Banks were made to increase their minimum capital base from \$15million to \$192 million by 2005. Consequently, various banks had to merge to improve their solvency. After the consolidation of banks, there was a reform of the insurance sector. This reform involved the 103 insurance businesses in 2004 consolidated to about 30 with a capital base of \$1.6 billion. These reforms in the financial sector arguably resulted into an Excess Crude Account in 2003 that provided funds for infrastructure and the economic development of Nigeria. According to Ploch (2010), to facilitate the reform program of the sector, a policy of budgeting was undertaken which centred on a conservative oil price yardstick. Again, as it concerns the reform of the financial sector, Ogujiuba and Obiechina (2011) suggested that these reforms had their evolutionary stages in 1960 which included the following:

- The foundation phase (1950-1970) during this period the financial institutions were established along with the legal framework for their development. It was during this period that the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) was formed.
- The expansion phase (1970-1985): A period that was characterised by the establishment of branches in rural and semi-urban areas by commercial banks – a situation that increased the accessibility of these banks to the private sector and improved lending.
- The consolidation phase (1986-2010). A significant reform introduced during this period was the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1986. The administration of General Babangida also in 1986 established the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC).

Soon after the introduction of SAP, the trade policy reform aimed at facilitating good governance was introduced in 1988. The policy reform implemented a seven-year tariff schedule to decrease tariff averages. This reform led to other policies on import prohibitions in Nigeria where selected items were banned to protect Nigeria's infant industries and facilitate growth of the economy (Onolememen, 2015:60). Nigeria's export liberalisation and adaptation of a similar policy on external tariff with its Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) contemporaries made Nigeria's trade policies transparent and predictable which enhanced good governance.

Another very significant economic reform program in Nigeria was the telecommunication reform. Different administrations contributed in the quest to improve telecommunication in Nigeria. Consequently, Nigeria that had only one telephone Service Company operating at infancy in 1960 developed into a market for local and foreign private investors creating competition and efficiency in the sector (Onolememen, 2015:61). According to a report by the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC), the sector attracted an estimated investment of USD 37.5 billion between 2003-2007 (Onolememen, 2015:61).

3.7 LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC POLICY IN NIGERIA

Nigeria's public administration is the machinery of government used to provide essential goods and services to the citizenry. It is essential for the overall effective running of the state

of affairs of Nigeria. According to Ahmed (2012), public administration is the vehicle the leadership uses to convey development. In the view of Balogun (1983), public administration realises the goals of public policy by utilising human and material resources. The view of Ahmed (2012), like (Balogun, 1983), is that the public administration implements laws and policies of government and distributes public goods and services to the people for which it was intended.

Further, writing on public administration, (Ahmed, 2012) explains that public administrators offer important advice that guides ministers in the making of policies, and “provide continuity in government” especially when the administration in power has been toppled in a coup or removed through the polls. Dahida and Maidoki (2013:59) posited that although the modern day public administrators have been involved in policy making, they are supposed to be politically neutral and anonymous. In this regard, the importance of public administration in the development of society is enormous (Ahmed 2012:5).

The public administration plays a crucial role in safeguarding laws and maintaining order, defence, people’s welfare, science and technology and the eradication of poverty (Eneanya, 2010:1). In the same vein, Eneanya (2010:1) opines further that the effectiveness and efficiency of the public administration translates to economic development and territorial independence.

In centrally planned economies, effective public administration has been instrumental to the implementation of economic policies which foster development in the production and distribution of goods and services (Adejuwon, cited in Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012:26). In this regard, the effectiveness of the public administration was pivotal in the ownership and management of the factors of production (Honest, 2006:5). Hence the importance of public administration in a modern state, developed or developing, as noted by Ahmed (2012:5) depends on its effectiveness. Consequently, Nigeria as a developing nation depends heavily on the effectiveness of her public administration for socio-economic development (Ahmed, 2012:5). This is in addition to its maintenance of law and order and the internal and external protection of Nigeria. However, as it may have already been revealed the public administration is neither efficient nor effective (Adejuwon, cited in Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012:25).

3.7.1 CHALLENGES OF PUBLIC POLICY

Nigeria's public administration is hounded by a number of problems which has prevented its effectiveness and efficiency in policy implementation. Okotoni (2001:223) opines that this inefficiency was caused by problems such as colonial legacy, the prolonged military rule, unstable political environment, economic crises, social menace, constitutional lapses, unfavourable public policies such as federal character, bureaucratic bottlenecks (red-tapism, rigidity, centralisation, excessive bureaucratic layers), poor condition of service, etc.

Prominent among these problems is the impact of Nigeria's prolonged military rule on the ethical and professional conduct of the public administration. Okotoni (2001:224) writes about this impact, which started during Nigeria's political crises and subsequent civil war in 1966. According to him, the military were fully engaged in the civil war and assigned political duties to top public servants (Okotoni 2001:224).

This contravened the professional code of conduct of the service which prohibited public servants from engaging in politics but paved the way for them to re-emerge in the scene between 1970 and 1975 as "political technocrats", tagged "super permanent secretaries" (Okotoni, 2001:224). This led to the problem of politicisation of several civil service positions including that of the Permanent Secretary and the Head of Service (Okotoni, 2001:225).

During democratic administrations, Ogunrotifa (2012: 10) noted that top public servants openly showed their political affiliations by paying allegiance to the ruling government. Again, there was a dispute over power and trespass between political office holders and public servants (Okotoni, 2001:225). The problem of politicisation of the administration has also been attributed to the numerous changes in the top echelon of the service and mass retrenchment of workers, in the disguise of implementing the federal-character-principle which Ogunrotifa (2012:10) opines was based on political factors rather than merit. In the views of Eme and Ugwu (2011) recruitment of workers based on the federal-character-principle merely forfeited efficiency in the administration (Eme & Ugwu, 2011 cited in Ogunrotifa, 2012:10). Salisu (2001) associates federal-character-principle with political interference to personnel administration which according to him, causes "improper delegation of power, ineffective supervision and corruption" that has culminated in "unauthorised and

unreasonable absenteeism, lateness, idleness and notably poor workmanship” (Salisu, 2001 in Ogunrotifa, 2012:10).

Another problem the public administration is beset with is corruption. Corruption is prevalent in Nigeria’s public administration (Ogunrotifa, 2011:11). Corruption affects every ministry, department and agency and is the main problem that restricts public administrations in Nigeria (Ogunrotifa, 2012:11). In a World Bank (1995) report, the non-existence of accountability and transparency was ascribed to Nigeria’s public administration. This revelation was reiterated by Gallup poll and KPMG report which had Nigeria as the worst corrupt country in Africa and second in the world. Consequently, Nigeria that has an unemployment rate of 20 million, with another 100 million living in deprivation is among the five poorest countries in the world (The Sun, 23 November, 2014).

Against the backdrop that the public administration is hounded by various problems, Ogunrotifa (2012:11) writes that the public administration is fraught with problems he listed to include “lack of measurable objectives; inadequate evaluations; mismanagement of time; inadequate facilities; disorganization; personnel mismanagement; and over centralization”. According to Ogunrotifa (2012:11) these problems are responsible for the inefficient policy implementation of the public administration. Other problems associated with the inefficiency of the public administration include overstaffing the administration with incompetent workers and poor remuneration. Consequently, workers are recruited without the requisite skills necessary for the job, creating problems of overstaffing in the administration.

Further, there is a lack of motivation in the sector as public administrators are notoriously underpaid (Jike, 2003; Otobo, 1992; Nwachukwu, 1998; Onyeoruru, 2004 cited in Ahmed, 2012:12). This culminated in the problems of overcrowding and lack of incentives and funds to work. Okoh (1998) opines that obsolete equipment, lack of offices and poor filing systems contribute to the problem of inefficiency in the public administration (Okoh cited in Ahmed, 2012:12).

3.8 ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

It was in an attempt to correct these anomalies that reforms were recommended by various commissions set up for the restructuring of the sector. It was indeed the intention of successive Nigerian administrations to eliminate the problems of the sector and regenerate the public administration of the 1960’s and 1975 that was strong and professional.

The recommendations made by these commissions led to various reforms and restructuring of the sector between 1960 and 2010 which also affected governance in Nigeria. These commissions included the Margan Commission (1963), the Adebo Commission (1971), the Udoji Commission (1972-1974), the Dotun Philips Panel (1985) and the civil service reorganization decree under the Military regime of General Babangida which politicised public administration in 1988. Under this decree public administrators became appointees of the administration and promotion in the public service lost its credibility and merit (Onolememen, 2015:63).

Listed are measures taken by various administrations in Nigeria to reform the public administration (Onolememen, 2015:64). These include:

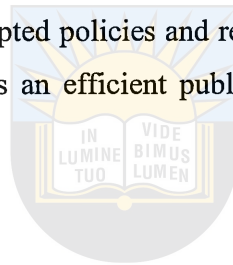
- Ensuring that the public administration is guided by the directives of the public service, constitutional provisions and the financial regulations in order to demilitarize the sector; ensuring that the sector reintroduces the pooling system to assign appropriate tasks to workers in order to enhance professionalism and harmonized development capable of facilitating efficient transfer of skills.
- Restoration of the post of the Head of Service to eliminate the politicisation of the sector in order to provide efficient leadership and political neutrality aimed at improving the welfare of the workers.
- Centralization of staff training through the facilitation of manpower development.
- Roles, responsibilities and expectations defined through the comprehensive restructuring of the sector.

In spite of these reforms, there are still various problems in Nigeria's public administration (Olaopa, 2010; Nwanolue & Iwuoha, 2012). One of such problems is the poor remuneration of workers which has been identified as the cause of the sector's inefficiency, ineffectiveness and endemic corruption. Other issues include favouritism and politicization, poor staff training especially in the use of technology (Olaopa 2010; Nwanolue & Iwuoha, 2012).

Furthermore, it must be stated that the administrations of Yar'Adua and Jonathan adopted the economic policies tagged, 7-Point Agenda and Transformation Agenda respectively also in an attempt to restore the dignity of the public administration. These policies focused on realigning Nigeria's public administration with today's global realities by changing their

traditional way of doing things. There was therefore a deliberate attempt on paper to move from the centralisation of authority, poor resource management, and ineffective leadership to embrace new methods such as creativity, new attitudes and values intended to boost effectiveness and efficiency in the public administration.

However, Onolememen (2015:64) argues that transparency in the selection process can boost the efficiency and effectiveness of the sector; whereas Adamolekun and Ayeni (1990) put the blame on Nigeria's leadership for the lack of commitment to improve the efficiency and effectiveness in the public administration. This research is in agreement with the notion that poor political leadership and bad governance should be indicted for the problems experienced by the public administration. Arguably, Nigeria lacks effective leadership and good governance, to implement its well scripted policies and reforms to achieve what is translated in a World Bank document (1989) as an efficient public service (World Bank, quoted in Ahmed, 2012).



3.9 SOCIO-POLITICAL REFORMS

The parliamentary system of government was the system of government Nigeria inherited after her independence in 1960 from colonial Britain. The parliamentary system of government had Alhaji Tafawa Belewa as the Prime Minister and Nnamdi Azikiwe as Nigeria's President. However, the President only had ceremonial powers. The parliamentary system of government was new and challenging to the Nigerian political class and it was not out of place for them to be prone to mistakes (Onolememen, 2015 :65).

The new parliamentary government came to an end after a bloody military coup in 1966. It was soon after this coup that the Nigerian civil war started with General Yakubu Gowon as the Head of State of Nigeria. After the war, under General Yakubu Gowon's rule, there was a significant socio-political reform that transformed the geo-political map of Nigeria. The country changed from its regional structure with the creation of 12 states. This development was initiated to usher in national unity and tolerance when Nigerians abandoned their ethnic allegiance (Ado-Kurawa, 2005).

After successive military interventions, an important political reform was embarked upon that transformed Nigeria from a parliamentary system of government to a presidential system

(Onolememen, 2015:65). This new political system chosen by Nigeria was symbolic of the American democracy. Alhaji Shehu Shagari was sworn in as Nigeria's President in the Second Republic.

A series of military interventions again interfered in the political process in Nigeria. These incursions into Nigeria's politics did not necessarily mean that the problem with Nigeria had anything to do with the political system; rather it only demonstrated that the country suffered from widespread corruption, bad leadership, poor governance, tribalism, religious intolerance, lack of patriotism and various other vices (Emordi, 2012; Achebe, 1988; Transparency International, 2010).

The military under the administrations of General Babangida and Abacha created more states, and at the end of the year 2010, Nigeria had a whopping 36 states. The creation of more states came with the clamour for more local government areas and so by the end of 2010, there were 774 local government areas in Nigeria. Furthermore in 1989, during Babangida's administration there was an attempt at reforming the constitution. A new constitution for Nigeria's third republic was drafted but not implemented (FRN 2010).

In 1999, the Nigerian government inaugurated a committee to review the Nigerian constitution. The intention of government was to facilitate good governance. Again in 2003 the National Assembly reviewed the 1999 constitution. Constitutional changes to the constitution were made in 2005 under Obasanjo's government; a national political reform conference was convened for this purpose (Onolememen, 2015:67). The report of the national political reform conference concluded on issues concerning minority rights, state and local government creation, the role of traditional institutions, formula for revenue allocation, and the electoral reform process (FRN 2005; Onolememen, 2015).

The constitutional reform undertaken by successive administrations led to the Electoral Act of 2006. The Act provides for electoral offenders to be punished and subjected to severe sanctions (Songi, 2008).

The socio-political reform between 1960 and 2010 became an important platform for Nigeria's political leadership to rectify the electoral process. The Nigerian electoral process over the years has been notorious for election and result rigging. Songi (2008) opined that the

Nigerian elections are notorious for violence, misconducts, and disagreements. Despite these problems associated with Nigerian elections, the reform process has been able to control the term of office for political positions. Further, the presidential election results have been declared free and fair for the second time by international observers. Hence 2003 and 2015 have been recorded in history for the successful transfer of power from one civilian government to another.

3.1.0 CONCLUSION

The chapter presented Nigeria and its ethnic and religious diversity as well as the British imperialist's exploitation of Nigeria's diversity for profit.

The chapter also presented Nigeria's Federalism introduced in 1954 to foster unity among ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. The political landscape of Nigeria including the first, second and third republics, bureaucratic corruption and military interventions in politics are also presented. Further, the chapter reviewed the challenges of leadership and governance in Nigeria and the public administration.

The next chapter contains the methodological approach of the study which is a mixed method research approach that combines both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the research methodology has been tailored to justify the use of a mixed methods research approach that combines both the qualitative and quantitative research methods. The Instrument employed in the quantitative research is the multifactor leadership questionnaire, while the qualitative research instrument is an interview of top officials of the Nigeria government. The Ibrahim Index for African governance was utilised for Nigeria's fourth republic governance scores.

4.0 RESEACH METHOD

Research methods are basically the process of collecting data and the processing of the data to suit the research approach (Brynard and Hanekon, 1997: 27). There are four main research approaches. These include the quantitative research, qualitative research, pragmatic approach to research (mixed methods) and the advocacy/participatory approach.

This research utilises the mixed methods research approach. The mixed methods research has been perceived by some authors as a third methodological movement (Teddlie & Tashokkori, 2003). This mixed method research promoters variety and combination. It combines the use of both the qualitative and the quantitative research approaches within a single study. Significantly the mixed methods research approach provides a better and more balanced investigation (Teddlie & Tashokkori, 2012). As a result the mixed methods research approach offers a better insight for an investigation into the role of effective leadership in facilitating good governance in Nigeria during the administrations of President Olusegun Obasanjo, President Musa Yaradua and President Good luck Jonathan (1999-2014).

Consequently for the aspect of this study that required an investigation to determine the leadership style adopted by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership, a reliable instrument called the Multi-Factor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) was utilized. In the same vein, an interview was conducted of top officials of the Nigerian government. Data obtained from this interview was used to analyse the role of Nigeria's fourth republic leadership in facilitating good governance. Finally the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) an equally

relevant and reliable instrument, created to accurately assess the governance performance of African States provided the governance rating of the Nigerian administrations under consideration. This research draws largely on qualitative research as a convenient way of collecting information to answers the research question.

4.1 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

As a result of the use of a mixed methods research approach, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were utilised in this study. For the qualitative research, 20 top officials of Nigeria's government were interviewed. The interview provided information that was transcribed and coded for further sorting, coding and re-classification.

A quantitative investigation was conducted to determine the particular leadership style adopted by Nigeria's fourth republic. Against this backdrop an instrument called the Multifactor leadership questionnaire often used in determining leadership styles was utilised. The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire was adopted from the full range leadership development theory (Bass and Avolio 1997). However, since its creation by leadership authors like Bass, Avolio and Yammarino (Avolio and Bass 1997), it has been widely used and improved and its reliability has never been doubted.

The instrument used in the quantitative research called the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) contains some statements about the leadership style of the individual who is the subject of the test. There are 45 statements in the questionnaire that measures key aspects of leadership behaviours. Hence each statement reveals one of nine elements of transformational, transactional or laissez-faire leadership factors.

As listed on Table 4.0, the transformational leadership is made up of idealised charismatic attributes. Transformational leadership factors include idealised influence (attributed), idealised influence (behaviour), inspirational motivation, individualized consideration and intellectual stimulation. Transactional leadership is associated with two elements namely contingent rewards and management-by-exception. Management-by-exception is further split into management-by-exception-active and management-by-exception-passive as indicated on Table 4.0. This research on the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria draws mainly on qualitative methodological tools, since these qualitative tools seem to be most appropriate in providing answers for the research question.

Table 4.0 EXAMPLES OF ITEMS CONTAINED IN THE TRANSFORMATIONAL, TRANSACTIONAL AND LAISSEZ-FAIRE LEADERSHIP STYLES

Transformational Leadership	
Idealised influence (attributed)	I instil pride in others for being associated with me.
Idealised influence (behaviour)	I specify the importance of having a strong sense of purpose.
Inspirational motivation	I talk optimistically about the future.
Individualized consideration	I spend time teaching and coaching.
Intellectual stimulation	I re-examine critical assumptions to question whether they are appropriate.
Transactional Leadership	
Contingency rewards	I provide others with assistance in exchange for their efforts.
Management-by-exception-active	I focus attention on irregularities, mistakes, exceptions and deviations from standards.
Management-by-exception-passive	I fail to interfere until problems become serious
Laissez-Faire Leadership	I avoid getting involved when important issues arise.
Laissez-faire	

Table 4.1 The leadership styles the MLQ questions measure

Leadership factors	Raw factors	Q#	Q#	Q#	Q#
Transformational	Idealized Attributes	10	18	21	25
Transformational	Idealized Behaviour	6	14	23	34
Transformational	Inspirational Motivation	9	13	26	36
Transformational	Intellectual Stimulation	2	8	30	32
Transformational	Individualized Consideration	15	19	29	31
Transactional	Contingent Reward	1	11	16	35
Transactional	Management-by-exception (active)	4	22	24	27
Transactional	Management-by-exception (passive)	3	12	17	20
Non Transactional	Laissez-Faire	5	7	28	33

Outcome 1	Extra effort	39	42	44	45
Outcome 2	Effectiveness	37	40	43	
Outcome 3	Satisfaction	38	41		

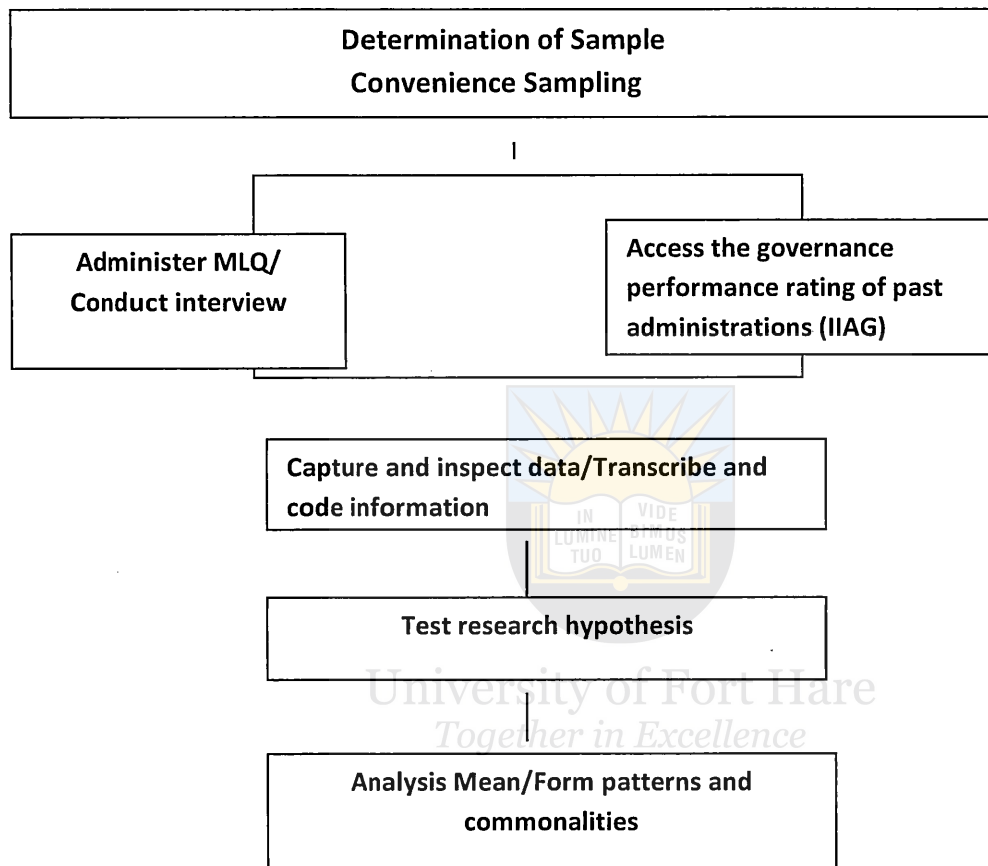
Table 4.1 above shows the various questions from the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire and the leadership styles (transformational, transactional and laissez-faire) and leadership factors they represent. This data was used for further analysis in the research.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is associated with two paradigms, the post-positivist paradigm and the social constructivist paradigm because it is a mixed methods research. The post-positivist paradigm generally focuses on the neutrality and independence of the researcher in the analysis and interpretation of palpable social reality, giving the researcher's objectivity, his/her capability to critically assess the evidence and generalise (Remenyi and Williams, 1996). On the other hand the social constructivist paradigm highlights the socially constructed nature of reality, revealing human behaviour and experiences.

The research design is a plan that is intended to guide the researcher to undertake this research aimed at conducting an assessment of the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria, and the result of the research will be useful in finding a lasting solution to the perennial problem of leadership and governance in Nigeria. In the same vein, it will influence the choice of candidates suitable for leadership positions in political parties in Nigeria which is also necessary for Nigeria's survival as a federation. Furthermore, the information obtained from this research will be useful to the body of knowledge on issues pertaining to leadership and governance.

