Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

Political development is often characterized by the strength and efficiency of key state institutions, such as the legislature, executive, judiciary, government agencies, and security forces. These institutions function effectively when there is no undue interference or overlap in their responsibilities. While these branches of government must collaborate for the common good and overall productivity, they are also expected to operate independently. Political development is frequently associated with liberalism, where countries adhering to liberal principles are viewed as advanced in their democratic processes. However, it is noted that nations like Russia and China have distinct leadership models, which are often labeled undemocratic by those following liberal democratic frameworks. Despite this, these countries have successfully leveraged their governance styles to achieve effective administration. In Nigeria's case, although the system aligns with liberal principles, political development remains hindered by a lack of good governance and independent institutions. Therefore, it is more accurate to define political development through the lens of good governance rather than adhering strictly to a particular ideology or government form[1].

Moreover, political development promotes policies that foster economic growth and aim to enhance the social welfare of citizens by ensuring essential services are both accessible and affordable. It also seeks to reduce conditions that lead to social unrest and divisive tendencies. Political development thrives under certain key conditions, including an industrialised economy experiencing significant growth and an improved Human Development Index, the presence of effective and impartial institutions (such as an independent judiciary, a legislature that is not merely a rubber stamp for the executive, a transparent electoral system, and robust security

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mechanisms), strong adherence to national ethics, and a well-functioning reward system that values diligence and patriotism. Compliance with the rule of law, emphasis on the effectiveness of state institutions, and fostering harmonious social relations despite differences in identity are also crucial. A deep commitment to nationalism, prioritising merit and competence over nepotism, favouritism, and sectionalism is equally important[1]. Challenges of good governance have impeded political development in Nigeria. The significant disconnect between the political elite, who often consist of the political class and their associates, and the general populace does not align with the public's expectations. There are discrepancies between governmental actions and public concerns at every level of governance[1].

It was opined that Nigerians do not only face denial of basic rights; they also battle series of variation in the rights to fundamental human rights. This has warranted unpatriotic zeal of many citizenries and lack of trust and social connect between the governments and governed. It is an affirmation that recent mass exodus and intents of majority to leave the shores of Nigeria for better livelihood abroad is not devoid of bad governance. As such, many are unmotivated to support the society because of government lackadaisical attitude to the citizenries[2]. Lack of continuity and ineffective implementation of strategically plans to execute a project coupled with lack of effective monitoring and a society riddled with corruption is reflected in the number of uncompleted and abandoned projects dotting the Nigeria space. Even when projects are completed, there are high tendencies that they do last overtime as quality are constantly undermined by high level corruption in the civil service emanated from a weak institutional framework. These concerns are heightened by a study that found development policies and plans often struggle to succeed in Nigeria. This is largely because public officials, who are responsible for creating and implementing these plans, frequently prioritise personal gain over the general welfare of the population[2].

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At every level of societal involvement, the Nigerian government has failed to establish a reliable and participatory framework for the populace, particularly regarding its electoral system, which consistently stirs up controversy both within its local media and among international observers. The lack of accountability and transparency within state administration remains a longstanding obstacle to effective governance in Nigeria. Persistent political development challenges in Nigeria are further exacerbated by the presence of weak and inadequate state institutions. As previously mentioned, issues surrounding elections and legitimacy crises are recurrent problems in Nigerian political development, driven by fragile political infrastructures, the absence of secularisation in political culture, an ineffective judicial system, and a general disregard for the rule of law. Furthermore, party politics in Nigeria lack ideological inclination and precedents. In addition, national integration crisis and security challenges dot every landscape of the Nigeria environment. All these are inimical to political development[1].

For political development to thrive, there is the need to enthrone good governance. In order to enthrone good governance, there is also the need to enthrone transparency and accountability in government. Two major factors determine political development; leadership and strong institution. The main traits of good leadership are the will to be transparent and accountable to the people one governs in the planning, implementation, execution of every policy. It has been observed that like assets declaration, the practice of routine audit and public accounts oversight has not maximally benefitted the country. Some other measures assessed by the think tank include; yearly and routine audit, freedom of information, public procurement, publication of subnational transfers, disclosure of extractive sector revenues and beneficial ownership to prosecution, asset recovery. Among such challenges are the vexed issues of non-disclosure and non-verification, by the CCB, of assets declared by public officials. Yet, these are necessary preconditions for transparency and

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accountability. It is important to fix these challenges, in addition to the perennial problem of poor budgetary allocations[3].