FIGURE 4.1: A SCHEMATIC DEPICTION OF THE QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN



The research focus was on the style of leadership adopted in Nigeria, during the country’s fourth republic and the influence it had on good governance (transformational, transactional or laissez - faire leadership).

To collect data and examine this phenomenon, both the qualitative and quantitative research method were used. However the research draws mostly on qualitative research methods which appear most appropriate to use in the circumstance.

4.3 MULTIFACTOR LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE (MLQ)

An instrument called the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) was administered to a population size of 44 respondents. The MLQ has two versions of questionnaires; one version was to be administered to Leaders for self-assessment. The other version was to be administered to targeted junior staff (Raters) of the Nigerian government. These employees

all randomly selected through a convenient sampling method will include the top management level staff, referred to as Managers and their subordinates referred to as worker. Samples selected through this convenience sampling method are based on their obtainability (Leedy, 1993).

The following Ministries and staff were chosen for the research: one Top Senior Staff each in the 10 Federal Government Ministries namely, the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources , the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Tourism, the Federal Ministry of Communication, the Federal Ministry of Education and Youth Development, the Federal Ministry of Environment, the Federal Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Federal Ministry of Health and Social Services, the Federal Ministry of Industries; The Head of Public Service, The Secretary of Government. Two junior staff each in the 10 Federal Government Ministries listed above. Four Federal Ministry junior workers each that served under the administrations of Presidents, Obasanjo, Yaradua and Jonathan. In all the total number was 44 participants.

Thus, a total of 44 questionnaires were distributed to the selected respondents using a convenient sampling method. The distribution was as follows:

10 Top Senior Officials (Leaders) from the 10 selected Federal Ministries

20 Junior Staff workers (Raters) from the 10 selected Federal Ministries

01 Head of Service (Leader)

01 Secretary of Government (Leader)

12 Junior Staff (Raters), made up of (04 Raters each that served under each of the three presidents).

Out of the 12 top senior officials (Leaders), 4 senior officials each must have served under each of the 3 Nigerian presidents namely President Obasanjo (1999-2007), President Yar'Adua (2007-2010) and President Jonathan (2010-2015). Further out of the 32 junior staff (Raters), 10 each served under President Obasanjo (1999-2007), 12 served under President

Yar'Adua (2007-2010), and 10 served under President Jonathan (2010-2015). This made a total of 44 Participants.

4.4 THE IBRAHIM INDEX OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE

To generate information on governance, a governance appraisal was conducted using the governance factor scores obtained from an instrument called The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG). The Ibrahim Index of African Governance is a reliable instrument that ranks Africa's governance annually.

For this research, the Ibrahim Index of African Governance data generated on Nigeria's governance was utilised for the period under consideration (1999-2014).

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

The research was a mixed method research. It combined both qualitative and quantitative research methods. For the quantitative research, data provided by the MLQ was captured for statistical analysis. Data analysis commenced through the use of the SPSS statistical software. Eight leadership dimensions of transactional and transformational leadership were considered and calculated based on their MLQ rating scores.

For the qualitative research, 20 top officials of Nigeria's government were interviewed. Data collected was transcribed and coded and finally used to form patterns and commonalities. The research draws mainly on qualitative methodological tools which seem to be most appropriate for the research problem.

4.6 MEAN SCORE

The Mean score derived from the MLQ instrument is expected to establish the perceived leadership style prevalent in Nigeria under the fourth republic.

Finally as part of the Mixed methods research approach utilised for this study intended to investigate the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria, a qualitative research was conducted. A qualitative research is pertinent for interpretive investigation. This is because it allows the researcher to comprehend what he/she sees, and hears. The goal is to have an all-inclusive view of the entire investigation (Creswell 2009). In

this research, and concerning this investigation a descriptive research approach was also required.

A descriptive research helps to explain such questions as how, what, when and where. It is necessary for understanding current and future behaviour (Smith 1998:38). In this regard descriptive research was deemed suitable to examine the role played by Nigeria's leadership in facilitating good governance.

The investigation was conducted through the use of interviews of 20 Nigerian government officials, including; two permanent secretaries, one head of government, and five officials of the presidency and also four officials of the national legislature that served under the administrations of President Obasanjo, President Yaradua and President Jonathan respectively from 1999 to 2014.

Books, periodicals, magazines, journals and the newspaper were also useful for content analysis. The empirical works of researchers was examined to draw conclusions and provide relevant answers for the research question.

4.7 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

As stated earlier, the qualitative research used in this segment of the research only forms part of the mixed methods research approach utilised for the study. As certain investigations are better undertaken qualitatively than quantitatively, it was therefore necessary to use a qualitative research approach to interpret the role played by Nigeria's leadership in ensuring good governance. Qualitative research is important for interpretive inquiry to articulate what is seen and heard. Therefore since the qualitative research approach is only part of the mixed methods research approach, it provides a holistic view of the whole investigation (Creswell 2009).

For the qualitative study, the researcher interviewed 20 top Nigerian government officials that included, 2 permanent secretaries, one head of government, and five officials of the presidency and also four officials of the national legislature loyal to the administrations of President Obasanjo, President Yaradua and President Jonathan respectively.

The information collected through these interviews were transcribed and coded for further sorting, coding and re-classification. The codes were kept in categories to form patterns and commonalities.

Any other necessary information was collected through books, periodicals, magazines, journals and newspapers. Empirical works of researchers were also referred to for suitable answers. The research draws largely on qualitative methodological tools which provided answers to the research problem.

4.8 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE (IIAG) INSTRUMENT

The reliability and validity of the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) is not in doubt. The instrument originated in 2007 as a reliable instrument for the accurate measure of African governance performance (IIAG, 2015). Hence since 2007 the instrument which utilises thirty three data sources has been used successfully annually to measure the quality of governance in all fifty four African countries (IIAG). The Ibrahim Index of African Governance consists of four main categories, fourteen sub categories and ninety three indicators which the IIAG (2015) classified as, the safety and rule of law category, with sub categories such as, rule of law, accountability, personal safety and national security. The second category, participation and human rights have the sub categories participation, rights and gender. The category for sustainable economic opportunity has the sub category, public management, business environment, infrastructure and rural sector. Finally the human development category is made up of welfare, education and health (IIAG).

4.9 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE (MLQ) INSTRUMENT

The reliability and validity of the MLQ is not in doubt. Reliability is the proof of the consistency of the research instrument (Bless and Higson-Smith 2000). A high reliability is associated with the precision and consistency of the measurement. The validity of the instrument refers to the correctness of the instrument in the measurement of the concept (Whitelaw 2001).

In terms of reliability and validity, the MLQ has for years been used by numerous experts around the world (Bass and Avolio, 1997; Pruijn and Boucher 1994). The validity of the MLQ instrument has also been expressed in Nigeria (Yobe 2012).

An instrument is considered as reliable when it steadily provides an accurate measurement. The MLQ instrument has been proven to be reliable in its content, concurrent and construct validity (Yammarino and Bass, 1990; Avolio and Bass, 1997).

Table 4.2 DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Dependent Variable

Instrument	Variable	Measures
IIAG	Governance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Safety and Rule of Law 2. Participation and Human Rights 3. Sustainable Economic Opportunity 4. Human Development
INTERVIEW	Governance/Leadership issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Impact of Good Governance

Table 4.3 Independent Variable

Instrument	Variable	Measures
MLQ	Transformational Leadership	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Idealised Influence (attributed) 2. Idealised Influence (behaviour) 3. Inspirational Motivation 4. Intellectual Stimulation 5. Individualised Consideration
MLQ	Transactional Leadership	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contingency Reward 2. Management-by-exception (Active) 3. Management-by-exception (Passive) 4. Laissez- faire

4.1.0 SCOPE AND DELIMITATION

The research is centred on Nigeria's political leadership during the administrations of President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007), President Musa Yaradua (2007-2010) and President Goodluck Jonathan (2010-2015). The study is an assessment of the role of effective leadership in ensuring good leadership in Nigeria.

The conceptual and contextual perspectives that need not be included in this research are Nigeria's military and civilian leadership prior to Nigeria's third republic in 1999. The three leaders included in this research, President Obasanjo, President Musa Yaradua and President Jonathan were democratically elected.

4.1.1 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

For this research ethical consideration has been undertaken in respect of the professional code of ethical issues by Leedy (1997:116). Therefore the researcher is expected to:

- Be neutral scientifically
- Recognize his own limits
- Respect the rights of privacy and self-worth of persons
- Not to engage in inquiries that will harm the respondents
- Hold strictly confidential, confidential information and all research findings presented without flaws or distortions.

Consequently, confidential information revealed for use in this research will be kept confidential. The respondent's right to anonymity and confidentiality is respected and appreciated. Every effort has been made to protect the names of respondents who wish to be anonymous, and their responses will also be kept confidential. This research is a doctoral research and will be used only for that purpose. The ethical clearance certificates will be obtained from the UFHGMRDC.

4.1.2 CONCLUSION

This study seeks to determine the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria. As such the role played by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership in facilitating good governance is investigated. Consequently the researcher was interested in first determining the actual leadership style utilized by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership (transformational,

transactional or laissez-faire) before investigating the relationship between the leadership style and good governance.

The mixed methods research approach was adopted for this study. Therefore the research methodology presented was a combination of both the qualitative and quantitative research methods (mixed methods research approach). A multifactor leadership questionnaire was employed for the quantitative research, while an interview was conducted to collect information for the qualitative research included. The governance data was compiled from the Ibrahim Index for African governance. Further the ethical consideration was necessary to respect the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents as a condition of participating in the research. The next chapter of the study centred on the results of study.



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CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS, RESULTS AND POLICY LESSONS

INTRODUCTION

The reason behind the use of both quantitative and qualitative research (mixed methods research approach) is to make a better and balanced assessment of the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria. Perceived poor leadership problems have been attributed to Nigeria's governance issues and developmental debacle (Achebe; Ogbeyi 2012; Odhiambo-Mbai 2003).

The goal of the research was to assess the role of various leadership approaches in facilitating good governance in Nigeria. The theoretical framework focused on the full range leadership theory and the theory of sustainable development.

In undertaking the research, the concepts of transformational and transactional leadership approaches were individually applied to the theory of governance. Transformational leadership was assumed to be the most effective theoretical framework, while transactional and laissez faire leadership followed. However one of these leadership approaches was perceived as the leadership behaviour behind Nigeria's fourth republic dismal governance performance that was ranked lowly by the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG, 2015).

5.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this section, findings of the quantitative and qualitative research undertaken will be presented. The quantitative research finding was made possible by the use of the MLQ instrument administered to 44 respondents in various Federal Ministries in Nigeria. These include: 10 senior federal ministry officials, 20 junior federal ministry workers, 01 head of service, 01 secretary of government, 04 junior staff under the administration of President Obasanjo, 04 junior staff under the administration of President Yar'Adua and finally, 04 junior staff under the administration of President Jonathan.

Data was also generated from the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) ranking criteria from 1999-2015.

The data was captured for statistical analysis (statistica). Eight leadership dimensions of the transformational and transactional leadership approaches were calculated based on the MLQ rating scores. The governance factor scores based on the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) ranking also provided the means to measure the following criteria ‘safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development’ (www.moibrahimfoundation.org).

For the qualitative study, the findings were obtained through the use of interviews of 20 Nigerian top government officials. These include: 2 permanent secretaries, 01 head of government, 05 officials of the presidency, and 04 officials each of the national legislature under the administration of President Obasanjo, Yar’Adua and Jonathan respectively.

The data collected through these interviews were transcribed and imported into QRS Nvivo 10 version for coding. The exhaustive process of sorting, coding and re-classification was also rigorously undertaken. The codes were arranged into categories to form patterns and commonalities for a holistic comprehension.

5.1 SETTING

After the approval of the proposal by the Faculty Committee and the Ethics Committee of the Forte Hare University (see appendix A), I wrote letters to eligible respondents chosen through convenience sampling for this research.

The questionnaire was administered personally to the officials concerned, while the respondents concerned were allowed to either respond to the MLQ immediately or return them at a further date, the interviews of the top government officials were conducted face to face in the offices or residents of the respondents that showed interest in contributing to the research. Prior to the interviews, respondents were informed about the purpose of the research and the respondents gave their consent and partook willingly.

5.2 RESPONSE RATES

Out of the 12 leaders surveyed in the sample, 12 complied and completed the MLQ questionnaire which amounts to a response rate of 100% (see table).

32 raters were surveyed in the sample out of which 30 raters completed the questionnaire which amounts to a response rate of approximately 94%.

Finally the total sample size of leaders and raters sums up to 42 respondents which amount to a response rate of approximately 95%.

TABLE : 5.0 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS
FOR THE MLQ QUESTIONNAIRE

	LEADERS	RATES	TOTAL
POPULATION	12	32	44
SAMPLE	12	32	44
RESPONSE	12	30	32
RESPONSE RATE	100	94	95

TABLE :5.1 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS (N = 20)

	NO OF RESPONDENTS	% OF RESPONDENTS
Permanent Secretary	2	10.0
Head of Government	1	5.0
Officials of the Presidency	5	25.0
Officials of the National legislature under President Obasanjo	4	20.0

Officials of the National legislature under President Yaradua	4	20.0
Officials of the National legislature under President Jonathan	4	20.0

Table 5.2 Demographic Information for 64 Respondents

GENDER	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
MALE	48	75%
FEMALE	16	25%

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MARITAL STATUS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
MARRIED	60	94%
SINGLE	4	06%
OTHER	-	-

AGE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
21 to 30	-	-
31 to 40	9	14%
41 to 50	41	64%

51 to 60	11	17%
61 or older	3	5%

YEARS WORKING IN THE GOVERNMENT	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
3 to 5	3	5%
6 to 10	15	23%
11 to 15	30	47%
16 to 20	13	20%
21 and above	3	5%


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YEARS WORKING FOR THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT		
3 to 5	3	5%
6 to 10	61	95%
11 to 15	-	-
16 to 20	-	-
21 and above	-	-

5.3 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

In this study, the mixed method research approach was utilised. The mixed method research approach is a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods. The quantitative research includes some relevant statistical techniques relevant in providing accurate statistical data. These computer applications include Microsoft Excel and Statistical Presentation for Social Sciences (SPSS). Thus for the quantitative study, the main objective is to investigate the adopted leadership style of Nigeria's fourth republic leadership (transformational, transactional and laissez-faire).

The qualitative research method also provided information collected through an interview of top officials of Nigeria's government. Information collected through the interview was transcribed and coded. It involved sorting, coding and re-classification. The codes were used to form patterns and commonalities.

The study also includes social research methods which Babbie and Mouton (2004) categorized as exploratory, descriptive and explanatory research methods. Further since this research is the first to establish the leadership style of the Nigerian government, it can safely be described as an exploratory research, exploring the impact of leadership on good governance in Nigeria. It therefore lends towards the category described by Peil (1982) as exploratory research since it ventures into a new area or a phenomenon that has not been widely researched in the Nigerian context. It also appropriately describes what Babbie and Mouton (2004) opined enables one to gain a new insight into a phenomenon in order to undertake a preliminary study that will lead to other opportunities for more organized investigation; describing the main concepts investigated in order to determine priorities and develop new hypotheses for existing things and events. From the main objective of the study the relevant hypothesis was formulated which is as follows:

5.3.1 Hypothesis:

With reference to the perceived effective leadership of Nigeria's fourth republic, how do Nigerians perceive Nigeria's leadership behaviour (transformational, transactional or laissez-faire). Consequently how is it related to the governance criteria of safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development.

5.4 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Descriptive statistics serves the purpose of providing a summary for quantitative data which makes patterns and relationships to be distinguished which were not obvious in the raw data (Hussey & Hussey 1997). This enables the summary of variability (the spread of the numbers) and the centre of the data. The mean has been described as the “measure of central tendency that offers a general picture of the data without unnecessarily inundating one with each of the observations in a data set or sample” (Sekaran 2000:397). The standard deviation “is the index of the spread of a distribution or variability in the data” (Hayward 2005).

Table 5.3 SAMPLE SIZE, MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION OF LEADERSHIP

STYLES AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

VARIABLE	CODE	N	MEAN	STD. DEV
Idealised Influence (attributed)	IA	32	1.17	0.50
Idealised Influence (behaviour)	IB	32	1.57	1.00
Inspirational Motivation	IM	32	1.38	1.00
Individualised Consideration	IC	32	1.04	0.23
Intellectual Stimulation	IS	32	0.75	0.35
Contingency Rewards	CR	32	3.25	0.20

Management-by-exception (active)	MBEA	32	3.79	0.20
Management-by-exception (passive)	MBEP	32	3.00	0.10
Transformational Leadership	TF	32	1.18	1.57
Transactional Leadership	TA	32	3.34	0.32
Laissez-faire	LF	32	1.42	0.22
Safety and Rule of Law	SRL	15	43.7	2.56
Participation and Human Rights	PHR	15	46.5	1.69
Sustainable Economic Opportunity	SEO	15	36.0	2.05
Human Development	HD	15	48.0	2.49

The table above contains descriptive data for the subscales of the different leadership styles of transformational, transactional and laissez-faire. It also contains subscales for governance namely safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development. The various scores for the sample have been realistically spread in terms of variance and normality which is useful for analytic purposes.

5.5 THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE KEY LEADERSHIP VARIABLES

It must be noted as indicated in Table: 5.4 that the mean score for transformational leadership will include the variables such as idealised influence (attributed) idealised influence (behaviour), inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualised consideration. Bass and Avolio (1977) suggested that a mean value greater or equal to 3.0 should be classified as ideal levels for effective leadership. Based on this suggestion the mean levels of variables will be considered as leaders' at 3.0 or above; which suggests their attainment of higher levels of leadership for each variable. In the same vein, mean scores of 2.0 to 3.0 will be considered as moderate levels while those at 2.0 as lower levels.

Similarly as shown in Table 5.4 the mean scores for transactional leadership variables which includes the following; contingency rewards, management-by-exception (active) and management-by-exception (passive) and Laissez-faire will be classified based on the suggestions of Bass and Avolio (1977) that mean values of variables that are 3.0 or above should be regarded as ideal levels for effective leadership. Consequently any level from 3.0 or further are considered as leaders' because of their attainment of higher levels of leadership for each variable, while 2.0 to 3.0 are considered moderate levels and less than 2.0 are classified as the lower levels.

The governance overall scores in Table 5.5 clearly suggest that Nigeria's governance has remained stable within the neighbourhood of forty (2000-2014). The lowest overall score for Nigeria's governance is 41.6 in 2004 while the highest nine years later in 2013 is 45.3. In terms of the governance variables in Table 5.5, the lowest scored governance variable is safety and rule of law with 39.4 in 2004 while the highest is 47.9 in 2008. Participation and human rights has its highest score of 49.8 in 2013. The lowest score for participation and human rights is 43.6 in 2009. For sustainable economic opportunity, the highest score is 40.9 in 2013, while the lowest is 33.6 in 2002. Finally human development has its highest score of 52.0 in 2014. The lowest score for human development is 42.7 in 2000.

5.6 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Table: 5.4 LEADERSHIP AND GOOD GOVERNANCE VARIABLES ANALYSIS

VARIABLE	CODE	N	MEAN	STD. DEV
Idealised Influence (attributed)	IA	32	1.17	0.50
Idealised Influence (behaviour)	IB	32	1.57	1.00
Inspirational Motivation	IM	32	1.38	1.00
Individualised Consideration	IC	32	1.04	0.23
Intellectual Stimulation	IS	32	0.75	0.35
Contingency Rewards	CR	32	3.25	0.20
Management-by-exception (active)	MBEA	32	3.79	0.20
Management-by-exception (passive)	MBEP	32	3.00	0.10
Transformational Leadership	TF	32	1.18	1.57

Transactional Leadership	TA	32	3.34	0.32
Laissez-faire	LF	32	1.42	0.22
Safety and Rule of Law	SRL	15	43.7	2.56
Participation and Human Rights	PHR	15	46.5	1.69
Sustainable Economic Opportunity	SEO	15	36.0	2.05
Human Development	HD	15	48.0	2.49

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Table 5.5 GOVERNANCE SCORE ANALYSIS
(IBRAHIM INDEX OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE)
DATA OUTPUT PRINT PROCEDURE

S_	SEC	o	HUM			
Obs	Year	Ov_Score	RuleoL	P_Hrights	Opp	DEV
1	2000	42.6	45.5	47.4	35.0	42.7
2	2001	42.7	44.5	47.3	33.9	45.2
3	2002	42.6	43.9	47.3	33.6	45.4
4	2003	42.7	44.6	45.8	34.3	46.0
5	2004	41.6	39.4	45.9	34.4	46.6
6	2005	43.0	44.4	46.0	34.2	47.4
7	2006	43.8	45.4	45.7	35.3	49.0
8	2007	44.6	45.9	46.0	36.7	49.0
9	2008	44.4	47.9	44.2	36.1	49.3

10	2009	44.7	46.4	43.6	37.9	50.9
11	2010	44.3	46.7	45.5	36.1	48.7
12	2011	44.0	44.3	46.7	36.5	48.6
13	2012	44.5	40.9	48.8	39.1	49.2
14	2013	45.3	39.6	49.8	40.9	50.8
15	2014	44.9	41.8	48.8	37.0	52.0

5.6.1 ANALYSIS OF THE QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS ON THE LEADERSHIP VARIABLE SUBSCALES

As indicated on Table 5.4, the mean value of the transformational leadership subscale range from 0.75 – 1.57 indicating that only one of the mean values is relatively close to 2, i.e. the mean value for idealised influence (behaviour) which is obtained at 1.57. The other mean values for the transformational leadership subscale were at lower levels 1.17, 1.38, 0.75 and 1.04 respectively. The highest standard deviation for the leadership variables is idealised influence (attributed) which was obtained at 0.40.

For the transactional leadership contingency rewards, the current study mean analysed is 3.25. This mean score is much higher than the 2.0 suggested by Bass and Avolio (1977) for contingency rewards. Again the suggested mean range of 1.0 to 2.0 for management-by-exception (active) is much lower than the score obtained from the current study of 3.79. Likewise, the suggested mean scores for management-by-exception (passive) and Laissez-faire leadership which are 1.0 to 0.0 respectively is less than the current study for both variables obtained at 3.00 and 1.42.

5.6.2 INTERPRETATION OF THE LEADERSHIP VARIABLES SUBSCALES

Based on the mean values on the table above, transformational leadership subscales (mostly less than 2.00) do not meet the level Bass and Avolio (1977) consider as ideal level for effective leadership, which is a mean value greater or equal to 3.0 (Bass and Avolio 1977).