Advanced democracies are characterised by robust political, social, and economic institutions. For example, at the time of this research, former US President Donald Trump was still facing legal challenges, a scenario that would be almost inconceivable in Nigeria. It is suggested that strong institutions alone, without influential individuals to enforce them, may still fail to achieve the desired outcomes. Despite the existence of institutions designed to limit the excesses of public officials, Nigeria has continued to experience significant setbacks in its political development, which negatively impacts its economic growth and development. Successive Nigerian leaders have consistently shown a blatant disregard for the rule of law. For example, former President Olusegun Obasanjo was known for intervening across all levels of the federal system and disregarding court decisions. This trend is also evident in the frequent disregard for judicial rulings and occasional interference in legal proceedings, such as those concerning the release of detained IPOB leader Nnamdi Kanu. Even when institutions attempt to exercise their authority, it is often not in the genuine public interest but rather due to intense conflicts of interest among political figures, with the faction possessing the most loyal supporters usually prevailing in these power struggles[4].

A distinction exists between the institution itself and the individuals who operate within it: an institution remains feeble and ineffective unless individuals act correctly within its framework. This raises the question of what holds greater strength: the institutions or those who manage them. Clearly, it is the individuals. Supporting this view, Chinua Achebe, a renowned global author, once commented, “The Nigerian issue lies in the reluctance or incapacity of its leaders to meet the demands of responsibility and the challenge of setting a personal example, which are the defining qualities of genuine leadership.” The various institutions, for instance ICPC, EFCC, INEC, have

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not been able to effectively perform the aims under which they are established largely due to interference by the political office holders[4]. This can become more pronounced when a leader of the ruling party pronounced that once you join their party, all sins (political and economic) of the person is forgiven. Literally translating to all charges, if any, levied against such member would be dropped. Emphatically, most corruption cases in Nigeria always end up in the shelves of these agencies. Furthermore, the independent of INEC has also continued to generate more controversies from the manner in which election cases sprang up after the elections, a trend which has continued with every election.

Three key institutions uphold the integrity of a secure democracy: political institutions, social institutions, and economic institutions. In Nigeria, political institutions face significant challenges concerning their structure, orientation, and personnel. For example, the independence of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has been frequently questioned, especially in light of past controversies and the recent disputes following the 2023 general elections. Since the reintroduction of democracy in 1999, the electoral body has been heavily scrutinised by politicians, facing issues such as infrastructure inadequacies and accusations of electoral fraud. Despite substantial funds being allocated to ensure the conduct of transparent elections, each electoral cycle is plagued with controversies and allegations of corruption and inefficiency[4].

The National Assembly is another political institution that shows signs of dysfunction. Members of both legislative chambers often invest significant amounts of money to obtain party nomination forms and run their campaigns. As a result, the legislative process is often dominated by career politicians more focused on financial returns than on meaningful legislative work for the country's development. This is one reason why lawmakers often seek positions on lucrative committees. Additionally, issues such as budget padding have emerged, which serve as another method of

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draining public funds. Legislators not only receive undisclosed large salaries and benefits but are also allocated funds for constituency projects, which are frequently mismanaged or underused, thereby depriving the public of the benefits of democracy. The financial burden associated with politics in Nigeria creates barriers for ordinary citizens aspiring to run for elected office[4].

The executive branch wields significant control over various domains, including fiscal and monetary policies, security, and international relations. Effective governance in these areas depends on the competence of individuals within different governmental institutions. Unfortunately, corruption has deeply infiltrated ministries, departments, and agencies. A former Minister of Finance highlighted those initiatives to strengthen governmental institutions faced considerable opposition. One such initiative was the implementation of the Integrated Payroll and Personnel Information System (IPPIS), a technology-based platform with biometric identification aimed at reducing corruption. However, this system has been compromised by civil servants. Just three weeks ago, the current administration uncovered how staff within the payroll department manipulated IPPIS for personal gain. This reinforces the notion that individuals play a crucial role in shaping the effectiveness of institutions[4].

From 1999 to 2023, Nigeria has struggled to have credible presidential leaders capable of effectively managing the country's resources for the benefit of its citizens. These leaders often lack the ability to identify and address the specific needs of the people[1]. In developed political settings with strong institutions, leadership entails shouldering responsibilities and committing to sacrifice rather than personal or primordial interest nested by vested interest of cabals whose sole intentions is reaping from their electoral investment which continues to enlist and enthrone cabals and godfatherism in our political set-ups. In most cases, the institutions through which most of our leaders emerge from are fraught with malfeasance, irregularities and fraud eliciting question mark

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on the calibres of those who assume mantra of leadership in Nigeria[1]. This "do or die" politics witnessed in every stratum of leadership in the country has perforated checks and balance as the polity is built on winner takes it all ideology of our presidential system. Suffice to say that leadership is built on trust. Trust can only be won when institutional frameworks and the leadership style is built on accountability and transparency. Every governance index points to the fact Nigeria presidents especially since the inception of democratic governance in 1999 till date have very low score on accountability and transparency scale. The present study will thus examine the extent at which presidential leadership impact on political development. Furthermore, the present study will also examine the extent at which institutional capabilities impact on political development from 2015 to 2023.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Varying and accompanying problems of governance and leadership exist in Nigeria at all levels most especially under the presidential system of government which we have made use of since 1999. At present, Nigeria is in urgent need of reform, and further studies should be undertaken to explore the influence of leadership on national development, particularly drawing on the Nigerian context. A specific emphasis should be placed on examining the performance of the presidential system since its adoption in the country's governance. Nigeria has experimented with different governmental systems, ranging from parliamentary to military, and now the presidential model. However, the expectations of millions of Nigerians have been shattered repeatedly due to the persistent inability of successive political leaders to deliver effective governance. This failure has hindered the establishment of sustainable infrastructure, which is essential for the constructive engagement of citizens and fostering national development.

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For nearly two decades following Nigeria's transition back to a presidential system of governance (1999-2019), the country has consistently faced leadership challenges. These issues have resulted in inadequate infrastructure nationwide and mismanagement within government institutions, particularly in Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs), leading to a loss of public confidence in the nation's leadership. Over these years, Nigeria has made various efforts to restructure its economy and improve public sector governance by implementing public service reforms aimed at enhancing the efficiency of government institutions. These efforts have included privatising and conceding key services and infrastructure to private sector operators. Nevertheless, it has been argued that these reforms have not delivered the desired results, partly due to leadership shortcomings, which have negatively impacted the quality of life for citizens. The leadership problem is especially pronounced in the area of infrastructure development, which has a direct bearing on the overall socio-economic well-being of Nigerians.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study aimed to examine the impact of Presidential Leadership and Institutional Capability on Political Development in Nigeria from 2015 till 2023. The specific objectives were to:

i. review the leadership of President Muhamadu Buhari from 2015-2023;
ii. examine the impact of presidential leadership that emphasizes accountability on sustainable political development in Nigeria;
iii. discuss the impact of presidential leadership that upholds the rule of law on political stability;
iv. assess how the functionality of formal institutions enhances governance and promotes political stability in Nigeria;

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v. analyse the impact of internal and external pressures on the evolution and adaptation of institutions in Nigeria, with a focus on reforms in the electoral process and anti-corruption measures aimed at improving governance and institutional efficiency;

vi. evaluate the impact of institutional complementarities and the coordination among different branches of government and their respective agencies on political development in Nigeria; and

vii. assess the influence of President Muhamadu Buhari's Leadership Style on Political Development in Nigeria.

1.4 Research Question

1. What leadership style was engaged by President Muhamadu Buhari from 2015-2023?

1.5 Hypotheses

Based on the variables of this study, these null hypotheses were formulated upon which the research study was anchored.

H_o1: There is no significant difference between accountability under President Muhamadu Buhari and promotion of sustainable political development in Nigeria.

H_o2: Rule of law under President Muhamadu Buhari does not significantly enhances political stability.

H_o3: Functionality of formal institutions under President Muhamadu Buhari does not significantly enhance good governance in Nigeria.

H_o4: Internal and external pressures under President Muhamadu Buhari does not significantly influence institutional reforms.

H_o5: The effectiveness of institutional complementarities does not significantly influence political development in Nigeria.

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H_o6: President Muhammadu Buhari's leadership style does not significantly influence political development in Nigeria.