These mean scores suggest that some Nigerians do not perceive that their fourth republic leadership under investigation is portraying the ideal levels of transformational leadership

behaviours which consist of engendering trust, inspiring a shared vision, generating enthusiasm, encouraging motivation, creativity and coaching. This implies that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership may not have been transformational. However, there is evidence that they display a moderate sense of purpose.

On the contrary, the transactional leadership variable scores that ranges from 3.25, 3.79 and 3.00, suggest that some Nigerians perceive the fourth republic leadership under consideration as displaying more than the ideal levels of transactional leadership behaviours which include; contingency rewards, management-by-exception (active), and management-by-exception (passive) respectively. This implies that although Nigeria's fourth republic leadership may not be transformational, it may be transactional. This finding collaborate the views of Bass (1985) that transformational and transactional leadership models include complementary rather than polar constructs, with transformational leadership merely an addition to transactional leadership, but not the reverse.

Thus, the mean score for the current study (contingency reward) which is higher than the suggested score implies that some Nigerians perceive that the fourth republic leadership is playing a role that is well above the ideal levels in clarifying expectations and rewarding accomplishments. Similarly, the high mean score for management-by-exception (active) which is greater than the ideal level suggests that some Nigerians perceive the fourth republic leadership under investigation have played a great role in taking immediate corrective action. However, the mean scores of both the management-by-exception (passive) imply that some Nigerians perceive their leaders' as failing to interfere on time to solve problems until the problem gets out of hands.

Based on the interpretation of the leadership subscales above, Nigeria's fourth republic leadership is not transformational but transactional, which explains the downward trajectory in governance assessments (IIAG, 2015). Transformational leadership usually translates to effective leadership and good governance and cannot in anyway be associated with the deficiency of infrastructure in Nigeria, leadership's lack of accountability, electoral malpractices in the elections of the fourth republic, the presumed failed implementation of policies responsible for poor service delivery during the fourth republic, the developmental debacle and the poor maintenance of law and order that culminated into socio-economic vices attributed to the presumed poor leadership of the fourth republic.

5.7 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS:

Thematic Category: Dimension of Leadership Practiced by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership and its effect on Good Governance

Instrument utilized: interview

Interview Question 1: Between the transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership styles, choose the dimension of leadership adopted by Nigeria's fourth republic. State why you have chosen it.

The first research question was to determine the dimension of leadership practiced by the different democratic administrations of President Obasanjo, Yaradua and Jonathan.

5.7.1 GROUP A

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Respondent one mentioned that the dimension of leadership in Nigeria's fourth republic is probably transactional because Nigeria's governance is a far cry from the governance expected from a transformational leader. Statements such as these support the subtheme:

It is my considered opinion that the dimension of leadership in Nigeria's fourth republic is probably transactional leadership this is because our leadership has not been able to deliver much to improve the living standard of the people. Look at Nigeria's developmental debacle. You can also look at the malaise of corruption in the country due to poor leadership and the lack of accountability. Nigeria's leadership cannot be transformational because it does not compare in any way with transformational leadership.

Responding to your second question about the relationship between the transactional, transformational and laissez-faire concepts of leadership and governance I do believe that the weakest relationship will be that of a laissez-faire leadership which connotes a lack of leadership in the country. Laissez-faire leadership would have created anarchy in Nigeria. Transformational should have the greatest relationship with governance followed by the transactional.

You can see that the transactional leadership is not as excellent as the transformational. It is good but not the best. President Jonathan and President Obasanjo both held free and fair elections that satisfied international observers. Again, there was some measure of freedom of speech and association during President Jonathan's administration. However, these same administrations failed in terms of providing the basic necessities of life, water, hospitals, roads, electricity and so on. In fact unemployment reached dangerous levels and socio-economic crimes increased.

In spite of the judicial reforms and the appointment of more judges in an attempt to instil fairness and eliminate corruption in the country's judiciary, corruption in Nigeria became legendary.

This does not in any way suggest that the fourth republic did not do anything to entrench good governance. We all know that President Obasanjo's administration introduced due process, and other reforms such as EFCC and the ICPC to ensure public accountability in Nigeria. Agriculture during President Jonathan's administration was a major success. President Obasanjo introduced NAFDAC, for the eradication of fake and adulterated drugs.

Respondent 2

Respondent two supported the view that the democratic leadership of the fourth republic may be transactional. In terms of the strength of the relationship between the three leadership styles and governance in Nigeria. The respondent believes that if you look at Nigeria's leadership and governance issues you will see a relationship between transactional leadership and governance.

The statement credited to him below reflected the evidence to support the subtheme:

In my opinion Nigerian's leadership bears a resemblance to transactional leadership because of the country's governance issues. Transformational leadership is associated with perfection and excellence which Nigeria is craving for. For the past fifty five years the country has been grappling with poor leadership and governance issues.

Since the inception of the fourth republic, there has been a clamour for a number of issues. People have not stopped expressing their frustrations over the lack of basic amenities for development. Water, electricity, health facilities, schools to mention but a few.

On why I think Nigeria may have a transactional leadership style: The transactional leadership major feature is the contingent reward, where a carrot is dangled at you to solicit you're cooperation and likewise you are made to face reprisals when you disobey. Nigeria's fourth republic leadership used this in the allocation of the so called dividends of democracy. States that voted them to power are rewarded with appointments and infrastructural development than the rest. The Niger Delta armed insurgency was initially quelled by the act of war during president Obasanjo's administration and restrained through monetary gifts and scholarships oversees by President Jonathan's administration.

5.7.2 GROUP B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The only respondent in this group mentioned that Nigeria's fourth republic has been using what appears to be transactional leadership to impact on good governance.

The statement credited to him below, supports the subtheme:

Nigeria's fourth republic have succeeded in using what seems to be transactional leadership as a platform to drive some tenets of good governance such as the respect for human rights, rule of law, infrastructural development, and economic prosperity.

Nigeria's political leadership has enabled people to express their views without restraint, unlike during the military era when all anti-government views were suppressed. In fact, Nigeria's political leadership have demonstrated a level of tolerance never experienced in Nigeria before. Since the emergence of democracy, ethno- religious insurgency, youth restiveness, terrorism and demands for secession have been either tolerated or suppressed.

The fourth republic also fared well in terms of infrastructural development especially in the area of railways, road, education and water.

On why he thinks it might be transactional leadership: I do not think it is transformational because you really do not see the elements of transactional leadership in our leadership. There is still room for improvement. There have been issues that were not handled satisfactorily, the issue of corruption has not improved, the economy is still ailing and there are still some serious socio-economic problems.

On the strength of the relationship between the three leadership styles, transactional, transformational and laissez-faire, and governance in Nigeria. The respondent believes that Nigeria's leadership is at par with our level of governance. In other words, Nigeria's transactional leadership is related to our level of governance. Transformational leadership would of course have a greater effect on governance than the transactional. But we are not there yet.

5.7.3 GROUP C

Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first of the five respondents in group c also mentions that Nigeria's democratic leadership has so far been transactional in style and that the leadership has entrenched some measure of good governance.

A statement below credited to him supports the subtheme:

It is my candid opinion that fourth republic of Nigeria has adopted a type of transactional leadership which has ushered in some measure of good governance in Nigeria. Those who do not hold this view are either living in denial or are alienated from the happenings in this country.

Responding to the question that concerns the relationship between transactional, transformational and laissez faire concepts of leadership and governance, the respondent says;

Without mincing words the transformational leadership has the best style of leadership capable of entrenching good governance while laissez-faire the weakest worst. However, although Nigeria's fourth republic leadership cannot be equated to transformational leadership because of our poor implementation of programs that would impact on people's lives. It is more reasonable to see our leadership style as transactional leadership. Even though we are not there yet in terms of good governance, Nigerians during the fourth republic can still say to an extent they enjoyed the tenets of good governance such as freedom of speech, respect for human dignity, and the protection of lives and property. There has also

been a reform of the civil service and some infrastructural development. In fact our transactional leadership has a strong relationship with our level of governance.

On why the respondent believes it is transactional:

If you look at the action and conduct of our leaders you will clearly see the contingent reward element our leaders have used to tackle serious national issues such as the Niger Delta restiveness, the distribution of infrastructure, appointments to positions and so on that are based on loyalty.

Respondent 2

Another respondent mentioned the contribution of each President to some measure of good governance in Nigeria, and their use of transactional leadership.

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

It is my opinion that the fourth republic has been transactional in leadership. I say this because of the contingent reward feature in their approach to leadership. This is because President Obasanjo sent troops to the Niger Delta to restrain the restive youth from destroying oil installations in the area. President Yaradua negotiated with the same restive youth. President Jonathan also negotiated with them, paid them money to retrieve dangerous weapons from them. This is not all, look at infrastructure like roads, those states that voted for the ruling party are given priority also in appointments.

On the relationship between transactional, transformational and laissez-faire leadership and governance.

The response was: I believe our governance issues are a consequence of the style of leadership in Nigeria. The transformational leader would be excellent on governance. That does not mean the transactional is weak. It is only less impressive. Our fourth republic leadership has been transactional which explains the poor service delivery, and other problems of infrastructure in Nigeria.

Respondent 3

Another respondent mentions that the fourth republic seems to follow the transactional leadership concept. This is because the programs and policies of President Yar'Adua and

President Jonathan on the Niger Delta is similar to the contingent reward of the transactional leadership concept.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

President Jonathan and indeed the entire fourth republic leadership has some similarity to the transactional leadership concept.

On the reason why the respondent believes the leadership style was transactional:

The response was because both President Jonathan and Yar'Adua's leadership style had the same features of transactional leadership contingent reward. Their policies on the Nigerian Delta are similar to the contingent reward of the transactional leadership where insurgents are paid to surrender their weapons to the authorities.

On the strength of the relationship between the transactional, transformational and laissez-faire leadership styles and governance: the respondent says:

There is no doubt about it the transformational leadership style has the greatest effect on governance. You can see the transactional style also has some positive effect on governance, even though it might not be as effective as the transformational. President Obasanjo engaged in agriculture, he introduced NAFDAC, EFCC and ICPC. Recapitalised banks and insurance companies to make them more competitive globally. Jonathan focused on roads constructions, rehabilitation and dualization all over Nigeria. He resuscitated the agricultural sector and provided funds to banks to procure fertilizers for farmers. In spite of all these, even with President Jonathan power reform bill was passed in 2005 which provided for a renewable energy plan for Nigeria. Nigeria still has problems of electricity generation, transmission and distribution, poor road, poor health facilities, poor education facilities and portable drinking water. In terms of other elements of good governance, we are also lowly rated.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent mentioned that Nigeria's democratic leaders in the fourth republic have not been able to perform excellently in terms of good governance because their leadership style has been transactional.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria's fourth republic has not been excellent in terms of good governance. This might be because their leadership style is transactional and not transformational.

On why the respondent thinks the leadership of the fourth republic has been transactional the respondent's response was:

Their leadership has not been as excellent as a transformational style or as bad as a laissez faire style of leadership. Those conversant with Nigerian events will agree. Our leaders have not been able to deliver on their pre-election promises. The economy is sliding towards a recession and unemployment is very high.

On the strength of the relationship between the transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership concepts and governance:

Transformational leadership performs excellently in terms of governance followed by the transactional leadership style while laissez-faire leadership the weakest link to governance.

Respondent 5

The last respondent in the group mentioned that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership has been transactional particularly the administrations of President Obasanjo and President Jonathan that ushered in some measure of good governance with their programs and policies.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria fourth republic democratic leadership has been transactional. We can see this in the way the administrations of President Yar 'Adua and Jonathan handled the Niger Delta insurgency by dangling carrots to the same people that President Obasanjo fought a war against.

On the strength of the relationship between the transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership concepts, the respondent believes that:

Both the transactional and the transformational leadership concepts have influences and positive links to governance but the transformational leadership style is greater. In spite of the fact that the transformational leader has the greatest impact on governance the

administrations of Nigeria's fourth republic are deemed to be transactional because of the numerous governance issues Nigerians still suffer. As we can all recall President Obasanjo was the first democratic leader of the fourth republic. His administration restored Nigeria's tainted image overseas by introducing the EFCC and ICPC at a time the country was notorious for advance fee fraud and money laundry.

President Obasanjo peace keeping effort and determination to preserve Africa's democracy by stopping military interventions in politics must also be commended. We are also aware that his administration boosted Nigeria's economy with investments in agriculture and oil and gas.

On the contribution of President Jonathan to some measure of good governance in Nigeria, the respondent is of the view that:

President Jonathan's leadership ushered in some measure of good governance as he initiated a policy similar to those implemented by his predecessors and transformed Nigeria's economy into the greatest in Africa. He reformed the civil service and the judiciary, fought insurgency in Nigeria to a standstill and was devoted to the rule of law, the respect for human rights and the freedom of speech and association.

It must also be emphasised that though the transactional leadership is very effective in terms of leadership, the transformational style is even better. However in spite of all these, Nigeria is still lowly rated in terms of governance because of the rate of corruption in the country, the rate of unemployment, violent crimes, kidnapping, armed insurgency, armed robbery, bombings and terrorism. There is hardly any free and fair election in Nigeria.

5.7.4 GROUP D

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature under President Obasanjo

Respondent 1

The first of four respondents in this group mentioned that the programs and policies of President Obasanjo were indicative of transactional leadership. All the same it ushered in some good governance in Nigeria.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The fourth republic which includes President Obasanjo's administration was transactional. This is obvious from the distribution of amenities to the states and federal appointments were based on loyalty. Further President Obasanjo was not a visionary neither was he motivational. He did not motivate Nigerians with the vision of things they could achieve together as a united people through extra individual effort. He was not the type that appealed on moral values and higher ideals to unite Nigerians and spur them to greater effort. Rather he ruled Nigeria with a heavy hand, relying on his transactional leadership trait of active management by exception; where he does not change the status quo, but monitors Nigerians to make sure mistakes made not made. If he had addresses the lack of employment, and basic infrastructure in the Niger Delta instead of monitoring the activities of the restive youth in the area, there would not have been any need to deploy soldiers to the area to kill defenceless Nigerians.

Concerning the strength of the relationship between transactional, transformational and laissez-faire leadership and governance:

The strongest link is between the transformational and governance followed by the transactional. You can see that President Obasanjo has a long list of accomplishments. To start with he was the first democratic leader in Nigeria's political history to peacefully hand over power to another elected leader in 2007. The election was the first ever to be declared free and fair by international observers.

President Obasanjo's administration fought tirelessly to restore the dignity of Nigeria's image overseas, by creating the EFCC and ICPC to eliminating economic and financial crimes.

His tenure will be best remembered for its peace keeping effort in Sierre-Leone and Liberia. Still on the relationship between transactional leadership and governance: Even with all these accomplishments the administration of President Obasanjo would have been much better if it was transformational.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned that President Obasanjo leadership was similar to the transactional leadership concept. Hence his administration had some measure of good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

President Obasanjo's leadership was similar to the transactional concept. This is because President Obasanjo was willing to punish the Niger Delta insurgents by sending federal troops to war against them in spite of the fact that this is a PDP state. The contingent reward concept advocates dangling a carrot to make subordinates comply and using the stick to punish erring subordinates.

On the strength of the relationship between transactional, transformational and laissez-faire leadership concepts and governance:

The respondent believes that transformational leadership has the strongest relationship to governance followed by transactional leadership. This does not relegate the transactional concept to the back ground because with it President Obasanjo initiated and successfully implemented the National economic empowerment and development strategy (NEEDS) which was localized as State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (LEEDS) for local governments.

He also introduced the EFCC and ICPC to fight economic and financial crimes and improve Nigeria's image abroad.

It was during the administration of President Obasanjo that the condition of the civil service was improved through his Monetization policy.

He also recapitalized banks and insurance companies in Nigeria to make the financial sector stronger and more efficient.

In terms of education, President Obasanjo implemented the Universal Basic Education policy (UBE) aimed at free and compulsory education for primary and secondary school education in Nigeria.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned that President Obasanjo's leadership style was also transactional. Hence his programs and policies made some impact on good governance in Nigeria.

On why the respondent believes the style was transactional: the response was. If you were up-to-date with happenings in Nigeria you will know Obasanjo was not transformational because his leadership did not exhibit any of the elements of transformational leadership. He was not visionary or speak optimistically about the future of Nigeria. He was not motivational, or inspiring, neither did he instil pride in Nigerians nor indulge in teaching and coaching.

For all intent and purpose, President Obasanjo used the transactional leadership style and had a number of accomplishments with regards to his effort in peace keeping in West Africa. I do believe that his robust foreign policy was aimed at salvaging Nigeria's tainted image abroad. Hence the introduction of the anti-graft institutions (EFCC and ICPC) saddled with the responsibility of eliminating economic and financial crimes also had some impact on good governance in Nigeria.

On the economy, his reform of the financial sector strengthened banks and insurance companies in Nigeria.

On the strength of the relationship between the transactional, transformational and laissez-faire leadership styles and governance:

President Obasanjo was transactional because his style of leadership which had traces of transactional contingency reward and management by exception active was completely different from the transformational leadership style. Those who were in Nigeria from 1999 when the fourth republic started to when President Obasanjo stepped down will bear me witness that his leadership did not have any trace of transformational leadership.

The transactional leadership may not be as good as the transformational but it is also effective in governance.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in the group mentioned that President Obasanjo was transactional and that his programs and policies had a little impact on good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

President Obasanjo was transactional. He was from the military. His leadership did not have the elements of a transformational leader. However, his policies had a little impact on good governance.

On the strength of the relationship between transactional, transformational and laissez-faire leadership styles and governance:

Transactional leadership is arguably not as effective as transformational leadership in terms of ensuring good governance but it is still a good leadership style. President Obasanjo was the first Nigerian democratically elected President to boldly fight corruption in Nigeria with the introduction of the anti-graft institutions EFCC and ICPC. His intention was to introduce accountability and transparency in a country grappling with the malaise of corruption.

The Obasanjo administration also used Nigeria's peace keeping effort in re-establishing peace in the war torn countries of Liberia and Sierra Leone.

5.7.5 GROUP E

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Yaradua

Respondent 1

The first respondent in the group mentioned President Yaradua's contribution to good governance through his laudable programs and policies.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

President Yaradua was transactional because of his policy on the Niger Delta. I believe he could have succeeded more than any other political leader of the fourth republic in ushering in good governance in Nigeria if he had not died a few years into his presidency.

To start with, his policies and programs were directed towards good governance, a good example is his administration's policy on infrastructural development which proposed a radical resuscitation of rural and urban ailing infrastructure such as roads, seaport and airport facilities, water and electricity. In terms of electricity his administration targeted increasing the production of electricity to 10,000 megawatts output.

The respondent mentioned President Yaradua's intended response to the Niger Delta youth restiveness in comparison to his predecessor.

Unlike his predecessor, President Obasanjo who responded to the social unrest and militancy of the Niger Delta youth with the deployment of combatant soldiers to the region which inevitably led to the destruction of lives and property and the abuse of human rights. President Yaradua tackled the problem differently by offering monetary gifts because he understood their restiveness was instigated by the region's lack of infrastructure and amenities problem, and their poor living conditions caused by unemployment and abject poverty in the region.

Significantly his action upheld the fundamental rights of the people in terms of their freedom of speech and association. This was also a transactional contingent reward approach to leadership where you solicit compliance by offering a reward.

On the strength of the relationship between transformational leadership, transactional and laissez-faire leadership concepts and governance:

The respondent said, the transformation is the most effective link to governance, followed by the transactional concept.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned that it is difficult to categorize President Yaradua's leadership as transformational or transactional. I would say his leadership has elements of both styles.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Unfortunately the untimely death of President Yaradua makes it difficult to categorise his leadership style as transformational or transactional since it prevented the successful implementation of his laudable programs and policies. On paper he had his seven – point agenda which in my opinion was transformational.

President Yaradua had the intention of eliminating corruption; pursue probity, accountability and transparency which have been the main problem with Nigeria's political leadership since independence.

Apart from resuscitating Nigeria ailing infrastructure, President Yaradua was interested in transforming the public health sector; revolutionize the education system by making it affordable at the tertiary level. Further his action on the Niger Delta insurgency could be viewed as transactional.

On the strength of the relationship between transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership:

The respondent believes that the transformational is more desirable than the transactional.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned President Yaradua's laudable programs and policies intended to impact on good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The Seven – Point Agenda formulated by the administration of President Yaradua contained the programs and policies capable of entrenching good governance in Nigeria. In fact President Yaradua's programs were designed to solve Nigeria's governance issues for instance; his administration intended to create jobs in the public and private sectors which was targeted towards the reduction of unemployment.

His administration also intended to fight corruption in Nigeria, pursue probity, accountability and transparency. As it concerns public sector service delivery, his administration intended to build roads, renovate sea and air port facilities, upgrade and expand Nigeria's existing infrastructure, provide water and electricity. It is my considered opinion that his leadership was transactional, because of the Niger Delta saga.

On the strength of the relationship between transformational, transactional and laissez-faire and governance:

Transformational leadership we have been told is more superior to the transactional in governance.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent mentioned that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership is transactional.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The fourth republic leadership is transactional because of the policies on the Niger Delta.

It is quite unfortunate that President Yaradua did not live long enough to accomplish his programs contained in his Seven – Point Agenda. During his tenure, it was the wish of Nigerians that his laudable programs be successfully implemented; this is because Nigeria's leadership had been plagued with the problem of poor implementation of laudable programs.

President Obasanjo had a remarkable program which introduced the EFCC and the ICPC to eliminate financial crimes. Today Nigeria is still grappling with the malaise of corruption. The same can be said about our leader's intention to reform the civil service with the monetization exercise and the more recent reform by President Jonathan which has not eliminated the perceived inefficient and ineffectiveness of the civil service.

Our Leader in the past have had problems respecting the rule of law especially judiciary decisions. The judiciary is still today undermined by the executive through patronage appointments. We have also not had development oriented leaders, no wonder our infrastructure remains in the state of decay.

On the strength of the relationship between transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership concepts and governance:

Transformational leadership is a more superior leadership concept to transactional leadership in facilitating and sustaining good governance.

5.7.6 GROUP F

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Jonathan

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group F mentioned that the administrations in Nigeria's fourth republic have been transactional therefore they have been committed to entrenching good governance especially as it concerns the citizen's freedom of speech and association. Health care provision, education, water, roads, railway and electricity have also been provided.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I think all the administrations involved in Nigeria's fourth republic so far have been transactional. The leadership of these administrations have handled issues like transactional leaders using the contingent reward approach. Further they have had successes in the implementation of their laudable programs and policies that entrench good governance in terms of health care provision, education, water, roads, railway, and electricity and so on. Even the agricultural sector has been successful.