1.6 Significance of the Study

By focusing on the leadership style of President Muhamadu Buhari from 2015 to 2023, the thesis provides a detailed evaluation of his governance approach, decision-making, and leadership impact. This can be critical for understanding the dynamics of leadership in Nigeria's political context and how it shapes the broader political landscape. Investigating the impact of leadership that emphasizes accountability on sustainable political development highlights the importance of transparency and responsible governance. This can offer practical insights into how accountability measures can be implemented to foster long-term political development in Nigeria. Examining the connection between upholding the rule of law and political stability helps to underscore the role of legal frameworks in maintaining order and peace within a nation. This insight is crucial for policymakers, legal experts, and political analysts who are focused on creating and maintaining stable political environments.

Assessing the functionality of formal institutions and their role in governance and stability provides valuable lessons on how institutional strength and efficiency contribute to good governance. These findings can be applied to bolster the effectiveness of government institutions, thereby promoting better governance practices. Analysing how internal and external pressures influence institutional adaptation, particularly in electoral reforms and anti-corruption measures, offers an understanding of the responsiveness of institutions to change. This can inform future reform initiatives, enhancing institutional resilience and efficiency. Exploring the impact of institutional complementarities and coordination among different branches of government

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provides insights into the importance of synergy for political development. Effective coordination can lead to coherent policies and strategies, promoting political stability and development. Assessing the influence of President Buhari's leadership style on political development offers a case study that could serve as a model for future leaders. It can reveal how personal leadership approaches impact national governance and development, providing lessons for future presidents and political leaders.

The findings from this thesis can be used to formulate actionable policy recommendations aimed at improving leadership practices, institutional functionality, and political stability in Nigeria. These recommendations can guide future political strategies and governance reforms. The comprehensive examination of leadership, institutional capability, and political development in this study lays a foundation for further research in political science, governance, and development studies. It can inspire more in-depth studies on leadership styles, institutional reforms, and their impacts on political stability across different contexts. Although focused on Nigeria, the insights gained can be relevant to other African countries with similar political and institutional structures. The research findings can contribute to a broader understanding of the relationship between leadership, institutional strength, and political development on the African continent.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This research explores the impact of Presidential Leadership and Institutional Capability on political development within selected Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs). These include the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC), Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS), National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), and the Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR). The study encompassed both male and female

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permanent and contract employees who have been with these organizations for a minimum of ten years.

The rationale behind the selection of Seven (7) MDAs is to derive a proportional population percentage in the figure for the study. They are federal MDAs and their services affect the people and governance directly. Political development is measured with improved human development index and standard of living, effectiveness of the oversight functions of the national assembly, and rule of law.

Furthermore, the time frame covered by the study is 2015-2023 that is the period premised on the administration of President Mohamadu Buhari who rode on the back of integrity, willingness to curb corruption and corruption practices and insecurity to assume the mantra of leadership. As such the study focused on leadership style of the president Mohammed Buhari, leadership style that best suits political development in Nigeria, impacts of President Muhammadu Buhari's leadership on institutional integrity, democratic processes, and governance effectiveness, institutional capability impact on political development and level of political development in Nigeria from 2015 to 2023.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

Many problems were encountered in the course of writing this project. Some of the problems included uncooperative attitudes of some of the staffs where information was sourced. Many information needed for the study were not available nor shared by personnel in charge.

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1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

In order to guide against any doubt, ambiguity, vagueness and inconsistency of concepts and terms in this study and for clarity, the following terms were operationally defined according to its usage in the study.

Presidential Leadership Style: the president leadership style used in the context of this study is based on task and human relationship-oriented techniques

Institutional Capability: measures the stability, adaptability, coordination, policy implementation and efficiency of government and its agencies in Nigeria from 2015 to 2023.

Governance: ways and measures through which the administration of President Muhamadu Buhari fared in fulfilling his campaign promises.

Political Development: the extent at which the principles of rule of law were adhered to, fight against corruption was championed, security was provided and wellbeing of the citizenry fared during President Muhamadu Buhari's administration from 2015 to 2023.

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Endnotes

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Chapter Two

Literature Review

The chapter will review some existing literature relevant to Presidential Leadership, Institutional Capability and Political Development from 2015 to 2023. Some theories and empirical studies that are germane and relevant to explaining the variables under study investigated in the research work. This enabled us authenticate our findings and submissions on the proposed study.

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Leadership

The concept of leadership is interpreted in numerous ways. It is often viewed as the act through which an individual influences a group towards achieving a shared objective[1]. Leadership involves guiding others to reach their goals while steering the organisation towards greater unity and coherence. These descriptions highlight leadership as an influential process that engages individuals to accomplish specific aims[2]. Various scholars have offered diverse interpretations of what constitutes a leader. A leader can be seen as a person who is chosen, either through election or appointment, or who naturally emerges from within a group to guide and coordinate the efforts of its members towards a designated goal[3].