On the strength of the relationship between transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership concepts and governance: transactional leadership is effective but not greater than transformational leadership.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in group F mentioned that Nigeria's fourth republic has been transactional. The administrations have been able to entrench some measure of good governance especially in the reform of the telecommunication, banking, insurance sectors and the civil service. Further there has been the provision of infrastructure and the revamping of agriculture and the elimination of corruption. Furthermore the governments fostered human rights and democracy through peace keeping, fight against corruption, insurgency and terrorism.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

These fourth republic leaders have all been transactional. Their leadership has not eliminated the problems we have as Nigerians. It will be difficult for me to enumerate all the contributions to good governance made by these administrations. However the policies of each administration had a marginal impact on good governance in Nigeria. We know that from the inception of the fourth republic in 1999, as it concerns telecommunications; government allowed the private sector to handle GSM business.

The telecommunication, banks, insurance, and the civil service were also reformed. Apart from the provision of infrastructure which included the railways, there was also the revamping of the agricultural sector and the introduction of the institutions saddled with the responsibility of fighting corruption. The entrenching of good governance also led to the fostering of human rights and democratic rule through Nigeria's peace keeping missions in West Africa and the war against corruption, terrorism and insurgency.

On why the respondent believes the fourth republic leadership is transactional:

Their leadership styles are similar to the transactional leadership contingent reward.

On the strength of the relationship between transactional, transformational and laissez-faire leadership concepts and governance:

The transformational leadership concept has the strongest link to governance. The transactional leadership concept also has a strong concept which is not as strong as the transformational.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in group F finds it difficult to categorise the fourth republic leadership as transactional or transformational. The programs and policies of President Obasanjo and Jonathan impacted marginally on good governance. These include the provision of infrastructure such as railway and roads construction and the revamping of the agricultural sector. Others included were the reform bill that provided for renewable energy plan.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

It is really difficult for me to categorise the fourth republic leadership into transactional or transformational leadership. President Jonathan's leadership had a marginal impact on good governance as he concentrated on the rehabilitation of the railway, roads constructions, and rehabilitation all over Nigeria. He revived the agricultural sector and assisted farmers with fertilizers.

President Obasanjo did these same things and concentrated in peace keeping activities and the introduction of the organisations that will fight corruption and so on.

On the strength of the relationship between the three leadership styles and governance:

The respondent has no response.

Respondent 4

The last respondent in group also can-not categorise Nigeria's fourth republic leadership as transactional or transformational because there is no difference between the transactional and transformational leadership styles.

The Obasanjo administration succeeded in implementing programs and policies that fostered good governance; especially as it concerned fighting corruption through anti-graft institutions and judiciary reforms. Also fostering good governance, the Obasanjo administration preserved human rights through peace keeping efforts while Jonathan was extremely successful in his investments in agriculture. Jonathan increased the remuneration of civil servants. His administration was also credited with freedom of speech and association.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I really do believe Nigeria's fourth republic can be categorised as transactional or transformational as both concepts are the same. All the administrations that made up the fourth republic fostered good governance. As a matter of fact, it was in pursuit of good governance that Obasanjo's administration introduced the EFCC and ICPC to eliminate advance fee fraud and money laundry.

It was also the determination of President Obasanjo to stop military interventions in politics and preserve human lives and dignity that led to Nigeria's peace keeping effort. We must not also forget that in order to entrench good governance his administration improved Nigeria's economy with investments in agriculture and oil and gas.

President Jonathan also implemented programs and policies similar to that of President Yaradua to entrench good governance. If you can recall Jonathan's administration transformed Nigeria's ailing economy into the greatest economy in Africa. He increased the remuneration of the civil service and reformed the judiciary, fought insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria, and yet was very tolerant in terms of people's freedom of speech and association.

Interview Question 2: Do you think an improvement in the quality of leadership will led to good governance in Nigeria during the period under examination? Please respond by either saying Yes or No.

5.7.7 Group A

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Respondent one: Yes

Statements such as these support the subtheme: Yes

Respondent 2

Respondent two: Yes

The statement credited to him below reflected the evidence to support the subtheme: Yes

5.7.8 Group B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The only respondent in this group: Yes.

The statement credited to him below, supports the subtheme: Yes

5.7.9 Group C

Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group c: Yes.

A statement below credited to him supports the subtheme: Yes

Respondent 2

Respondent 2: Yes

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme: Yes

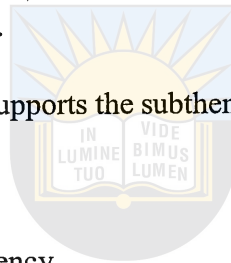
Respondent 3

Another respondent mentions: Yes

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme: Yes

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent: Yes



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The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

Respondent 5

The fifth respondent in the group: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

5.8.0 Group D

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature under President Obasanjo

Respondent 1

The first of four respondents in this group: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

Respondent 2

The second respondent: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

Respondent 3

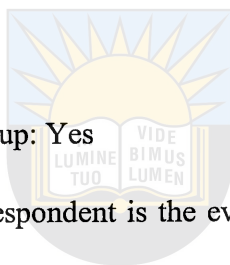
The third respondent in the group: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in the group: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes



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5.8.1 Group E

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Yaradua

Respondent 1

The first respondent in the group: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

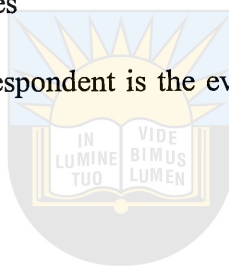
5.8.2 GROUP F

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Jonathan

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group F: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes



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Respondent 2

The second respondent in group F: Yes

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:
Yes

Respondent 3

The third respondent in group F: Yes

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme: Yes

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in group F: Yes

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme: Yes

Thematic Category: What in your Opinion is the Greatest Impediment to Good Governance in Nigeria?



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5.8.3 GROUP A

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Respondent one mentions corruption.

Statements such as these support the subtheme:

It is my considered opinion that Nigeria's fourth republic has done quite a bit to usher in good governance. However if you ask me, corruption still remains the single most potent impediment to obtaining good governance in Nigeria.

Respondent 2

Respondent two supported the view that corruption is the greatest impediment to good governance in Nigeria.

The statement credited to him below reflected the evidence to support the subtheme:

In my opinion corruption is the greatest impediment to good governance.

5.8.4 GROUP B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The only respondent in this group mentioned that even though Nigeria's fourth republic has impacted positively on good governance bureaucratic corruption still remains the greatest impediment to good governance in Nigeria.

The statement credited to him below, supports the subtheme:

Even though Nigeria's fourth republic has impacted positively on good governance bureaucratic corruption still remains the greatest impediment to good governance in Nigeria.

5.8.5 GROUP C

Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first of the five respondents in group c also mentions corruption.

A statement below credited to him supports the subtheme:

I would say corruption.

Respondent 2

Another respondent mentions corruption and poor leadership.

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Corruption and poor leadership are recurring impediments to good governance in Nigeria, but of the two, the greatest impediment is poor leadership.

Respondent 3

Another respondent mentions poor leadership.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

As a Nigerian I am aware that the greatest impediment to good governance here is poor leadership.



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Respondent 4

The fourth respondent mentions corruption.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Corruption is the worst thing to happen to Nigeria.

Respondent 5

The last respondent in the group mentions corrupt leadership

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I believe corrupt leadership is the greatest impediment to good governance.

5.8.6 GROUP D

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature under President Obasanjo

Respondent 1

The first of four respondents in this group mentioned corruption.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Concerning good governance in Nigeria, the single most potent impediment is corruption.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned corruption.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I believe it is corruption.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I think it is corrupt leadership.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in the group mentioned corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Corrupt leadership i believe.

5.8.7 GROUP E

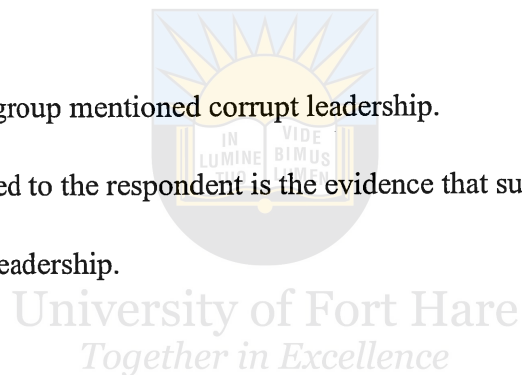
Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Yaradua

Respondent 1

The first respondent in the group mentioned corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I would rather say corrupt leadership.



Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned corrupt and visionless leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Corrupt and visionless leadership is our most potent impediment.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The greatest impediment to good governance in this country is corrupt leadership.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent mentioned Nigeria's corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I do think the greatest impediment to good governance is corrupt leadership.

5.8.8 GROUP F

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Jonathan

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group F mentioned corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I think its corrupt leadership.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in group F mentioned corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Corrupt leadership.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in group F mentions corruption.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I think it is the malaise of corruption.

Respondent 4

The last respondent in group F mentioned corruption.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I really do believe it is corruption.

Thematic Category: How do you think the Public Perceives the leadership of the Fourth Republic for their contribution to Good Governance?

GROUP A

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Respondent one mentions that a comparison of governance during the military era and the fourth republic should be used by the public as yardstick to measure the attainment of good governance. Further the quality of life has improved during the fourth republic.

Statements such as these support the subtheme:

From the information at my disposal, the public is not satisfied with the leadership of the fourth republic even though the programs and policies formulated and implemented by each administration in the fourth republic was tailored towards the attainment of good governance. It is difficult to label the entire fourth republic as bad in terms of good governance. However, each administration should be assessed independently to determine its contribution towards the attainment of good governance.

Having said this, I believe that members of the general public that witnessed the affairs of the military and now the fourth republic would confess that there has been tremendous improvement in the quality of life of Nigerians now compared to the military.

Respondent 2

Respondent two supported the view that it will be a mixed reaction.

The statement credited to him below reflected the evidence to support the subtheme:

It will be a mixed reaction. There will be members of the public that will associate the fourth republic leadership with the improvement of the quality of lives in Nigeria. For these individuals mere provision and maintenance of basic infrastructure is essential to the attainment of good governance. Again there will be others that believe that without reawakening the culture of probity, accountability and transparency lost several years back

good governance will never be attained. For this category of Nigerians, the fourth republic has performed dismally.

5.8.9 GROUP B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The only respondent in this group mentioned that Nigeria's fourth republic has impacted positively on good governance and should be judged accordingly.

The statement credited to him below, supports the subtheme:

With several years of dictatorship, the Nigerian public has grown accustomed to the military's excessive use of power and their lack of consideration for the rule of law, their abuse of human rights, malaise of corruption, lack of accountability, freedom of association and press freedom which depicts bad governance. Hence I believe the public is competent at adjudicating. Judgement on the fourth republic administrations should be based on the following criteria, were the fourth republic administrations accepted in terms of their legitimacy? How was their assurance to improved public well-being? How was their responsive to the needs of the masses? Did they maintain law and order? What was the quality of their public service delivery? Could these leaders provide enabling conditions for economic activities during their administrations and finally where their administrations impartial in their conduct?

However, personally I have heard that Nigerians believe they have not gotten what they bargained for. Majority of Nigerians are not satisfied because they believe their leaders have reneged on their promise to improve the public well-being. There seems to be a collapse of law and order in the country, with armed insurgency, bombing, kidnapping, armed robbery and terrorism on the increase. Even service delivery has failed. There is a lack of basic infrastructure which hinders any economic activity in the country.

5.9.0 GROUP C

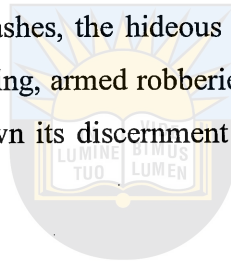
Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first of the five respondents in group c also mentions that the mayhem caused by the public in society is a demonstration of their discernment of the fourth republic governance.

A statement below credited to him supports the subtheme:

The public perception of the fourth republic governance is not a secret. The various youth restiveness and insurgency over lack of amenities, the near breakdown of law and order due to ethnic agitations and inter-tribal clashes, the hideous crimes committed by Nigerians on their fellow Nigerians such as kidnapping, armed robberies, fraud and domestic terrorism are some of the ways the public has shown its discernment over the fourth republic perceived good governance.



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Respondent 2

Another respondent mentions the public perception of the level of governance by the fourth republic is demonstrated by their indulgence in insurgency and clamour for self-rule.

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The continued deterioration of the level of accountability, transparency, probity and corruption in the country by civil servants and political office holders and also the failure of the so called watchdog institutions to remedy the situation, the decline in economic opportunities for Nigerians and their fundamental rights does not contribute to good governance. The ebbs and cries of the public over this deterioration are in their resolve to insurgency and clamour for self-rule.

Respondent 3

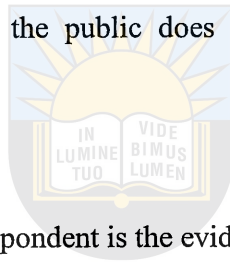
Another respondent mentions that good governance is lowly rated by the public because the fourth republic is characterised by the lack of institutions to redress grievances, corruption, decline in accountability and transparency and the incessant insecurity of lives and property.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

For a constitutional democracy to be effective, it has to ensure good governance. However, Nigeria's fourth republic characterised by the lack of institutions to redress grievances and the malaise of corruption, deterioration in accountability, transparency and the incessant insecurity of lives and property has become a scorn of the public. Therefore in my opinion good governance is rated lowly by the general public.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent mentions that there is no difference between the fourth republic and the military era in terms of infrastructure, unemployment, corruption, the anti-graft institutions and the judiciary. Hence the public does not perceive any improvement in governance.



The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Well I believe the public does not perceive any improvement in governance, because there seems to be no difference between the military rule and the fourth republic in terms of governance. In fact the concept of good governance seems to be an illusion since the living standard of the average Nigerian is worse off today than it was during some of the military regimes. The issue of electricity, water, health care and education has not changed. The unemployment figure barely changes in this country, while our vast wealth from natural resources is misappropriated. The most provocative of it all is the fact that the corrupt goes unpunished in this country.

Respondent 5

The last respondent in the group mentions that the public perceives corrupt leadership and the deterioration in values as the main determinant of the state of governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

There is a public outcry over corrupt leadership that has become greatest impediment to good governance. We have compromised our values which has a ripple effect over the institutions through which our economic, political and social processes are managed.

5.9.1 GROUP D

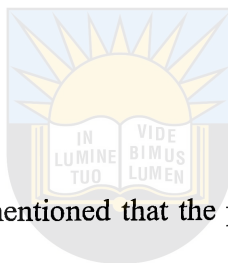
Interview of four officials of the National Legislature under President Obasanjo

Respondent 1

The first of four respondents in this group mentioned the public perception of good governance is low due to a lack of accountability in the management of public affairs.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The general public will obviously rate the fourth republic low, since the lack of accountability is an impediment to good governance.



Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned that the public is aware of the poor state of governance in the fourth republic.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I believe the public is aware of the poor state of governance in the fourth republic. We have over the years had a number of legal instruments and watchdog institutions to regulate and monitor the ethical standards and behaviour of public office holders, yet corruption is unabated. The lack of accountability has reached an unimaginable proportion. The ailing economy and infrastructural debacle does not encourage foreign investment. Our judiciary is corrupt and also not independent, and finally the incessant insecurity to lives and property due to gruesome crimes of armed robbery, kidnapping, bombing, terrorism, insurgency and youth restiveness.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned that the leadership's lack of discipline has affected good governance since independence in 1960.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

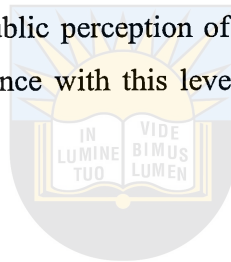
The public view on governance has always remained the same in this country. Nigeria's leadership lacks the discipline to ensure good governance. This has been the issue since independence in 1960.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in the group mentioned that the public perception of good governance is low because of corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Corrupt leadership has affected the public perception of good governance in Nigeria. How can the public perceive good governance with this level of corruption orchestrated by the leadership of this country?



5.9.2 GROUP E

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Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Yaradua

Respondent 1

The first respondent in the group mentioned that the public does not associate the fourth republic with good governance because of corrupt leadership and the endless threat to lives and property.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I would rather say the public does not associate the fourth republic with good governance. The corruption in Nigeria has reached an alarming level; everybody is involved, including our leaders. This has caused abject poverty and created new socio-economic problems such as kidnapping, insurgency and domestic terrorism. This is the new Nigerian reality, corruption, fear, intimidation, violent crimes that lead to threats to lives and property.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned the public perceives the fourth republic the same way it has always perceived past administrations in Nigeria since independence and that is corrupt with visionless leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

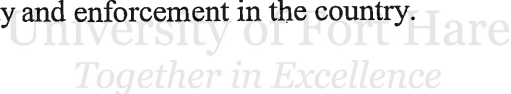
Corrupt and visionless leadership has been Nigeria's greatest problem since independence. The fourth republic is not exempted in this regard. Like the administrations before it the public perceives it to be corrupt and led by visionless leaders.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned corrupt leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The public perceives the fourth republic as corrupt and lacking in effective leadership. This is why there is no answerability and enforcement in the country.



Respondent 4

The fourth respondent mentioned Nigeria's fourth republic as meeting the public's expectation.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I do think the fourth republic meets the public's expectation.

5.9.3 GROUP F

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Jonathan

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group F mentioned that the public perception of the fourth republic has not changed from their perception of all other administrations in Nigeria; poor leadership

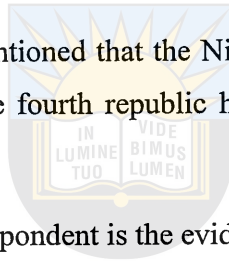
and the failure to provide the much needed basic infrastructure that will improve the quality of lives of the people, increase in threats to human lives and property.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

All administrations in Nigeria including those of the fourth republic have paid lip service to the basic infrastructural needs of the people such as affordable health care, education, water and sanitation, road, electricity to mention but a few. There is also Nigeria's vulnerability to terrorism and kidnapping by various nefarious groups including the Boko Haram, which has threatened the lives and property of Nigerians.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in group F mentioned that the Nigeria's democracy is still relatively young that it will develop. In fact the fourth republic has been able to solve some of the peoples perennial problems.



The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Poor service delivery, electricity and a few other issues may have become the scorn of the people. But this has been for decades now. It has nothing to do with the public perception of the fourth republic they voted into power. I think the real perception of the public is that the fourth republic within a very short period has been able to solve some of their perennial problems.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in group F mentions that the culture of accountability and transparency lost since independence in 1960 has affected the public perception of every administration in Nigeria including the fourth republic.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Those conversant with happening in Nigeria know that the trusting relationship between government and the public was lost since independence in 1960 when Nigeria lost the culture of accountability and transparency due to poor leadership. The fourth republic has taken the same steps taken by past military and civilian governments.

Respondent 4

The last respondent in group F mentioned that the public perceives the fourth republic to be good intentioned in terms of governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I really do believe that the public perceives the fourth republic as good intentioned in terms of good governance.

Thematic Category: What are the Tenets of Effective Leadership that can Entrench Good Governance in Nigeria.

5.9.4 GROUP A

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Respondent one mentions that the tenets of effective leadership that ensures good governance include engendering trust through, accountability, transparency and the lack of corruption, inspiring a shared vision, motivation and so on.

Statements such as these support the subtheme:

In my opinion effective leadership has to do with proper management of public resources for the improvement of the living standard of the citizens. The tenets of effective leadership include engendering trust with regards to the lack of corruption, accountability, transparency, inspiring a shares vision, motivation and so on.

Respondent 2

Respondent two supported the view that the tenets of good governance include accountability and transparency, shared vision etc.

The statement credited to him below reflected the evidence to support the subtheme:

The tenets of good governance to me include creating trust through accountability, transparency, stirring a shared vision.

5.9.5 GROUP B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The only respondent in this group mentioned that the tenets of effective leadership include the effective use of power and resources by government, accountability, probity and transparency. It is also the degree to which government delivers on human rights, the rule of law and of course the economy.

The statement credited to him below, supports the subtheme:

In my opinion the tenets of effective leadership are the effective use of power and resources by government, accountability, probity and transparency. It also includes the government's consideration for the rule of law, human rights, and the economy.

5.9.6 GROUP C

Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first of the five respondents in group c also mentions that effective leadership entailed such elements as developing shared vision, creating trust, generating enthusiasm, encouraging etc.

A statement below credited to him supports the subtheme:

The tenets of effective leadership in my opinion are those elements used to raise the governance of a country. These include developing shared vision, creating trust, generating enthusiasm, encouraging the people etc.

Respondent 2

Another respondent mentions that the elements of effective leadership included the engendering trust through, accountability, inspiring shared vision, generating enthusiasm, etc.

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The elements of effective leadership include the accountability, inspiring shared vision, generating enthusiasm, etc.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentions causing trust, inspiring a common vision, generating enthusiasm, etc.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I do believe that the tenets of effective leadership that can ensure good governance are causing trust, inspiring a common vision, generating enthusiasm, etc.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent mentions effective leadership included such tenets as accountability, transparency, inspiring a vision, creating enthusiasm etc. The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Indeed the tenets of effective leadership include engendering trust by eliminating corruption, accountability, transparency, creating a vision, enthusiasm, etc.

Respondent 5

The last respondent in the group mentions that the tenets of effective leadership include creating a vision, trust, motivation, creativity, coaching etc.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I do believe that the tenets of effective leadership should include creating a vision, trust, motivation, creativity, coaching etc.

Thematic Category: What Leadership Model can become the Driver of Effective Leadership and Good Governance in Nigeria?

5.9.7 GROUP A

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Respondent one mentions that the transformational leadership model can become the driver of good governance in Nigeria.

Statements such as these support the subtheme:

This is a simple question because the programs and policies formulated and implemented by a transformational leader in the fourth republic will be tailored towards the attainment of good governance.

Respondent 2

Respondent two supported the view that the transformational leadership model can become the driver of good governance in Nigeria.

The statement credited to him below reflected the evidence to support the subtheme:

It is obvious that Nigeria lacks transformational leadership. Hence it has become imperative for Nigeria's fourth republic to have a transformational leader to steer the wheel of governance towards the right direction.

5.9.8 GROUP B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The only respondent in this group mentioned that even though Nigeria's fourth republic has performed credibly, Nigeria still needs an upright and courageous leader to foster good governance in the country.

The statement credited to him below, supports the subtheme:

We cannot say that Nigeria's fourth republic has not performed credibly, as we have witnessed a major transformation in the lives of Nigerians which means that during our tenure in government we were upright and courageous and willing to listen to various groups. Nigeria still needs upright and courageous leadership to foster good governance.

5.9.9 GROUP C

Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first of the five respondents in group c also mentions that the transformational leadership model can become a driver of good governance in Nigeria.

A statement below credited to him supports the subtheme:

Nigeria since independence has been grappling over perceived poor leadership issues, because we have never had a transformational leader. It has become a matter of necessity for us to have a transformational leader to foster good governance.

Respondent 2

Respondent 2 in group c mentions that Nigeria needs visionary leadership to foster good governance.

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria's continued deterioration in terms of transparency, and the acts of corruption perpetuated by the country's leadership has contributed immensely on the country's economic decline and perceived poor governance issues. The public outcry over this phenomenon is a clamour for visionary leadership.

Respondent 3

Another respondent mentions that good governance is lacking in Nigeria in spite of the country's human and mineral resources because the leadership problems; because the country lacks a good transactional leadership.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria lacks good governance in spite of the country's enormous wealth in mineral resources and abundant human resources. This is because the country has never had a good transactional leadership.

Respondent 5

The last respondent in the group mentions that visionary leadership is the main determinant of good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

In a country like Nigeria where corrupt leadership has become the greatest impediment to good governance, there is a need for visionary leadership.

5.9.9 GROUP D

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature under President Obasanjo

Respondent 1

The first of these group D respondents mentioned that good governance in Nigeria can only be achieved by a transactional leader who is transparent in his management of public affairs.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

In spite of the impediments to good governance, Nigeria's leadership can still achieve it with a transactional leadership that is transparent in the management of public affairs.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned that the poor state of governance in the fourth republic is due mainly to the lack of transformational leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I believe the poor state of governance in the fourth republic is a recurrent phenomenon. We have over the years been grappling with poor leadership and the malaise of corruption. We have even instituted a number of legal instruments and watchdog institutions to regulate and monitor the ethical behaviour of public office holders, yet corruption and the lack of accountability has reached an unimaginable proportion. It is my candid opinion that Nigeria should try a transformational leader to improve the state of governance in the fourth republic.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned that unethical practices have affected Nigeria's leadership and as a ripple effect, impacted negatively on governance since independence in 1960. It is time to try transformational leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Everyone who is conversant with the events in Nigeria can bear me witness that unethical practices have affected Nigeria's leadership which lacks the discipline to rule effectively. As a matter of fact their unethical behaviour has impacted negatively on governance. This has been the issue since independence in 1960. It is high-time we had a transformational leader.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in the group mentioned that Nigerians anticipation of good governance is low due to poor leadership. To turn things around, the nation requires a people-oriented leader.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Poor leadership has affected people's anticipation of good governance in Nigeria. How can we blame them with this level of corruption orchestrated by the leadership of this country? To turn things around we need people-oriented leadership.

6.0.0 GROUP E

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Yaradua

Respondent 1

The first respondent in the group mentioned that leadership in Nigeria including that of the fourth republic is marginally associated with good governance because of corrupt leadership and the endless threat to lives and property which has become the new reality in this impoverished country. I really do not blame those who advocate for transformational leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

It is not a secret that Nigeria's leadership including that of the fourth republic is only marginally associated with good governance because corruption in Nigeria is endemic and involves everybody. As a consequence, Nigerians now suffer from abject poverty and are out of desperation involved in all sorts of socio-economic crimes such as armed robbery, advanced fee fraud, kidnapping, insurgency and domestic terrorism. To prevent a total collapse there is a desperate need for transformational leadership.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned the fourth republic leadership as indeed all the past administrations in Nigeria since independence have lacked incorruptible and visionary leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Incorruptible and visionary leadership has been Nigeria's greatest impediment since independence. The fourth republic is not exempted in this regard.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned the nation deserves transformational leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Considering the many years our nation has been grappling with poor leadership issues and the seeming institutionalization of corruption which has led to a situation where there is no transparency in the country. The masses deserve transformational leadership.

Respondent 4

The final respondent in this group mentioned that Nigeria's leadership in the fourth republic should be transformational to simply meet the public's expectation in terms of governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I do think the fourth republic leadership should be transformational to meet the public's expectation on fostering good governance.

6.0.1 GROUP F

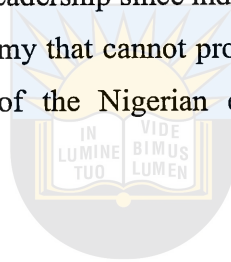
Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Jonathan

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group F mentioned that poor leadership and its negative impact on the quality of lives of the people can only be eliminated by a transformational leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria has been grappling with poor leadership since independence in 1960; the ripple effect of this phenomenon is an ailing economy that cannot provide the basic infrastructural needs of the people. The strengthening of the Nigerian economy without transformational leadership is unachievable.



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Respondent 2

The second respondent in group F mentioned that though Nigeria's leadership is not exactly pragmatic and visionary the economy can still develop. In fact the fourth republic has been able to solve some of the people's perennial problems.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Like various countries in the world, Nigeria's ailing economy can still recover from the world economic recession. Though Nigeria's fourth republic leadership cannot be described as pragmatic and visionary it is resolute in its resolve to develop every facet of the economy and solve people perennial problems.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in group F mentions that Nigeria's fourth republic needs an ethically sound and courageous leader the will promote the culture of accountability and transparency lost since independence in 1960.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The trusting relationship between Nigeria's leadership and the masses lost since independence in 1960 can be restored by the fourth republic with an ethically sound and courageous leadership keen on promoting the culture of accountability and transparency.

Respondent 4

The last respondent in group F mentioned that the issue of visionary leadership for the fourth republic is non-negotiable.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

It is my considered opinion that for Nigeria to successfully eliminate corruption and really enhance her socio-economic potentials the issue of a visionary leadership should be non-negotiable in the fourth republic.

Thematic Category: Do You Believe a Leader's Emotional Intelligence Can Contribute to Effective Leadership and Good Governance in Nigeria?

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6.0.2 GROUP A

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Respondent one mentions that the transformational leadership model is believed to possess emotional intelligence that can contribute to good governance in Nigeria.

Statements such as these support the subtheme:

This is a good question because the concept of transformational leadership is believed to possess emotional intelligence that is tailored towards the attainment of effective leadership and good governance.

Respondent 2

Respondent two supported the view that the emotional intelligence of a transformational leaders can bring about effective leadership which is the driver of good governance.

The statement credited to him below reflected the evidence to support the subtheme:

It is obvious that Nigeria lacks leaders with emotional intelligence. Hence it has become imperative for Nigeria's fourth republic to be transformational in order to steer the wheel of governance towards the right direction.

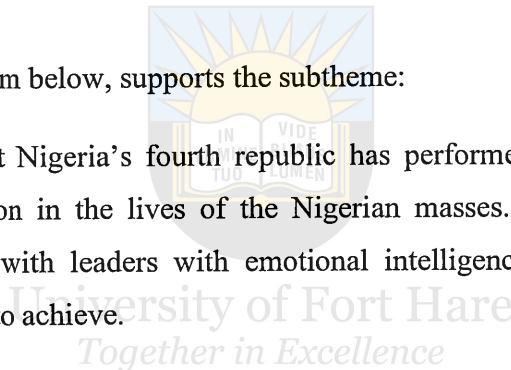
6.0.3 GROUP B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The respondent in this group believes that though Nigeria's fourth republic has performed well, Nigeria still needs leaders that possess emotional intelligence to foster good governance in the country.

The statement credited to him below, supports the subtheme:

I will always maintain that Nigeria's fourth republic has performed credibly, as we have witnessed the transformation in the lives of the Nigerian masses. However leadership in Nigeria can still improve with leaders with emotional intelligence. Maybe they will go beyond what we were able to achieve.



6.0.4 GROUP C

Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first in group c also mentions that the transformational leaders with emotional intelligence can become the drivers of good governance in Nigeria.

A statement below credited to him supports the subtheme:

Nigeria since independence has been grappling over perceived poor leadership issues, because we have never had leaders with emotional intelligence. It has become apparent that Nigeria needs transformational leadership to foster good governance.

Respondent 2

Respondent 2 in group c mentions that Nigeria's leadership needs emotional intelligence to foster good governance.

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The problems associated with Nigeria's continued deterioration in terms of transparency, corruption, poverty, under development and socio-economic problems stem from the country's leadership problems. There is a need for leadership with emotional intelligence to redeem the country's image and regain her lost glory and prosperity.

Respondent 3

Another respondent mentions that good governance is lacking in Nigeria mainly because Nigeria has produced leaders with high academic qualifications and high intelligence quotient (IQ), and ex- military men well trained in warfare but these leaders all lack the necessary emotional intelligence required for good governance.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria lacks good governance in spite of the number of leaders with high academic qualifications and training in the act of war. Surely these crop of leaders have very high intelligence quotients (IQ) which unfortunately is not the emotional intelligence required for good governance.

Respondent 5

The last respondent in the group mentions the lack of emotional intelligence in leadership is the main determinant of good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria with the malaise of corruption and numerous socio-economic problems needs leadership with emotional intelligence which is a reciprocal of good governance.

6.0.5 GROUP D

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature under President Obasanjo

Respondent 1

The first of these group D respondents mentioned that good governance in Nigeria can only be achieved by transformational leaders because of the use of their emotional intelligence in the management of public affairs.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

It is obvious, that Nigeria's leadership portray deficiency in emotional intelligence which is the reason we have been grappling over leadership issues since 1960. We can still achieve success in the management of public affairs with a transformational leader.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned that the deplorable state of affairs and governance in the fourth republic is largely due to the lack of emotional intelligence in leadership.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

It is my candid opinion that Nigeria deplorable state of affairs, and the lack of good governance is largely due to poor leadership which can improve with transformational leaders and their emotional intelligence.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned that the ripple effect of Nigeria's leadership lacking emotional intelligence has been the country's main cause of concern in terms of leadership issues which has impacted negatively on governance since independence.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Let us not mince words here. The lack of emotional intelligence has affected Nigeria's leadership since independence in 1960. As a matter of fact it is the cause of the governance issues in the country.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in the group mentioned that perhaps Nigerians wrong choice of leaders because of tribal sentiments, religious sentiments and other frivolous reasons has affected the state of leadership in Nigeria.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I am not an advocate of emotional intelligence as the solution to Nigeria's leadership problems. Tribalism and other such sentiments in Nigeria created the Poor leadership issues we are grappling with which has affected good governance. This problem was caused by our choice of wrong leaders.

6.0.6 GROUP E

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Yaradua

Respondent 1

The first respondent in the group mentioned that the fourth republic leadership in Nigeria did a lot to develop Nigeria; however the leadership would have performed excellently with leaders with emotional intelligence.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria's leadership especially during the fourth republic tackled the problem of under-development and poverty. However, there would have been much transformation with leaders with emotional intelligence.



Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group admits that the fourth republic leadership as indeed all the past administrations in Nigeria since independence have lacked emotional intelligence.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Emotional intelligence is lacking in the leadership of Nigeria. The fourth republic leadership as well as the past leaders have all been well trained Military Generals and very educated Nigerian with high intellectual capabilities. There is a difference between high IQ levels and emotional intelligence when it concerns leadership. This has been our problem.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned that Nigeria needs transformational leadership that possess emotional intelligence.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I really do think that our problem as a country stem from the quality of our leadership. We need transformational leaders that have emotional intelligence to turn our fortunes around.

Respondent 4

The final respondent in this group mentioned that Nigeria's leadership in the fourth republic should be made up of leaders with emotional intelligence.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

It is my opinion that the issue of fostering good governance can only be achieved by the fourth republic leadership when leaders with emotional intelligence are elected.

6.0.7 GROUP F

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Jonathan

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group F mentioned that poor leadership can be eliminated by the masses when transformational leaders with emotional intelligence are given a chance to rule.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria's poor leadership problem can come to an end when the masses vote responsibly and elect into various positions of authority transformational leaders that possess emotional intelligence.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in group F mentioned that Nigeria's leadership does not exactly need leaders with emotional intelligence for the economy to develop.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria is not the only country in recession. I do not think Nigeria needs leadership with emotional intelligence to recover from its ailing economy;

After all many countries have recovered with such leadership. It is all a question of time and patience.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in group F mentions that Nigeria's fourth republic needs leaders with emotional intelligence to eliminate corruption and usher in an era of good governance.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I would like to say that with Nigeria's abundant resources, the country can still be redeemed if the fourth republic leadership has emotional intelligence. It will also lead to the elimination of corruption in the country.

Respondent 4

The last respondent in group F mentioned that the issue of emotional intelligence for the fourth republic leadership is a necessity.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

As a people we must consider the issue of emotional intelligence as criteria for the fourth republic leadership.

Thematic Category: What aspect of good governance should be of utmost priority to the future leadership of Nigeria.

6.0.8 GROUP A

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Respondent one mentions that all aspects are important.

Statements such as these support the subtheme:

All aspects of good governance should be a priority to the future leadership of Nigeria.

Respondent 2

Respondent two supported the view that all aspects of good governance should be prioritised.

The statement credited to him below reflected the evidence to support the subtheme:

With our governance issues our future leaders should learn from our mistakes and make every aspect of good governance a priority. This includes safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable development and lastly human development.

6.0.9 GROUP B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The respondent in this group would like future leaders of Nigeria to try to attain every aspect of good governance.

The statement the credited to him below, supports the subtheme:

I will encourage the leaders of tomorrow to try to achieve every aspect of good governance.

6.1.0 GROUP C

Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first in group c also encourages the future leaders to prioritise all aspects of good governance.

A statement below credited to him supports the subtheme:

Nigerians must learn from their mistakes. Having said this it is important for the future leaders of the country to make this country great by making every aspect of good governance a priority.

Respondent 2

Respondent 2 in group c mentions that future Nigerians will also need good governance.

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Since good governance is essential. It is my advice to the future leaders of this country to try to achieve all aspects of good governance.

Respondent 3

Another respondent mentions that in future good governance must be prioritised.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

In the future good governance must not be an issue for Nigeria mainly because the youth can see today the problems we have to suffer because our leaders failed in their responsibility to the citizens of Nigeria to usher in good governance.

Respondent 5

The last respondent in the group mentions the future leaders must not fail to implement laudable policies that will foster good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria with the malaise of corruption and numerous socio-economic problems needs future leaders that will be transparent, and implement policies which are reciprocal of good governance.



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6.1.1 GROUP D

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature under President Obasanjo

Respondent 1

The first of these group D respondents mentioned that the future Nigerian leadership must do their utmost best to provide good governance in Nigeria.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Nigeria's leadership has been lacking in leadership and good governance. This is the cause of all the problems in Nigeria. Based on what the masses are passing through, I would like Nigeria's future leaders to do their utmost best to provide good governance during their time in office.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned that the appalling state of affairs in the country is due to leadership and governance issues. The future leaders should correct the abnormality.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

As we all know, the appalling state of affairs in Nigeria was caused by the lack of good leadership and governance. It is left for our future leaders to correct this abnormality.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group mentioned that the future leaders of Nigeria should see the ripple effect of Nigeria's governance issues and do every- thing in their power to avoid it.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

As a people we must learn from our mistakes or else we are doomed. Our future leaders should see the ripple effect of bad governance and do all they can to avoid making the same mistake.



Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in the group mentioned that Nigerian's future leaders should lead conscientiously so that Nigerian in the future will enjoy good governance. All aspects of it

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I would like our future leaders to lead conscientiously since only quality leadership produces good governance. Future Nigerians have every right to enjoy all aspects of good governance.

6.1.2 GROUP E

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President YarAdua

Respondent 1

The first respondent in the group mentioned that the future leaders of Nigeria must set their goals at attaining good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

We cannot separate good governance; it should be the goal of our future leaders to attain it.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group wants the future leaders of Nigeria to make the issue of good governance a top priority.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

If I have the opportunity to advice the future leaders of this country I will ask them to make the issue of good governance a top priority.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group simply stated all aspects of it

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I really do think it should be all aspects of it.

Respondent 4

The final respondent in this group simply stated all aspects.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

In my own opinion it should be all aspects.

6.1.3 GROUP F

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Jonathan

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group F mentioned the word all.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

All

Respondent 2

The second respondent in group F responded by simply saying all of them.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

All of them are important.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in group F mentions that all aspects of good governance must be their priority.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

I would like our future leaders to work towards all aspects of governance.



Respondent 4

The last respondent in group F mentioned that the future of Nigeria will not have a place for poor leadership and bad governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

The future leaders of Nigeria, our leaders of tomorrow should know that bad leadership produces bad governance. They must also realise that every aspect of good governance has to be prioritised. The way I see youth restiveness today, future Nigerians will have zero tolerance for bad governance.

6.1.4 GROUP A

Thematic Category: Nigeria's Fourth Republic Leadership and Legitimacy, Socio-Economic Development, Response to the Needs of Nigerians, Commitment to Public Welfare, Law and Order and Equitable Conduct Essential for Good Governance.

Instrument utilized: interview: Respond Yes or No.

Interview Question: Was Nigeria's fourth republic legitimate?

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic?

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct?

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership?

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare?

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities?

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic?

Interview of two former Permanent Secretaries

Both respondents in group A were of the opinion that Nigeria's leadership did not do enough to facilitate good governance.

Was the fourth republic legitimate? Absolutely yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? Poor I would say. The Boko Harem saga and the various socio-economic crimes in Nigeria such as kidnapping, bombing, armed insurgency by the Niger Delta, armed robbery has shown us how defenceless we are to the perpetrators of these crimes.

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no. They have been biased.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow in a number of national issues, take for instance the issue of corruption, infrastructural development, Boko Harem terrorism and the Niger Delta problem.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No but on paper they had laudable programmes well-tailored to improve the standard of living of Nigerians. The problem is corrupt leadership which has created the insufficiency in the funding of infrastructure. In some situations the inefficiency of the civil service can be

blamed as well as the lack of political will to address impediments to socio-economic development.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much there is still the problem of erratic electricity, lack of portable drinking water, lack of roads, poorly equipped hospitals and schools.

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said I would say no.

Respondent 2

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said poor because the incidents of crime seem to have escalated during the fourth republic. We never had violent crimes such as kidnapping, bombing and terrorism in Nigeria. These are all new to us.

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded. If our leaders have been committed to meeting the needs of the people and facilitating Nigeria's socio-economic development instead of their own pockets our situation would have been better.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said no. In my own opinion Nigeria is facing a huge socio-economic crisis.

6.1.5 GROUP B

Interview of a former Head of Government

The only respondent in this group opined that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership did not do enough to facilitate good governance.

The statement credited to him below, supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

6.1.6 GROUP C

Interview of five officials of the presidency

Respondent 1

The first of the five respondents in group c says Nigeria's Fourth republic did not facilitate not good governance in the country.

The statement below credited to him supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was I would say yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said it was very poor.

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much corruption has hindered the provision of infrastructure in Nigeria. There is no maintenance culture for the available facilities too.

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said no. Nigeria's fourth republic has not developed socio-economically. In fact unemployment, corruption, robbery, kidnapping, terrorism has increased in the country.

Respondent 2

Another respondent in the same group also had a similar view.

The statement below is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said no.

Respondent 3

Another respondent mentions that the fourth republic leadership did not really do much to entrench good governance.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said no.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent mentioned that Nigeria's democratic leaders in fourth republic failed to facilitate good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? No because the leaders were not committed to the provision of basic amenities needed for economic activities essential for economic growth. This is because it costs money. Corruption prevents any kind of commitment towards this.

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

Respondent 5

The last respondent in the group mentioned that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership was not interested in good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Questions: Was the fourth republic legitimate? Yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said bad really bad

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded I believe the leadership was not interested in good governance. They were more engrossed in enriching themselves at the expense of the masses.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

Nigeria has not developed socio-economically because the leaders are not ready. It takes a visionary, transparent and accountable leadership that has genuine interest in the development of the people to achieve this.

6.1.7 GROUP D

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature under President Obasanjo

Respondent 1

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group mentioned that the leadership of the fourth republic did not devote themselves to the facilitation of good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response oh yes it was.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, I would not.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Poor the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No they did not seem to be committed.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? No they were not really devoted to it.

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group shared the same view as the one before.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Poor the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? There was no real commitment he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said no.

Respondent 4

The fourth respondent in the group had the same opinion as the others in the group.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

6.1.8 GROUP E

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President YarAdua

Respondent 1

The first respondent in the group mentioned that the leadership of the fourth republic failed in facilitating good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? Yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? Poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Poor

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Our leaders failed to provide the facilities that will facilitate good governance.

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in the group had a similar opinion.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in the group also has the same views

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor the law enforcement agencies are poorly equipped against criminals with sophisticated equipment they can do nothing.

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Very slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded. If they were committed to the improved welfare of the public we would have seen a dramatic turn-around in the scheme of things, socio-economically I mean.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? No

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said no.



Respondent 4

The final respondent in this group share a similar view.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was, no.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Slow the respondent responded.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said no.

6.1.9 GROUP F

Interview of four officials of the National Legislature during the tenure of President Jonathan

Respondent 1

The first respondent in group F had the same view as the respondents in group E.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? Yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? Poor

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? No.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Bad.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? No he responded.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Not much

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responded said no.

Respondent 2

The second respondent in group F is of the opinion that the fourth republic leadership of Nigeria failed in terms of good governance.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, Poor considering the level of increase in violence and their successes in bringing the culprits to face the law.

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was Yes every Nigerian was treated the same irrespective of tribe, religion, gender and political affiliation.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? The fourth republic leadership did well with the resources at their disposal.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? The responds was Yes, they had laudable programmes and policies which catered for the improved welfare of Nigerians..

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? The fourth republic provided amenities needed for economic activities such as roads, water, electricity and schools.

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The responds was yes.

Respondent 3

The third respondent in group F also shared the view of the respondent above.

The statement below credited to him, is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was I believe it was.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, bad considering Nigeria's reaction towards Boko Harem, kidnapping and the Niger Delta insurgency.

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was yes I would.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? Ok I believe.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Yes.

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said yes.

Respondent 4

The last respondent in group F also had a similar opinion.

The statement below credited to the respondent is the evidence that supports the subtheme:

Question: Was the fourth republic legitimate? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law and order during the fourth republic? The respondent said, Poor.

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leadership was equitable in conduct? The response was yes.

Follow up Question: How was the response to meet the needs of the masses by the fourth republic leadership? The fourth republic leadership did well with the resources at their disposal.

Follow up Question: Was the fourth republic leadership committed to improved welfare? The response was yes, they implemented programmes and policies that were designed to improve the welfare of Nigerians.

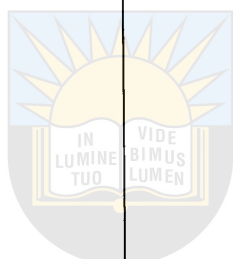
Follow up Question: Did the fourth republic leadership provide an enabling condition for productive activities? Yes

Follow up Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? The respondent said yes.