Leaders usually take on roles such as planning, organising, directing, and overseeing the tasks of group members. They are also responsible for fostering cohesion and motivation within the group, ensuring it operates as a unified entity. Essentially, leaders bring individuals together and challenge themselves to actualise their vision. Arguably, the most thorough definition of a leader has been articulated by:

> A leader is one or more people who selects, equips, trains, and influences one or more followers who have diverse gifts, abilities, and skills and focuses the followers to the organization's missions and

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> objectives causing the followers to willingly and enthusiastically expend spiritual, emotional, and physical energy in a concerted coordinated effort to achieve the organizational mission and objectives[4].

While this definition encompasses all aspects of leadership, one that aligns closely with the conceptual framework of this study describes leadership as "Managers establish demanding goals and attain elevated performance levels[4]." Although leadership and being a leader are not identical, they are closely related. Leaders are anticipated to guide and inspire their subordinates, whereas leadership itself is a process that motivates individuals to accomplish well-defined objectives.

2.1.1.1 Leadership Styles

Over the years, different leadership styles and models have emerged in various disciplines. A researcher identified three leadership styles[5]. They include:

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

A broader range of leadership styles was suggested. They are:

- Coercive leadership
- Task-oriented leadership
- Authoritarian or authoritative leadership
- Bureaucratic leadership
- Affiliative leadership
- Laissez-Faire leadership
- Empowering leadership
- Democratic or participative leadership.
- Pacesetter or charismatic leadership; and

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- Coaching.

Two other leadership styles have been added to this long list; these are imperative leadership and visionary leadership. Although it may seem as extensive as a list, different leadership styles are interrelated, and leaders usually use them simultaneously in the governance process, but in some cases male and female leadership styles may be different[6].

Authoritarian leaders set clear expectations about what they need to do, when they should do it, and how they should do it. This approach is employed by leaders to instruct their followers on what needs to be done and the method for doing it, without seeking advice or suggestions from them. Authoritarian leaders make decisions on their own, typically with minimal or no contribution from other group members[7]. The obsessive and bureaucratic style of leadership is dictatorial in many ways. The fundamental element of a compulsory leadership style is the management of people and the workplace, and the results are achieved by direct and explicit instructions about expectations and compliance demands from followers[6]. Similarly, bureaucratic leadership requires subordinates to follow procedures and rules. In the context of Nigeria, political leadership during the military period falls into the category of autonomous leadership.

Democratic or participative leadership fosters consensus by actively involving team members in the process. The success of this leadership style relies on effective group or team collaboration to produce results[6]. Subordinates are engaged in decision-making, with decisions being formed through collective agreement. While participative leaders encourage team members to take part, they maintain the authority to make the final decision. Group members feel more involved in the process and are more ambitious and creative. This style tends to promote responsibility, flexibility, and high morale, and as employees engage in decision making and planning, they tend to be more realistic about what is possible and what is not there is.

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The participatory or democratic leadership approach is often considered the most effective form of leadership, as it involves the leader providing direction while encouraging team members to engage in the decision-making process[8]. Within the Nigerian context, the civilian democratic political party system should ideally embody the principles of participatory or democratic leadership. In my view, this has indeed been observed in various democratic administrations in Nigeria. Conversely, delegative or laissez-faire leadership offers minimal direction to team members, allowing them to take charge of the decision-making process with little involvement from the leader[6]. This style is characterised by a conscious decision not to influence subordinates, granting them significant autonomy and authority.

The Laissez-Faire leadership style tends to be effective only under the very specialized situation when team members are highly skilled and knowledgeable in a specific area of expertise, and when the goals of the organization are clearly stated and acceptable to the leader and the followers[9]. However, this style of leadership has the potential of leading to poorly defined roles and resulting in lack of motivation among subordinates, groups, and followers.