Table 5.6 ANALYSIS OF THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT (N=20)

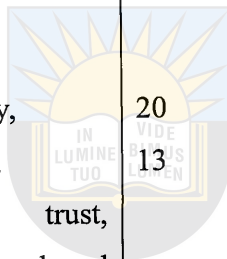
Questions	Responses	No of Participants	% of Participants
<p>Question: What dimension of leadership do you believe is practiced by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership.</p>	Transactional leadership	17	85%
<p>Question: Why did you choose this.</p>	Contingent reward Management by exception- Active	17	85%
<p>Question: What is the strength of the relationship between the three leadership styles and governance.</p>	Strong link between transactional leadership and governance. Stronger link between transformational leadership and governance. Weak link between laissez-faire and governance.	17	85%
<p>Question: What is the greatest impediment to good governance in Nigeria during the period under examination?</p>	Corruption and corrupt leadership	20	100%
<p>Question: How do you think the public perceive the Fourth Republic contribution</p>	Impressed when compared to the military	5	25%

to good governance?	Mixed reaction	1	5%
	See no difference between civilians and military	1	5%
	Lowly because of the deterioration of values	13	65%
Question: Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, did Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic	No	13	65%
Question: Did the fourth republic provide an enabling condition for productive activities	Not much	13	65%
Question: Was the fourth republic administrations legitimate	Yes	20	100%
Question: Were the leaders of the fourth republic committed to improved public welfare	No	13	65%
Question: What is your assessment of the maintenance of law	Poor	20	100%



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and order during the fourth republic			
Question: How was their response to meet the needs of the Nigerian masses	Slow	13	65%
Question: Would you say that the fourth republic leaders were equitable in their conduct	No	20	100%
Question: What are the tenets of effective leadership that can entrench good governance in Nigeria	Accountability,	20	100%
	Transparency, Engendering trust, Inspiring a shared vision, Enthusiasm, Motivation etc.	13	65%
Question: What leadership model can become the driver of effective leadership and good governance in Nigeria?	Transformational	20	100%
Question: Do you believe a leader's emotional intelligence can contribute to effective leadership and good governance in Nigeria?	Yes	20	100%



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<p>Question: What aspect of good governance should be of utmost priority to the future leadership of Nigeria ?</p> <p>Response:</p>	<p>All aspects</p>	<p>20</p>	<p>100%</p>
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5.8 SUMMARY OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

From the above analysis and information collected from various secondary data sources, this compilation of finding has been analysed as follows:

All the respondents (100%) held the view that the fourth republic was legitimate. On whether the leadership of the fourth republic was involved in election malpractices an overwhelming majority of respondent (100%) agreed. These respondents (65%) also stated that there was no accountability by the leadership of the fourth republic. Significantly most respondents opined that the lack of accountability had a ripple effect on the response of Nigeria’s fourth republic leadership to meet the needs of the masses which (65%) of respondents described was slow.

On the issue of the maintenance of law and order, (100%) of the respondents were of the opinion that law and order under the fourth republic was poor. To the question whether the leadership of the fourth republic was equitable in their conduct, (100%) of the respondents disagreed. As it concerned improved public welfare by the leadership, (65%) of the respondents were of the opinion that the leadership did not improve public welfare. Similarly the majority of respondents (65%) believe the fourth republic leadership did not do much in terms of creating an enabling condition for productive activities. As a result the majority of respondents (65%) believe that there was no socio-economic development in Nigeria during the fourth republic.

Most of the respondents (85%) were of the opinion that the leadership concept of Nigeria's fourth republic was transactional. This verifies the earlier quantitative finding (MLQ instrument) that the fourth republic leadership is transactional. These respondents (85%) also opined that the transactional leadership style of Nigeria's fourth republic resembled the contingent reward and management-by-exception- Active approaches. Against this backdrop, (25%) of the respondents stated that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership rewarded loyalists frivolously with appointment and service delivery.

All these opinions of majority of the respondents point to the fact that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership did not play their role as effective leaders in facilitating good governance in Nigeria. This research finding collaborate the information provided on Nigeria's governance by the Ibrahim Index for African Governance on Nigeria's governance which rated Nigeria's governance lowly for the period under consideration (2007-2014). These scores were put at 44.6%, 44.4%, 44.7%, 44.3%, 44.0%, 44.5%, 45.3% and 44.9% respectively (IIAG 2015). Significantly an ineffective leadership approach resulted in Nigeria's downward trajectory in governance.

Further on the weakest impediment to good governance. All the respondents interviewed (100%) were of the opinion that corruption and corrupt leadership were the greatest impediments to good governance in Nigeria. On the way the fourth republic is perceived by the Nigerian public. Majority of the respondents (65%) pointed out that it was lowly because of corruption and the deterioration of values.

On the relationship between the transformation leadership, transactional leadership, laissez-faire leadership and good governance, (85%) of the respondents pointed out that the transformational leadership concept is better than the transactional leadership in terms of the facilitation and sustenance of good governance. These same respondents are of the opinion that the laissez-faire leadership is the weakest concept in this regard.

An overwhelming (100%) of the respondents stated that improvements in the quality of leadership will led to good governance in Nigeria. Against this backdrop, all the respondents (100%) are of the opinion that the transformational leadership model is the effective leadership style that can facilitate and sustain good governance in Nigeria.

Against this backdrop all the respondents (100%) identified engendering trust, inspiring a shared vision, generating enthusiasm, motivation, creativity and coaching as the tenets of effective leadership inherent in transformational leadership that can entrench good governance in Nigeria.

All the participants (100%) also identified emotional intelligence as another element that is inherent in transformational leaders that can contribute to effective leadership and good governance in Nigeria.

Consequently, the transformational leadership style is attributed with positive changes (Madueke 2008). Hence a study in Malaysian LGAs, found transformational leadership to be instrumental in facilitating good governance that eliminated employee corruption (Mohamad, Daud and Yahya 2014). Further the U.S Air force found evidence that shows that commanders appraised higher in a transformational leadership survey became better squadrons (Bass and Riggio, 2006).

Similar studies were also conducted in the USA and Canada armed forces which found the effectiveness of transformational leadership (Hayward, 2005). Again in Indonesia, an investigation on the impact of leadership and good governance in the University of East Java, found evidence of a strong relationship between transformational leadership and good governance (indrianawati 2010).

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

The main focus of this study was to determine the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria. In pursuance of this study the mixed methods research approach which combines both quantitative and qualitative methods of research was used to provide a balanced investigation of the research question.

COMPARISM OF LEADERS AND RATERS

The test was conducted based on the assumption that the values in the data distribution was obtained from randomly selected respondents comprising of leaders and raters for the quantitative research and top official of the Nigerian government for the qualitative research. The results (quantitative and qualitative research distributions) are shown on Table 5.0 and Table 5.1.

Information on Table 5.6 was used in the quantitative research to test homogeneity, which is based on the assumption that the mean scores of leaders and raters are equal. To actually establish if the scores are equal, a range of the scores was obtained and symbolised by R within a closed interval provided by the equation, $\text{mean} - \text{standard deviation} \leq R \leq \text{mean} + \text{standard deviation}$, assuming $2/3$ of the scores are within R , then the scores are considered to be homogeneous which means the scores represent a set of scores; otherwise the scores are considered to be heterogeneous and do not represent a set of scores (Daramola 1998). Following this procedure the transactional leadership scores of the leader and rater are significant except for transactional leadership that is non-significant which implies that there is an assumption that the variances of the two samples are leaders and raters are equal.

RESULT OF THE INVESTIGATION INTO LEADERSHIP STYLES ADOPTED BY NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC LEADERSHIP AND ITS POSSIBLE IMPACT ON GOOD GOVERNANCE.

The hypothesis of the study centred on determining the style of leadership, Nigeria's fourth republic adopted (transformational, transactional, laissez-faire) and its impact on good governance.

The Multi-factor leadership questionnaire (MLQ) was administered to 44 respondents and relevant data was obtained. Thus as a mixed method research, a qualitative research approach was also utilised to provide a balance to the research question. An interview of 20 top officials of the Nigerian government were interviewed. As evident from Table 5.6, the average mean score of transformational leadership was 1.18 and that of transactional leadership 3.34, while laissez-faire was 1.42. The mean scores of the leadership subscales of

transformational, transactional and laissez-faire leadership styles were utilised to determine if they meet the requirement provided by Bass and Avolio (1997) for effective leadership levels which is put at a mean score greater or equal to 3.0 for individualised consideration, intellectual stimulation, idealised influence (behaviour) idealised influence (attributed) and inspirational motivation. The ideal mean score requirement for contingent reward is 2.0. Management- by – exception – active is 1.0 – 2.0. Management-by-exception-passive and laissez-faire according to Bass and Avolio (1997) is 1.0 – 0.0.

The ideal 3.0 mean score for transformational leadership suggested by Bass and Avolio (1997) for effective leadership was greater and not equal to the current study mean score of 1.17, 1.57, 1.38, 1.04 and 0.75. The current study mean score 3.25 for contingency reward was greater than the ideal mean score of 2.0 suggested by Bass and Avolio (1997). Further the current study mean scores of 3.79 and 3.00 for management-by exception-active and management – by –exception – passive were greater than the ideal mean scores of 1.0 – 2.0, and 0.0 – 1.0 suggested by Bass and Avolio (1997) respectively. Laissez –faire mean score of 1.42 was greater than the suggested level of 1.0.

This finding shows that the leadership style adopted by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership was not transformational but rather transactional. Transactional leadership style can-not be considered as an effective leadership style that facilitates good governance. According to Ugoani (2014) transformational leaders and not transactional leaders are seen as effective leaders because of their superior emotional intelligence. Thus Nigeria's fourth republic leadership solicited compliance by reward and punishment, increasing public servants remuneration with accrued funds, waited too long before resolving national problems such as the Boko Harem insurgency at its formative years until the adoption of Chibok girls and the death of numerous Nigerians.

Majority of the participants (85%) engaged in the qualitative research supported the view that Nigeria's fourth republic resembled the contingent reward and management- by- exception-active approaches of transactional leadership. Against this backdrop, (25%) of the respondents stated that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership rewarded loyalists frivolously with appointment and service delivery. These finding on leadership style provided answers for the research question.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEADERSHIP STYLES AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

On the relationship between leadership styles and good governance, (85%) of the respondents pointed out that transformational leadership is better than transactional leadership in terms of the facilitation and sustenance of good governance. This finding shows that Nigerians are conversant with the leadership style that promotes good governance; especially as their leadership has failed in electricity supply, the provision and maintenance of roads, potable water, employment generation, and the list of problems go on and on. This finding was followed by the relationship between Nigeria's fourth republic leadership style and the governance criteria of safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development.

NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC LEADERSHIP STYLE AND THE TENETS OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

All the respondents (100%) interviewed on the issue of the maintenance of law and order, were of the opinion that law and order under the fourth republic was poor. This can be interpreted from the frequency of violent crimes in Nigeria such as armed robbery, kidnapping, armed insurgency, domestic terrorism and violence caused by religious fanatics etc. For the question of whether the leadership of the fourth republic was equitable in their conduct, (100%) of the respondents disagreed. The leadership of Nigeria's fourth republic has on numerous occasions used unequitable conducts to solicit the compliance of Nigerians. Take for instance the distribution of infrastructure in the country based on political party support, and the use of party loyalists to fill vacant lucrative positions. As it concerns improved public welfare by the leadership, (65%) of the respondents reported that the leadership did not improve public welfare. This is the reason for Nigeria's developmental debacle associated with socio-economic problems such as poverty, corruption, armed robbery, kidnapping, armed insurgency, and domestic terrorism. Similarly the majority of respondents (65%) said the fourth republic leadership did not do much in terms of creating an enabling condition for productive activities. This shows how unprepared Nigeria's fourth republic leadership is in tackling Nigeria's crippling economic crises that has created surging unemployment and poverty in the country. In the same vein (65%) of the respondents reported that there was no socio-economic development in Nigeria during the fourth republic. This shows how badly Nigeria's fourth republic leadership played the role of facilitating

good governance in Nigeria. The downward trajectory in Nigeria's governance as indicated by the Ibrahim Index for African Governance during the period under consideration (2000-2014), shows low rates of governance scores of 42.6%, 42.7%, 42.6%, 42.7%, 41.6%, 43.0%, 43.8%, 44.6%, 44.4%, 44.7%, 44.3%, 44.0%, 44.5%, 45.3%, and 44.9% respectively (IIAG 2015). Significantly these scores illustrate that perhaps effort should be made to introduce a superior leadership style capable of ensuring good governance in the country.

LEADERSHIP STYLE TO ENHANCE GOOD GOVERNANCE

All the respondents (100%) implied that improvements in the quality of leadership will led to good governance in Nigeria. This finding indicates that majority of Nigerians are aware of Nigeria's poor leadership issues. Hence (100%) of the respondents complained that corruption and corrupt leadership were the greatest impediments to good governance. This shows that Nigerians are aware the country's failed leadership is caused by a variety of issues dominated by bureaucratic corruption. A further majority of the respondents, amounting to (65%) also reported that the lack of accountability in Nigeria affect good governance. The finding indicates the high level of corruption and lack of accountability in the country which does not augur well for any effort to promote good governance.

Against this backdrop, all the respondents (100%) said that the transformational leadership model is the effective leadership style that can facilitate and sustain good governance in Nigeria. These respondents (100%) identified engendering trust, inspiring a shared vision, generating enthusiasm, motivation, creativity, coaching and emotional intelligence as the tenets of effective leadership inherent in transformational leadership that can entrench good governance in Nigeria.

5.10 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings of the research suggest that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership adopted the transactional leadership style of contingent reward and management-by-exception-active approaches. This suggests the leadership behaviours of contingent rewards such as soliciting the compliance and recognition of Nigerians by making and fulfilling promises, increasing the remuneration of public servant with borrowed funds, in spite of the ailing economy in order to solicit the acceptance of Nigerians. The leadership behaviour of management-by-exception-active involves monitoring Nigerians to highlight problems instead of taking steps

to immediately prevent them, Waiting until problems escalate before trying to solve them and maintaining the status quo of corruption and developmental debacle in spite of all the socio-economic problems associated with bad governance.

The result of the relationship between Nigeria's leadership style and good governance indicates the existence of a correlation that is not strong. This suggests that Nigeria's leadership style depicts elements such as soliciting citizen's compliance through reward, emphasising on problems rather than finding immediate solutions until these problem become uncontrollable. The result of the findings of this research also suggests that the transactional leadership style (contingent reward and management-by-exception-active) may not relate strongly to good governance (safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development). Rather other studies have related contingent rewards and management-by-exception-active to follower's attitude and performance, subordinate satisfaction and working condition (Avolio, Waldman and Einstein, 1998; Waldman, Bass and Yammarino, 1990; in Voon et al 2010).

Consequently, the transactional leadership style cannot be successfully used by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership to play the role of effective leaders facilitating good governance. This view is also supported by Ugoani (2014) in his conclusion that transformational leadership and not transactional leadership is associated with the theory of emotional intelligence capable of facilitating good governance.

5.11 IMPLICATIONS

Although empirical evidence seems to reinforce the suggestion that leadership style can facilitate good governance. Most studies have concluded that it is the transformational leadership style and not the transactional leadership style that has a strong positive relationship with good governance. These studies include the Malaysian LGAs study, where Transformational leadership proved to be excellent in facilitating good governance (Mohamad, Daud and Yahya 2014). Further in a study that focused on the impact of leadership on good governance in University of East Jawa in Indonesia, transformational leadership was found to have a strong relationship with good governance (Indrianawati 2010).

Reinforcing these findings Bass (1985) concluded that both the transformational and transactional leadership styles contain complementary rather than polar constructs, in such a way that transformational leadership improves on transactional leadership, but not the other way round. Bass (1985) conclusion above gives credence to the assertion that not all leadership types can be strongly related to good governance because not all leadership styles are effective leaderships (Ugoani, 2014). In this regard, Nigeria requires capable leaders that can facilitate good governance to put an end to the socio-economic saga that has disorganised the country, eliminate corruption that seems to be endemic in the country and revamp the economy. Based on this study the adaptation of the transformational leadership style can facilitate sustainable development and good governance in Nigeria.



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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION SUMMARY

Effective leadership is vital in a country such as Nigeria that is grappling with leadership and governance issues. The purpose of this research was to make an assessment of the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance from the day the democratic journey of Nigeria's fourth republic began in 1999, after sixteen long and torturous years of military domination.

The research covers only the period in 1999 when power was handed over to Nigeria's fourth republic under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo, a former military head of state of Nigeria and to his successor, President Musa Yar'Adua, whose rule began in 2007 and ended abruptly in 2010 because of his untimely death. It also covers the duration of President Goodluck Jonathan's leadership as successor to President Yar'Adua from 2010 to 2014.

This period under investigation witnessed the implementation and execution of three laudable policies within a period of fifteen years from 1999 to 2014. First, was the policy of good governance undertaken by the Obasanjo administration in 1999:

- National Economic Empowerment Strategies (NEEDS)
- State Economic Empowerment Strategies (SEEDS)
- Local Government Economic Empowerment Strategies (LEEDS)
- Monetization Policy
- Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC)
- Banking Reforms
- Independent Corrupt practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC)
- Poverty Alleviation Strategies-Microfinance, SMEDAN, PAP, SMSE
- Deregulation and Privatization Policy

The next policy for good governance tagged the seven-point agenda was initiated in 2007 to reduce poverty and provide security. It was intended to be implemented alongside the millennium development goals. The policy was as follows:

- Critical Infrastructure
- Niger Delta
- Food Security
- Human Capital Development
- Land Tenure and Home Ownership
- National Security and Intelligence
- Wealth Creation

The next policy called transformation agenda was to follow in 2011 after the demise of President Yar'Adua in 2010. The policy was as follows:

- Infrastructure Development
- Poverty Reduction
- Employment Generation
- Security
- Rural and Agriculture Development
- Health and Education Sector Revitalisation
- Niger Delta Development



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Arguably all these policies that were initiated to improve the social well-being of the citizens of Nigeria failed to realise their goals. This is against the backdrop that majority of the participants are of the opinion that Nigeria's leadership during the period under review failed to improve public welfare and that Nigeria did not develop socio-economically. It is also based on Nigeria's downward trajectory in governance rating since the inception of the fourth republic to the end of the administration of President Jonathan.

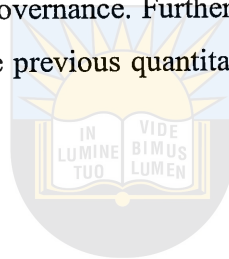
As effective leadership has become one of the buzz words of good governance; it can be presumed that there is a relationship between effective leadership and good governance. In other words Nigeria has a negative relationship with good governance because of the downward rating in governance which is attributable to ineffective leadership.

Lawal *et al.*, (2012) define good governance as " the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and response to the needs of its citizens, competent to assuring law and order, and deliver public

services, able to create an enabling public environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct”.

Consequently, in assessing Nigeria’s fourth republic leadership, it was important to take into consideration their conduct adjudged against the IIAG criteria of Safety and Rule of Law; Participation and Human Right; Sustainable Economic Opportunity and Human Development (IIAG, 2015).

The IIAG criteria analysis, performed in conjunction with the analysis of the result of the interview conducted on top officials of the Nigerian government, is definitely a viable way of determining if Nigeria’s fourth republic leadership played the role of effective leaders committed to the facilitation of good governance. Further, the interview was also used as an important instrument of confirming the previous quantitative finding on the leadership style adopted by Nigeria’s fourth republic.



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TABLE 6.0

NIGERIA'S GOVERNANCE SCORES COMPILED FROM THE IBRAHIM INDEX OF AFRICAN GOVERNANCE

Scores	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Over all score	42.6	42.7	42.6	42.7	41.6	43.0	43.8	44.6	44.4	44.7	44.3	44.0	44.5	45.3	44.9
Safety and Rule of Law	45.5	44.5	43.9	44.6	39.4	44.4	45.4	46.9	47.9	46.4	46.7	44.3	40.9	39.6	41.8
Participation and Human Rights	47.4	47.3	47.3	45.8	45.9	46.0	45.7	46.0	44.2	43.6	45.5	46.7	48.8	49.8	48.8
Sustainable Economic Opportunity	35.0	33.9	33.6	34.3	34.4	34.2	35.3	36.7	36.1	37.9	36.1	36.5	39.1	40.9	37.0
Human Development	42.7	45.2	45.4	46.0	46.6	47.4	49.0	49.0	49.3	50.9	48.7	48.6	49.2	50.8	52.0

6.1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS ON NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC LEADERSHIP STYLE

The research was a mixed methods research approach that combined both the qualitative and quantitative research methods. The findings concluded that Nigeria's fourth republic was legitimate and the leadership style was transactional (contingency reward and management-by-exception – Active approach). The quantitative research found the mean value obtained for the transactional leadership contingency rewards subscale to be 3.25 while that of the transformational leadership subscale ranged from 0.75 – 1.57. Based on this result the transactional leadership mean value was found to be higher than the 2.0 mean value recommended for effective leadership by Bass and Avolio, while the transformational leadership mean value was lower than the recommendation (Bass & Avolio, 1977).

These findings suggest that majority of Nigerians perceive Nigeria's fourth republic leadership as exhibiting more than the perfect levels of transactional leadership behaviours which include; contingency rewards and management-by-exception (active) respectively.

Further, the mean score of transactional leadership (contingency reward) found to be higher than the suggested score by Bass and Avolio also indicates that Nigerians perceive that the country's fourth republic leadership is characterised by clarifying expectations and rewarding accomplishments. This can be exemplified by the role played by both President Yar'Adua and his successor President Jonathan in rewarding the Niger Delta militants with cash gifts and amnesty.

Similarly, the implication of the high mean score for management-by-exception (active) (greater than the recommended level) suggests that Nigerians perceive that the fourth republic leadership monitored Nigerians in order to make corrections. President Obasanjo tried to change Nigeria's tainted image over the reports on corruption by introducing the ICPC and the EFCC.

However, evidence from the mean scores of management-by-exception (passive) and laissez-faire respectively suggest the perception of Nigerians that their leadership has failed to react timely to solve issues until they get out of control. The Obasanjo administration failed to react timely to the hues and cries of the Niger Delta youths over issues of poverty, unemployment and under development of the area which would have curbed the looming

youth restiveness and insurgency. Again, Nigeria's leadership during the period of this review did not react timely on the formative years of Boko Haram. President Jonathan also failed to react swiftly on the Boko Haram terrorists until their repeated attacks created a sense of vulnerability in the region.

Based on the evidence collected from the research, Nigeria's fourth republic leadership failed in the role as effective leaders responsible for the facilitation of good governance. This conclusion was taken from the majority of the respondents that opined that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership only made a very little impact on good governance.

Significantly, the capability of Nigeria's leadership to facilitate good governance was judged from the following criteria; electoral malpractices, socio-economic development, legitimacy, improved public welfare, maintenance of law and order and so on. Consideration was also given to the information provided on Nigeria's governance by the Ibrahim Index for African Governance (IIAG, 2015). Hence it was no gainsaying that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership played a prominent role in committing electoral frauds with accusations and counter accusations of rigging by political parties during the period.

Public welfare assessment also established that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership made very little impact on good governance. The majority of respondents believe the fourth republic leadership did not improve public welfare. Public welfare among other things includes the sound decisions taken by leadership to benefit the masses. These decisions take the form of sound economic policy formulation and implementation, the provision of basic amenities that will improve the standard of living of the citizens, and so on.

However, with the deficiency in infrastructure during the period, the erratic power supply the lack of potable water, lack of roads, schools and hospitals, it becomes difficult to pardon a leadership full of promises without action; going by the fact that the fourth republic administrations had laudable programmes that were not successfully implemented.

This undoubtedly translates that good governance is still elusive in Nigeria. According to Fatile, good governance has been elusive in Nigeria since the beginning of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999 (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012).

Most respondents have a low impression of Nigeria's leadership perceived to have failed to improve the fortunes of Nigerians in a resource rich country; corrupt leadership and the deterioration of values due to the malaise of corruption were found in the research study to be the greatest impediment to good governance. Corroborating this finding, Lawal *et al.*, (2012:190) assert that "Nigeria suffers seriously from the malaise of corruption." According to them, "Nigeria's leadership lacks accountability and transparency" (Lawal *et al.*, 2012:190).

This was the same impression held by the World Bank in a 2004 report on Nigeria's observance of standards and codes. The report stated that the decline in accountability and governance in Nigeria was due to the deterioration in institutional regulations, poor compliance and enforcement of standards and rules (World Bank, 2004). Against this backdrop, Rai (2010:13) reiterates that good governance and resource management are linked together.

These statements can be substantiated by some high profile cases that exemplify corruption by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership (Abdulrahman, 2013:9; Mez, 2010:7). These are:

- Ayo Fayose, former Governor of Ekiti State – N1.2 billion
- Aminu Turaki – N36 billion
- Chief Bode George – N100 billion
- Rasheed Ladoja, former Governor of Oyo State – N6 billion
- Adamu Abdullahi, former Governor of Nasarawa State, N15 billion
- Senator Nicholas Ugbade N5.2 billion
- Attahiru Bafarawa, former Governor of Sokoto State, N15 billion
- Chimaroke Nnamani former Governor of Enugu State, Peter Mba and Spine Ejiofor former Commissioners in Enugu State N5.6 billion
- Other former Governors charged with various financial crimes are Edo States' Lucky Igbinedion, Rivers Peter Odili (Ademola, 2011:309).

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The majority of the respondents are of the opinion that the tenets of effective leadership that can ensure good governance include; engendering trust, inspiring a shared vision, generating enthusiasm, motivation, creativity and coaching. These are transformational leadership characteristics that guarantee leadership. Therefore, it becomes the role of effective leadership to ensure that the public institutions under his administration “conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights (Downer, 2000:27). Further, effective leadership entails the guarantee of these accomplishments without human rights abuses and corruption, and with total obeisance to the rule of law.

Indisputably, an assessment of the role of Nigeria’s fourth republic leadership in ensuring good governance indicates a plunge in all the criteria of safety and rule of law, participation and human right, sustainable economic opportunity and human development judged by the Ibrahim index of African Governance, mainly because of the leadership’s misdemeanours; confirming the notion that leadership impacts on the quality of governance (*Lawal et al., 2012:185*).

6.2.1 SAFETY AND RULE OF LAW

Nigeria’s fourth republic leadership was characterised by controversies of corruption as the country slumped further into poverty. During the period 1999-2014, the Accountability sub-category performance scores as recorded by the Ibrahim Index of African Governance stood at 24.4, 22.8, 21.2, 22.8, 24.6, 25.8, 26.6, 29.3, 33.9, 31.8, 31.3, 30.8, 32.4, 32.0 and 32.2 (IIAG, 2015). This created a deterioration in the sub-category performance of police services, political violence, violent crimes, social unrest and safety of the person exemplified by militant group insurgency, armed robbery, kidnapping, inter-tribal skirmishes, and agitations for self-rule.

During President Obasanjo’s 8-year rule (1999-2007), his administration had to contend with insurgency in the impoverished Niger Delta where militant groups seemed to be the only employers of the youths and kidnapping for ransom was notoriously common. During this period, President Obasanjo’s governance assessment plunged in the safety and rule of law category. His leadership style was authoritative with little regard for the rule of law. Nigeria

governance score during this period (2000-2007) was, 42.5, 44.5, 43.9, 44.6, 39.4, 44.4, 45.4, and 46.9 (IIAG, 2015).

During President Musa Yar'Adua's tenure (2007-2010) the Niger Delta saga was still far from settled. He initiated an amnesty policy for the Niger Delta militants in his Seven-Point Agenda aimed at ending the insurgency and carnage that had characterised the region. He was not an authoritarian ruler like his predecessor and observed the rule of law. Unfortunately, it was during his tenure in office that the Boko Haram militant insurgency started in the Northeast of Nigeria. Nigeria's governance score was affected by this development during this period (2008-2010) as it stood at 46.9, 47.9, 46.4, and 46.7 respectively (IIAG, 2015).

The abysmal result on safety and rule of law was not really due to President Yar'Adua's lack of respect for the rule of law but the various incidents of insecurity created by the arbitrary attacks, killings and maiming of innocent Nigerians in the Northern part of Nigeria by the Boko Haram Islamic militants. President Yar'Adua's complete obeisance to the rule of law was captured in the assessment report by Ibrahim index for African Governance for the period between (2007-2010) as, 60.0, 66.6, 64.3, and 50.8 respectively (IIAG, 2015).

However, Nigeria was ranked 42nd in Africa in Safety and Rule of Law, scoring a lowly 41.8 (IIAG, 2015). This indicated a deterioration of -2.5 score points since 2011 (IIAG, 2015). Nigeria's downward trajectory in the Safety and Rule of Law category of the governance ranking under President Goodluck Jonathan was mainly due to worsening performances in Rule of Law, Personal Safety and National Security resulting from the atrocities perpetrated by the Boko Haram militants that exposed the alarming state of insecurity in Nigeria.

In a particular incident that attracted world-wide condemnation, two hundred and thirty Chibok girls were kidnapped by the notorious Boko Haram terrorists (CP Opinion, 2 May, 2014). President Jonathan seemed clueless against this insurgency group as he acknowledged that insecurity was his worst challenge. During this period (2010-2014), Nigeria's governance score plummeted in the safety and rule of law category to 44.3, 40.9, 39.6 and 41.8 (IIAG, 2015).

President Jonathan's profound disrespect for the rule of law was another phenomenon that affected the country's ranking on governance. President Jonathan used the machinery of

government at his disposal to suppress Governor Amaechi of Rivers State which caused mayhem at the Rivers State House of Assembly (You Tube, July 9, 2013). In a similar autocratic feat, President Jonathan was implicated “in what amounts to a state sponsored mayhem in an attempt by the Nigerian police to stop the speaker of the House of Representatives Aminu Tambuwal and other law makers from presiding over a special session on the extension of emergency rule in three North Eastern states” (Olaitan Ajiboye, November 21, 2014).

These acts of sluggishness in addressing burning state issues typified Jonathan’s leadership. It presented him as insensitive to the regression and destitution of Nigerians. Although under President Jonathan the country recorded higher scores than the scores under President Obasanjo, compared to the records of some other African countries on rule of law. The country’s records were very poor. Nigeria’s ranking on the rule of law from (2010-2014) stood at 50.8, 50.9, 51.0, 50.2 and 50.8 (IIAG, 2015).

6.2.2 PARTICIPATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

After the fourteen years of military dictatorship, Nigerians were enthusiastic about the return to democracy in 1999. Over the election that emerged in 1999, an assessment of Nigeria’s governance under the participation and human right category ranked free and fair 55.6 (IIAG, 2015). However, the election was characterised by malpractices and violence because the participants saw political authority as a means to acquire stupendous wealth through the management of the country’s resources. Voter turnout was not inspiring as one would have thought Nigerians would be enthusiastic to cast their votes. From the information collected from available sources, 59, 938, 945 voters registered for the general election in 1999 and only 30, 280, 052 actually voted.

After Nigerians observed the regression in all facets of life during the Obasanjo administration, and the equally profound deterioration in leadership, their enthusiasm was turned into despair. The leadership had no remedy for the country’s stunted development and corruption issues. Corruption was widespread with Nigeria ranked 132nd out of 133 countries in 2003 (CPI, 2007). This phenomenon became a concern that was reflected in the election that followed in 2003.

The 2003 election had an increase in both the number of registered voters and the number of people that turned up to vote. A total of 60, 823, 022 Nigerians registered to vote, out of which 42, 018, 735 actually voted. Outraged by the failed leadership and corruption problems, Nigerians from all walks of life were determined to create a change in the leadership of the country to improve governance. Unfortunately, the attempt at changing the country's leadership failed. The parameter used in measuring governance revealed that under the participation and human rights category that the element of free and fair election was again, 55.6 (IIAG, 2015).

President Obasanjo was declared winner and as a measure to dispel the worries of the international community and organisations over the malaise of corruption in Nigeria, President Obasanjo initiated a policy on ICPC and EFCC to fight corruption in Nigeria. Throughout this period (1999-2003) the assessment of Nigeria's governance under the participation and human right category was lowly at 47.4, 47.3, 47.3 and 45.8 (IIAG, 2015).

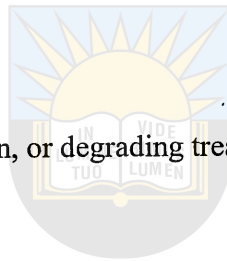
By 2007, Transparency International Report on Corruption Perception Index ranked Nigeria 147th out of 179 countries (CPI, 2007). Nigeria was still grappling with leadership and corruption problems when the election for President Obasanjo's successor was held. This time, regardless of the fact that about 70, 795, 254 eligible voters registered to vote, which represents a rise in the number of registered voters, approximately half the number of the registered voters 35, 397, 627 actually voted. This drop in the number of voters was also applicable in the senatorial and gubernatorial elections conducted. As a matter of fact, the drop in the voters' turnout became somewhat steady ever since the 2007 election, and was also the case during the 2011 election that produced President Jonathan; which is an indication that Nigerians are slowly losing interest in electoral participation.

6.2.3 HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights violations in Nigeria stem from poor leadership issues. President Obasanjo ruled over Nigeria with soldierly antecedent. President Jonathan on his part fought political battles with Nigeria's security forces. Authoritarian leadership can lead to human rights abuses. Arguably, the war against insurgency in Nigeria led to human rights abuses from all sides.

Boko Haram militants were accused of human rights abuses in 2014 because of their atrocities against Nigerians (Human rights Watch, 2014). In the same vein, Nigeria's security forces have been condemned for human rights abuses against men, women and children (Amnesty International, 2014). Therefore, under the Rights sub-category of Participation and Human Rights, the Ibrahim Index of African Governance scores Nigeria from 1999-2014; 45.6, 44.8, 45.1, 46.7, 46.8, 46.7, 44.5, 45.9, 49.3, 51.0, 52.8, 52.5, 51.8, 48.5, and 45.5 (IIAG, 2015). The United States Department of State provided a list of human rights abuses in Nigeria in 2013 which includes:

- Arbitrary or unlawful deprivation of life.
- Disappearance of persons
- Torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment
- Arbitrary arrest or detention
- Denial of fair public trial
- Arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home, or correspondence
- Use of excessive force and other abuses in internal conflicts



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(United States Department of State, 2013).

Nigeria has improved over the last four years by +2.1 points in participation and human rights, scoring 48.8 and ranking 27th in Africa. However, most of this progress was achieved by the participation sub-category.

6.2.4 SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Since 1999, the leadership of Nigeria's fourth republic have attempted to have a sustainable economic opportunity for Nigerians. Policies were initiated to boost economic opportunity. For President Obasanjo, sustainable economic opportunity meant earning economic growth through fiscal discipline. Consequently, he introduced due process and budget monitoring, which was intended to build fiscal discipline in Nigeria. Diversification of the economy also formed part of his policy as Nigeria was about 90% dependent on oil. Other empowerment initiatives introduced were NEEDS, SEEDS and LEEDS. Microfinance was also an initiative of Obasanjo's administration to alleviate poverty.

During the tenure of President Yar'Adua, he initiated a policy tagged the Seven-Point Agenda to alleviate poverty and secure Nigeria. This policy was to run in conjunction with the millennium Development goals. Wealth creation, critical infrastructure, food security, human capital development and various other important national issues were included in the policy. President Jonathan after the death of his predecessor President Yar'Adua also introduced a policy for the improvement and socio-economic well-being of Nigerians. This policy that encapsulates infrastructural development, poverty alleviation, and employment generation, rural and agricultural development and so on was called the Transformation Agenda.

Despite the implementation of these policies, there were still various challenges. For example, the due process initiated for government ministry procurements was abused by high ranking government officials. Again, the attempt at diversifying the economy failed as Nigeria's economy is still mainly dependent on oil revenue. The Nigerian business environment became volatile and not conducive for business, especially the Northern region because of the Boko Haram saga. Furthermore, infrastructural decay and deficiency affected businesses negatively. Erratic electricity, water shortage, lack of roads and basic infrastructure increased the operational cost of most businesses in Nigeria.

The poverty alleviation programmes of the Fourth Republic failed woefully. Data generated from the National Bureau of Statistics specified that as many as 112 million Nigerians live in impoverishment. In 2010, the United Nations representative in Nigeria indicated that 100

million Nigerians were in deprivation. These statements were corroborated by the World Bank in 2014, with the declaration that Nigeria was number three among the countries in the world with the highest number of poor people. Majority of these poor individuals are located in the rural areas in Nigeria. Hence the rural sub-category performance scores are as follows since (1999-2014) 46.7, 46.7, 46.7, 46.7, 46.7, 45.2, 44.9, 46.2, 43.1, 46.9, 46.0, 45.9, 50.3, 55.6 and 40.3 (IIAG, 2015).

Based on all these shortfalls, Nigeria's sustainable economic opportunity assessed by the Ibrahim index of African Governance for the period under consideration stood at 35.0, 33.9, 33.6, 34.3, 34.4, 34.2, 35.3, 36.7, 36.1, 37.9, 36.1, 36.5, 39.1, 40.9, 37.0 (IIAG, 2015). Based on an assessment of Africa, Nigeria was ranked 38th in sustainable economic opportunity, scoring 37.0 in 2014 (IIAG, 2015). This score showed a slight increase (+0.5) in Nigeria's sustainable economic opportunity from the period of 2011-2014.

Nigeria's public management sub-category performance increased by +2.4 since 2011 and was ranked 18th in Africa. This turned out to be Nigeria's best sub-category rank in the continent. Nigeria also showed improvement in business environment and infrastructure while the rural sector sub-category deteriorated by -5.6 points since 2011, due mainly on the deterioration in rural business climate (IIAG, 2015).

6.2.5 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Assessment of human development consists mainly of the sub category performances of health and education. Since the inception of the Fourth Republic in Nigeria, the leadership of the different administrations have budgeted annually for the health sector, yet Nigeria's health facility still remains obsolete. However, Nigeria performed credibly in the assessment of the health sub-category, scoring 60.1 in 2014 (IIAG, 2015).

Unfortunately, this is not the same with Education in Nigeria that has been neglected by Nigeria's fourth republic leadership. Based on the assessment made by the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, the education sub-category of human development has deteriorated so much in the last four years scoring 46.0, 44.8, 43.5, and 42.7 respectively from 2011-2014 (IIAG, 2015). Consequently, as it concerns human development, Nigeria is the 35th in Africa

scoring 42.7, 45.2, 45.4, 46.0, 46.6, 47.4, 49.0, 49.0, 49.3, 50.9, 48.7, 48.6, 49.2, 50.8, 52.0 from 1999-2014 (IIAG, 2015).

6.2.6 QUALITY OF LEADERSHIP TO IMPROVE GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA

Going by all governance parameters above, Nigeria's fourth republic leadership has failed to ensure good governance. However, the study results indicate that majority of the participants were of the opinion that improvements in the quality of leadership will improve the quality of governance in the country. Lawal *et al.*, (2012: 185) corroborated this notion by stating that "the nature of governance is determined by the quality of leadership". Describing the nature of leadership, Omolayo (2005: 187) associated leadership with the essential oil that enables the wheel of government to work. According to him, leadership can ensure success or failure (Omolayo, 2005).

Nigeria's fourth republic leadership can ensure success in governance when it demonstrates the following attributes; Idealised influence (attributes); idealised influence (behaviour); inspirational motivation; intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration. These attributes will develop in the leader such qualities as accountability, transparency necessary for the obeisance to the rule of law, and the principles of human rights and all other essentials of governance.

In conclusion, Adejuwon asserts that without the resurgence of the ethos of accountability and transparency that has been absent in Nigeria over the years, the trust necessary to fortify and bind the leadership and the citizens will not materialise (Ijeoma *et al.*, 2012:25).

6.2.7 THE LEADERSHIP MODEL THAT CAN BECOME THE DRIVER OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

Respondents were of the opinion that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership needs to be transformational to facilitate and sustain good governance in Nigeria. Transformational leaders are role models and change agents. They are the type of leaders that allow their followers to become mindful of the necessity of sharing organisational goals and values

(Burns, 1978). Transformational leadership motivate followers to forfeit their own personal interest for the interest of the organisation by appealing to the greater need of all the followers (Bass, 1978).

Transformational leadership inculcate in followers the desire to attain higher ideals and transform their moral values, increasing their expectations and creates the incentive that motivates them to go the extra mile (Bass, 1990; 1995; Bass & Avolio 1990). The transformational leader is visionary and allows followers to develop the same vision of what can be achieved through their effort, making followers accomplish more than they envisaged.

Consequently, as a visionary who is trustworthy and motivates others to attain greater heights, the transformational leader is the type of leader needed in a country like Nigeria that cannot use its abundant human and natural resources to transform the economy. A transformational leader in Nigeria will re-organise Nigeria's ineffective civil service to successfully implement the administration's laudable policies and programmes to facilitate good governance.

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Further, with a transformational leader, Nigerians will be encouraged to imbibe a new philosophy and culture that will lead to unity and ethical practices instead of the present get-rich syndrome that encourages the malaise of corruption. Transformational leadership will also increase tribal cohesiveness, tolerance and unity among Nigerians. As a matter of fact, Nigerians will be better satisfied with a transformational leader.

This is because a transformational leader eliminates corruption by being exemplary, accountable and transparent. Nigerians would learn from his leadership how not to depend on tangible inducements and self-interests that encourage unethical practices and develop a positive change in attitude, a strong commitment towards working conscientiously and national interest.

Transformational leadership cannot be compared to the transactional leadership. Transformational leadership has greater innate qualities that drive the leader to become more effective. An example is the concept of emotional leadership and all the other traits of the transformational leader.

There is a far greater relationship between transformational leadership and good governance than transactional leadership and good governance; this is according to the opinion of majority of the respondents.

6.2.8 THE CONTRIBUTION OF EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE TO EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

The majority of the respondents were of the opinion that emotional intelligence can contribute to effective leadership and good governance. Emotional intelligence relates to the capability, capacity and skill that enables the leader to assess, manage and take control of his emotions and those of others (Ugoani, 2014:57).

The concept of emotional intelligence includes self-awareness, self-regulation, self-motivation, resilience, integrity, humility, sincerity, vision, good judgment, initiative, and maturity and so on (Ugoani, 2014). Palmer and Jensen (2001) and George (2000) confirmed that “leaders with greater emotional intelligence will be more effective leaders”.

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Consequently, Nigeria’s fourth republic leadership failed to ensure good governance because they lack emotional intelligence (Ugoani, 2014:58). Conclusively, Ugoani (2014:58) asserts that “transformational leadership and not transactional leadership is linked to the concept of emotional intelligence and capable of influencing good governance”.

6.2.9 THE ASPECT OF GOOD GOVERNANCE THAT SHOULD BE OF UTMOST PRIORITY TO THE FUTURE LEADERSHIP OF NIGERIA

Participants identified all aspects of good governance which includes; safety and rule of law, human development, sustainable economic opportunity, and human rights and participation. Good governance typified by public institutions and policies that respect human rights while eradicating corruption is now generally seen as a vital condition for long term economic growth (Ugoani, 2014). Hence with good governance Nigerians can reap the benefit of a strong state that has a robust and dynamic economy equipped for sustainable human development.

6.2.10 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

The study was undertaken to evaluate the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria between 1999 and 2014. The results of the study reveal that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership failed to play the role of effective leaders capable of facilitating and sustaining good governance. This conclusion was derived from an analysis of the opinion of most participants in the survey conducted by the researcher in conjunction with Nigeria's downward trajectory in the IAG governance parameters of safety and rule of law, human rights and participation, human development and sustainable economic opportunity.

One of the issues that emerged from the study was Nigeria's fourth republic leadership style which was deemed to have a negative impact on good governance. Hence the leaders under review were unable to play the role of effective leadership capable of facilitating good governance.

It is necessary to point out at this juncture, that Nigeria's leadership during this period under consideration failed to respond appropriately to the needs of the masses, and so could not improve public welfare. The situation was so appalling that even the most basic amenities required to improve the lives of the masses were not sufficiently provided. The ripple effect of infrastructural deficiency and corruption in Nigeria's ailing economy led to unemployment, poverty, armed robbery, kidnapping, bombing, terrorism and all other socio-economic vices in Nigeria.

Therefore, the first recommendation of this research is for Nigeria to adopt an effective leadership that is ethical in conduct and accountable to the people, pragmatic, visionary and development focused. This leadership should be capable of fostering unity in a diverse, multicultural and multi religious country. The leadership should be driven by emotional intelligence to facilitate and sustain good governance. It is this style of leadership otherwise known as transformational leadership that Nigeria needs to produce the much anticipated economic growth and sustainable development.

Against this backdrop, Nigeria should stop placing individuals in positions of leadership because of ethnic or tribal sentiments. The practice of rotational presidency or worse, voting

for unqualified individuals because of their loyalty to a particular political affiliation, should also be discouraged. Rather, Nigerians should elect individuals that exhibit proven traits of transformational leadership; in other words individuals with a track record of integrity, accountability, transparency, humility, strong morality and emotional intelligence.

Nigeria needs a pragmatic and visionary leadership that can successfully tackle the problems of the civil service. There is every need to introduce a leadership with the political will to re-organise the civil service, in order to make it efficient and effective in the implementation of government's laudable policies.

It is only a leadership devoid of corruption that can truly put an end to Nigeria's legendary corruption. This will eliminate the perennial problem of resource mismanagement in Nigeria attributed to Nigeria's funding deficiency and infrastructural problems. Nigeria's enormous oil wealth can be used for a sustainable industrial base capable of creating millions of jobs in the agricultural sector.

For the control of corruption, I recommend the restructuring and empowerment of the ICPC and the EFCC, with adequate authority by legislation to apprehend, investigate and prosecute both current and past offenders. This way, these anti-graft agencies will be transformed from toothless bulldogs used for political reprisal to genuine law enforcement agencies capable of prosecuting corrupt top government officials and the corrupt top echelon of Nigeria's Fourth Republic. There has to be a genuine body backed by legislation to apprehend corrupt politicians no matter their position and party affiliation. In addition to this, there has to be a major reorganisation of the judiciary to get rid of bad eggs.

Further, I recommend that the immunity granted presidents of Nigeria should be removed so that corrupt leadership can be discouraged in Nigeria. Findings indicate that the malaise of corruption contributes to the socio-economic problems in Nigeria such as armed robbery, ritual murders, kidnapping, domestic terrorism and insurgency which have worsened in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. This has affected economic growth and development.

6.3 CONCLUSION

This research is an assessment of the role of effective leadership to facilitate good governance in Nigeria. It focuses on the effectiveness of the leadership style of Nigeria's Fourth Republic, in facilitating good governance. Findings from the use of the MLQ instrument (Quantitative research) in conjunction with an analysis of Nigeria's governance rating by the Ibrahim Index for African Governance (IIAG) and findings from interviews conducted (Qualitative research) on Nigerian government officials confirmed that Nigeria's fourth republic leadership style was not an effective leadership style for the country.

Based on the findings of the research, Nigeria's fourth republic leadership style perceived to be transactional was not effective enough to transform Nigeria's ailing economy into a prosperous one. There is proof to the fact that Nigeria's Transactional leaders under scrutiny failed to respond timely to the demands of the populace. Consequently, they could not improve public welfare which affected the provision of an enabling condition for economic activities. As a result, the country suffers from erratic electricity supply, lack of pipe borne water, bad roads, and poor hospitals facilities and so on, necessary for economic recovery. It is worth mentioning that Nigeria's infrastructural problems increased the cost of production of businesses, which encouraged some foreign owned companies to relocate to other African countries leaving Nigeria grappling with socio-economic vices such as corruption, poverty, unemployment, armed robbery, fraud, domestic terrorism, bombing, kidnapping and insurgency, etc.

Saddled with these outrageous problems, Nigeria's leadership needed to be more effective in tackling crucial national and economic issues. Instead, most issues that could have been curbed in the bud were handled like typical transactional leaderships by soliciting compliance through reward or punishment which led to their escalation. Boko Haram disaster could have been averted if the leadership had moved swiftly at the beginning when the terrorists had not grown in momentum. Instead, the leaders were interested in working hand in hand with the organisers of the terrorist organisation because of its popularity. Boko Haram grew into a monster status and resisted control.

Another incident that affected Nigeria's transactional leadership ability to take prompt decisions was the Niger Delta youth restiveness. The Niger Delta issue degenerated into an armed conflict because the root cause of the problem was left unresolved. The Niger Delta region as a whole that produced the nation's enormous oil wealth was seriously underdeveloped. The youth craved for the basic amenities such as roads, schools, hospitals and electricity. Abject poverty in the area fuelled the restiveness; therefore there was a need to create jobs. Instead, the leadership ignored the youth until the situation degenerated into an insurgency against the state and the multi-national oil companies in the area which led to the armed conflict during President Obasanjo's administration and the cash gifts during President Jonathan's administration.

Most of the policies formulated to facilitate good governance in Nigeria failed to succeed because of various factors such as the inefficiency of the civil service, the endemic corruption, the lack of basic infrastructure, and governance issues.

Hence an assessment of the role of leadership in ensuring good governance through the use of the IIAG instrument indicated a downward trajectory in good governance in Nigeria. The findings revealed that Nigeria was behind its contemporaries in the IIAG (2015) rating especially in areas such as safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity, and human development.

The conclusion of this research is that Nigeria's transactional leadership did not play an effective leadership role that could ensure good governance. Hence Nigeria lacks good governance as indicated by the lowly rating of the IIAG (2015). The solution is to introduce transformational leadership associated with transparency, visionary leadership, accountability and emotional intelligence etc. Nigerians should also gear up to rid themselves of the malaise of corruption by introducing a reorganised and adequately equipped anti-graft agencies (ICPC and the EFCC).

These agencies should have the appropriate authority by legislation to investigate and prosecute offenders without the intervention, approval or permission of any other body or legislative house. Further, these anti-graft agencies have to be part of an overhauled judicial system with zero tolerance for corruption. This way, all categories of offenders can be

successfully brought to justice. This should also include erring presidents, especially when the immunity granted presidents is removed to enable the corrupt ones face the music.



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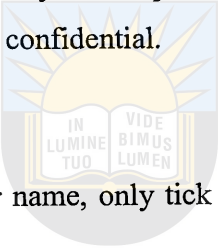
Appendix A: Interview Guide

Introduction

Thank you for your participation in this research aimed at making an assessment of the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria. My name is Kingsley Yobe and it is my pleasure to interview you. This research study is being conducted in partial fulfilment of a doctoral degree (PhD) in Public Administration. Consequently the study requires your honest view on the role of effective leadership in ensuring good governance in Nigeria between 1999 and the year 2014, and especially your opinion on the obstacles you encountered in your capacity as leaders saddled with the responsibility of ensuring good governance in Nigeria. Please respond frankly to the questions that will be asked to the best of your ability. Your response will be kept confidential.

May we begin.

Please you are not required to write your name, only tick the most appropriate category of respondents below:

- 
- University of Fort Hare
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- a) Former Permanent Secretary ()
 - b) Former Head of Service ()
 - c) Former Public Officer ()
 - d) Former Civil Servant ()
 - e) Secretary of Government ()
 - f) Officials of the Presidency ()
 - g) Officials of the National Legislature ()
 - h) Others (please specify)

Discussion Question Number One:

Choose the dimension of leadership you believe Nigeria's fourth republic adopted from the leadership styles listed below and state why you have chosen it?

A. Transformational

B. Transactional

C. Laissez-Faire

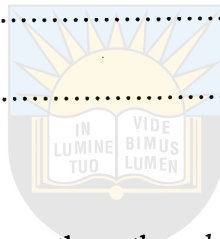
Why have you chosen it?

1.

2.

3.

4.



Discussion Question Number Two:

What is the relationship that exists between these three leadership styles; transformational, transactional and laissez faire and governance. In order words which of these leadership styles is more effective on governance.

Follow up Questions:

1.

2.

3.

4.

Discussion Question Number Three:

What is the greatest impediment to good governance in Nigeria during the period under examination?

Follow up Questions:

1.

2.

3.

4.



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Discussion Question Number Four:
Do you think an improvement in the quality of the Fourth republic leadership would have led to an improvement in Governance? Please answer Yes or No.

Follow up Questions:

1.

2.

3.

4.

Discussion Question Number Five:

Since good governance is essential for socio-economic development, in your opinion has Nigeria develop socio-economically during the fourth republic? You can answer Yes or No.

Follow up Questions: Do you believe the fourth republic did anything to provide an enabling condition for productive activities in Nigeria?

1.

2.

3.

4.



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Discussion Question Number Six:

Do you believe all the fourth republic administrations were legitimate? Yes or No.

Follow up Question: Were the leaders of the fourth republic committed to improved public welfare? Yes or No.

Follow up Question: In your own assessment how was the response of the fourth republic leadership to meet the needs of the Nigerian masses?

Follow up Question: Would you say the fourth republic leaders were equitable in their conduct?

Follow up Question: What is your assessment of law and order during the fourth republic?

1.

2.

3.

4.

Discussion Question Number Seven:



What are the Tenets of Effective Leadership that can Entrench Good Governance in Nigeria

Follow up Questions:

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1.

2.

3.

4.

Discussion Question Number Eight:

What aspect of good governance should be of utmost priority to the future leadership of Nigeria ?

Follow up Question:

1.

2.

3.

4.



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Discussion Question Number Nine:

What Leadership Model can become the Driver of Effective Leadership and Good Governance in Nigeria?

Follow up Questions:

1.

2.

3.

4.

Discussion Question Number Ten:

Do you believe a Leader's emotional intelligence can contribute to Effective Leadership and Good Governance in Nigeria?

Follow up Questions:

1.

2.

3.

4.



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Additional Comments:

Closing Remarks: I thank you for participating in this interview and for all your honest opinions expressed in response to the questions. May i reiterate that your confidentiality will be honoured and if you desire to have a copy of the research, your request would be accommodated.

Appendix B

MAIL COVERING LETTER

25/09/15

Nigerian Courier Company

Dear respondent,

Multifactor questionnaire

Please find attached a copy of the Multifactor questionnaire mentioned earlier. These questionnaires are intended to assist the researcher collect information to analyse the style of leadership adopted by Nigeria's fourth republic. This is part of a research investigation conducted to verify if Nigeria's leadership under the fourth republic played the role of effective leaders in the facilitation of good governance. The outcome of the research will benefit people interested in the leadership transformation of Nigeria and indeed each and every African state, where effective leadership criteria is overlooked in the choice of leaders and potential leaders; which often leads to stunted development and governance issues. The research will also benefit the body of knowledge especially in the area of leadership and governance.

Please be assured that as a participant/respondent your anonymity/confidentiality is guaranteed. Your permission will be requested should the researcher intend to go public with any information obtained from you.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours Sincerely,

Mr K.YOBE

LQ Leadership Questionnaire and Answer Sheet.

Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire

Leader Booklet (MLQM)

by Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio

DIRECTIONS: This questionnaire is designed to help you describe your leadership style as you perceive it. Please answer all items on the separate Leader Answer sheet. Be sure the answer sheet has your name on it. Judge how frequently each statement fits you. The word "others" may mean your peers, clients, direct reports, supervisors, and/or all of these individuals. If an item is irrelevant, or if you are unsure or do not know the answer, leave the answer blank.

Use the following rating scale:

	0	1	2	3	4
	Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently if not always
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

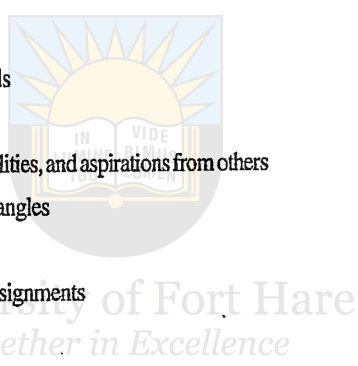
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Continued =>

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently if not always

16. I make clear what one can expect to receive when performance goals are achieved
17. I show that I am a firm believer in "If it ain't broke, don't fix it."
18. I go beyond self-interest for the good of the group
19. I treat others as individuals rather than just as a member of a group
20. I demonstrate that problems must become chronic before I take action
21. I act in ways that build others' respect for me
22. I concentrate my full attention on dealing with mistakes, complaints, and failures
23. I consider the moral and ethical consequences of decisions
24. I keep track of all mistakes
25. I display a sense of power and confidence
26. I articulate a compelling vision of the future
27. I direct my attention toward failures to meet standards
28. I avoid making decisions
29. I consider an individual as having different needs, abilities, and aspirations from others
30. I get others to look at problems from many different angles
31. I help others to develop their strengths
32. I suggest new ways of looking at how to complete assignments
33. I delay responding to urgent questions
34. I emphasize the importance of having a collective sense of mission
35. I express satisfaction when others meet expectations
36. I express confidence that goals will be achieved
37. I am effective in meeting others' job-related needs
38. I use methods of leadership that are satisfying
39. I get others to do more than they expected to do
40. I am effective in representing others to higher authority
41. I work with others in a satisfactory way
42. I heighten others' desire to succeed
43. I am effective in meeting organizational requirements
44. I increase others' willingness to try harder
45. I lead a group that is effective



When you are finished please place your Answer Sheet in an envelope large enough - DO NOT FOLD - and send to the address below.

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MULTIFACTOR LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

Leader Answer Sheet (MLQM)

by Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio



Leader Particulars

Leader Initial & Surname:	
Leader First Name:	Employee No:
Organisation:	
Business Unit:	
Section:	
Level:	

LEADER

(S e l f - R a t e r)

IMPORTANT: This answer sheet must be completed and returned to the *PERSON* who gave you this form **NO LATER THAN 7 DAYS** from receipt.

DIRECTIONS: First mark the number of rater forms you have distributed in the box provided. Then use this answer sheet to respond to the questions in the MLQ Leader Booklet. Be sure the Leader Booklet has your name on it. This survey is designed to describe your leadership style as you perceive it. Please answer all the items in the question booklet. Forty-five descriptive statements are listed in the MLQ Leader Booklet. Judge how frequently each statement fits you. Use the rating scale shown below:

Proper Mark: ○ ○ ● ○
Improper Marks: ⊗ ⊘ ⊙ ⊚

	0 Not at all	1 Once in a while	2 Sometimes	3 Fairly often	4 Frequently if not always	
0 1 2 3 4			0 1 2 3 4		0 1 2 3 4	
1.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		16.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	31.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
2.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		17.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	32.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
3.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		18.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	33.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
4.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		19.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	34.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
5.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		20.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	35.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
6.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		21.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	36.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
7.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		22.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	37.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
8.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		23.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	38.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
9.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		24.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	39.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
10.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		25.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	40.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
11.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		26.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	41.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
12.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		27.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	42.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
13.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		28.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	43.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
14.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		29.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	44.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○
15.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○		30.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	45.	○ ○ ○ ○ ○

Please retain a copy of this form and the question booklet. If you have any questions, please contact: The Scoring Department, TalentLine Consulting Group, Tel: 011 231 7700



Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire

Rater Booklet (MLQM)

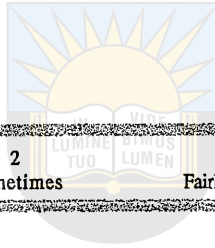
by Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio

Rater No. _____

DIRECTIONS: This questionnaire is to describe the leadership style of the person named on the answer sheet. Describe the leadership style as you perceive it. Please answer all items on this answer sheet. If an item is irrelevant, or if you are unsure or do not know the answer, leave the answer blank. Please answer this questionnaire anonymously.

Forty-five descriptive statements are listed on the following pages. Judge how frequently each statement fits the person you are describing.

Use the following rating scale:



0	1	2	3	4
Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently if not always

THE PERSON I AM RATING...

1. Provides me with assistance in exchange for my efforts
2. Re-examines critical assumptions to question whether they are appropriate
3. Fails to interfere until problems become serious
4. Focuses attention on irregularities, mistakes, exceptions, and deviations from standards
5. Avoids getting involved when important issues arise
6. Talks about their most important values and beliefs
7. Is absent when needed
8. Seeks differing perspectives when solving problems
9. Talks optimistically about the future
10. Instills pride in me for being associated with him/her
11. Discusses in specific terms who is responsible for achieving performance targets
12. Waits for things to go wrong before taking action
13. Talks enthusiastically about what needs to be accomplished
14. Specifies the importance of having a strong sense of purpose
15. Spends time teaching and coaching

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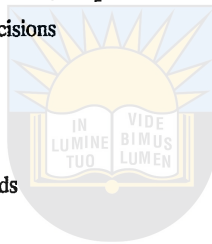
Continued =>

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0	1	2	3	4
Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently if not always

THE PERSON I AM RATING...

16. Makes clear what one can expect to receive when performance goals are achieved
17. Shows that he/she is a firm believer in "if it ain't broke, don't fix it."
18. Goes beyond self-interest for the good of the group
19. Treats me as an individual rather than just as a member of a group
20. Demonstrates that problems must become chronic before taking action
21. Acts in ways that builds my respect
22. Concentrates his/her full attention on dealing with mistakes, complaints, and failures
23. Considers the moral and ethical consequences of decisions
24. Keeps track of all mistakes
25. Displays a sense of power and confidence
26. Articulates a compelling vision of the future
27. Directs my attention toward failures to meet standards
28. Avoids making decisions
29. Considers me as having different needs, abilities, and aspirations from others
30. Gets me to look at problems from many different angles
31. Helps me to develop my strengths
32. Suggests new ways of looking at how to complete assignments
33. Delays responding to urgent questions
34. Emphasizes the importance of having a collective sense of mission
35. Expresses satisfaction when I meet expectations
36. Expresses confidence that goals will be achieved
37. Is effective in meeting my job-related needs
38. Uses methods of leadership that are satisfying
39. Gets me to do more than I expected to do
40. Is effective in representing me to higher authority
41. Works with me in a satisfactory way
42. Heightens my desire to succeed
43. Is effective in meeting organizational requirements
44. Increases my willingness to try harder
45. Leads a group that is effective



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When you are finished please place your Answer Sheet in an envelope large enough - DO NOT FOLD - and send to the address below.

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MULTIFACTOR LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

Answer Sheet (MLQM)

by Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio



Leader Particulars (Person You Are Rating)

Leader's Initial & Surname:

Organisation:

Business Unit:

Section:

Level:

RATER

I am at a higher organizational level than the person I am rating

The BOSS to fill in.

IMPORTANT: This answer sheet must be completed and returned to the **PERSON** who gave you this form **NO LATER THAN 7 DAYS** from receipt.

DIRECTIONS: Use this answer sheet to respond to the questions in the MLQ Rater Booklet. Please answer every item. This questionnaire is anonymous as your name is not required. This survey is designed to describe the leadership style of the above-mentioned individual as you perceive it. Forty-five descriptive statements are listed in the MLQ Rater Booklet. Judge how frequently each statement fits the person you are describing. Use the rating scale shown below:
Proper Mark: ○ ○ ● ○ Improper Marks:

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently if not always

	0	1	2	3	4
1.	○	○	○	○	○
2.	○	○	○	○	○
3.	○	○	○	○	○
4.	○	○	○	○	○
5.	○	○	○	○	○
6.	○	○	○	○	○
7.	○	○	○	○	○
8.	○	○	○	○	○
9.	○	○	○	○	○
10.	○	○	○	○	○
11.	○	○	○	○	○
12.	○	○	○	○	○
13.	○	○	○	○	○
14.	○	○	○	○	○
15.	○	○	○	○	○

	0	1	2	3	4
16.	○	○	○	○	○
17.	○	○	○	○	○
18.	○	○	○	○	○
19.	○	○	○	○	○
20.	○	○	○	○	○
21.	○	○	○	○	○
22.	○	○	○	○	○
23.	○	○	○	○	○
24.	○	○	○	○	○
25.	○	○	○	○	○
26.	○	○	○	○	○
27.	○	○	○	○	○
28.	○	○	○	○	○
29.	○	○	○	○	○
30.	○	○	○	○	○

	0	1	2	3	4
31.	○	○	○	○	○
32.	○	○	○	○	○
33.	○	○	○	○	○
34.	○	○	○	○	○
35.	○	○	○	○	○
36.	○	○	○	○	○
37.	○	○	○	○	○
38.	○	○	○	○	○
39.	○	○	○	○	○
40.	○	○	○	○	○
41.	○	○	○	○	○
42.	○	○	○	○	○
43.	○	○	○	○	○
44.	○	○	○	○	○
45.	○	○	○	○	○

Please retain a copy of this form and the question booklet. If you have any questions, please contact: The Scoring Department, TalentLine Consulting Group, Tel: 011 231 7700

11874



MULTIFACTOR LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

Answer Sheet (MLQM)

by Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio

11874

RATER

Leader Name:

Business Unit:

Region:

I am at a ~~lower~~ **SAME** organizational level than the person I am rating

SAME to fill in:

IMPORTANT! This answer sheet must be completed and returned to the PERSON who gave you this form **NO LATER THAN 7 DAYS** from receipt.

DIRECTIONS: Use this answer sheet to respond to the questions in the MLQ Rater Booklet. Please answer every item. This questionnaire is anonymous as your name is not required. This survey is designed to describe the leadership style of the above-mentioned individual as you perceive it. Forty-five descriptive statements are listed in the MLQ Rater Booklet. Judge how frequently each statement fits the person you are describing. Use the rating scale shown below:
 Proper Mark: ○ ○ ● ○ Improper Marks: ~~○~~ ~~○~~ ~~○~~ ~~○~~

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently if not always
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4		0 1 2 3 4
1. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	16. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	31. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		46. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
2. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	17. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	32. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		47. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
3. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	18. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	33. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		48. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
4. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	19. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	34. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		49. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
5. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	20. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	35. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		50. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
6. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	21. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	36. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		51. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
7. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	22. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	37. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		52. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
8. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	23. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	38. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		53. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
9. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	24. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	39. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		54. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
10. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	25. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	40. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		55. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
11. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	26. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	41. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		56. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
12. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	27. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	42. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		57. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
13. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	28. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	43. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		58. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
14. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	29. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	44. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		59. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
15. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	30. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	45. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		60. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

Please retain a copy of this form and the question booklet. Be sure to include your phone number in case there are any queries. If you have any questions, please contact: The Scoring Department, Tel: 011 231 7700

11874



MULTIFACTOR LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

Answer Sheet (MLQM)

by Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio



Leader Name (Person you are Rating)

Leader# (Rater#)

Leader Name:

Business Unit:

Region:

RATER

I am at a lower organizational level than the person I am rating

The SUBORDINATE/ TEAM MEMBER to fill in:

IMPORTANT: This answer sheet must be completed and returned to the *PERSON* who gave you this form **NO LATER THAN 7 DAYS** from receipt.

DIRECTIONS: Use this answer sheet to respond to the questions in the MLQ Rater Booklet. Please answer every item. This questionnaire is anonymous as your name is not required. This survey is designed to describe the leadership style of the above-mentioned individual as you perceive it. Forty-five descriptive statements are listed in the MLQ Rater Booklet. Judge how frequently each statement fits the person you are describing. Use the rating scale shown below:
Proper Mark: ○ ○ ● ○ Improper Marks: ~~○~~ ~~○~~ ~~○~~ ~~○~~

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all	Once in a while	Sometimes	Fairly often	Frequently if not always
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4
1. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	16. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	31. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
2. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	17. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	32. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
3. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	18. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	33. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
4. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	19. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	34. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
5. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	20. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	35. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
6. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	21. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	36. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
7. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	22. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	37. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
8. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	23. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	38. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
9. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	24. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	39. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
10. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	25. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	40. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
11. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	26. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	41. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
12. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	27. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	42. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
13. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	28. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	43. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
14. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	29. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	44. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		
15. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	30. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	45. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○		

Please retain a copy of this form and the question booklet. Be sure to include your phone number in case there are any queries. If you have any questions, please contact: The Scoring Department, Tel: 011 231 7700