There are other leadership styles identified by various writers. The commanding leader demands immediate compliance from subordinates which places this leadership style squarely under autocratic leadership style[10]. The coaching leader develops people for the future and places greater emphasis on the development of the subordinates and their capabilities through the identification of the unique skills and the strengths and weaknesses of the subordinates and linking them to personal career aspirations. Coaching leadership style involves delegating tasks, building skills, and assessing outcomes. Visionary leadership style encourages the mobilization of people toward the realization of a vision, and the pacesetting leader sets high standards for performance by subordinates, while the affiliative leader creates harmony and builds emotional bonds[10]. Leadership styles may produce different outcomes or results, but

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ultimately, a good leader is one that applies any or a combination of the leadership styles in a manner and approach that provides direction and motivates people to achieve desired goals[11].

Leadership Style

The concept of leadership style pertains to the way a leader behaves in a work environment. It is suggested that there are two primary leadership styles: 1. Task-Focused; 2. Relationship-Focused. Leaders who adopt the task-focused style derive satisfaction from successfully completing tasks and tend to address interpersonal relationships afterward. In contrast, those who employ the relationship-focused style prioritise fostering positive interpersonal relationships, considering them essential for achieving tasks and establishing personal prominence[12].

Task Oriented Leadership

Task-oriented leadership is a behavioural method where the leader prioritises the tasks that must be completed to reach specific goals or attain a particular level of performance. This leadership style encompasses various aspects of task management. Task management involves coordinating job-related tasks, placing emphasis on administrative duties, overseeing the quality of teaching and learning, and preparing financial statements. Consequently, it can be inferred that leaders who employ a task-oriented leadership approach focus on accomplishing the tasks needed to meet organisational objectives. A notable trait of these leaders is their tendency to be less focused on the employees, who are essential for achieving the set goals. Instead, their primary concern is adhering to a planned course of action to fulfil specific organisational targets. Task-oriented leaders is leaders that focus only on getting the job done, and could be quite autocratic. They actively define the work and roles required, put structures in place, plan, organize, coordinate, direct and monitor[13].

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Task-oriented leadership prioritises achieving goals that contribute to organisational success. It is defined as a behavioural approach where the leader concentrates on the tasks required to meet specific objectives or reach a particular performance standard. On the other hand, work performance refers to the quality and quantity of work completed by an employee while fulfilling their responsibilities, as assigned by a supervisor. Performance encompasses the outcomes generated by employees' actions, which are based on their technical expertise and abilities. Task-oriented leaders emphasise completing the essential tasks needed to attain a defined goal. These leaders are typically less concerned with the idea of catering for employees' welfare and more concerned with finding a step-by-step solution required to meet specific goals. They will often actively define the work and the roles required, put structures in place, and plan, organize, and monitor progress within the team. This type of behaviour is concerned with accomplishing the tasks, utilizing personnel and resources efficiently and maintaining efficient operations. The three specific types of task-oriented behaviours are planning, clarifying and monitoring. Task-oriented leadership was assessed using three dimensions. These dimensions included: task structure, level of Authority, and Leader-member relation[14].

Task-oriented leadership style has different definitions given by different scholars. A task-oriented leader is one that emphasizes the tasks needed to achieve goals. Task-oriented leadership is "doing whatever it takes to get the job done. Task-oriented leadership often is contrasted against relations-oriented leadership. The approach tends to be autocratic and emphasizes completing tasks required to meet organizational goals. Task-oriented leadership focuses on achieving goals. Task-oriented leaders delegate assignments, set clear processes and issue deadlines to ensure all team members remain focused and deliver their part of the project within the designated time. Task-oriented leadership is a directive style of leadership specifying tasks and goals. Task-oriented leaders provide steps and a plan to meet the goals of an

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organization. In task-oriented leadership, the leader can achieve a specific standard of performance in their direction[15].

Task-oriented competencies involve a blend of skills, attributes, and attitudes necessary for concentrating on achieving a project's goals and objectives. Leaders who are task-oriented emphasise developing the managerial and leadership abilities required to ensure projects are successfully completed. These leaders convert both short-term and long-term project goals into actionable plans through proactive planning, continuous supervision of team members' work, providing candid and constructive feedback, and ensuring that resources are available to enhance project performance[15]. Task-oriented project managers prioritise delivering the project outcomes as intended, on time, within the budget, and meeting the defined specifications and quality standards[16]. Additionally, when a task-oriented leader is committed to project success, their primary aim is to deliver the project at the lowest possible cost while adhering to quality requirements[17].

The overall success of a project often hinges on its initial phase and the project manager's ability to effectively launch the project and obtain the necessary resources[18]. Studies have shown that task-oriented leaders can set a clear course for the project at its outset, assigning roles and responsibilities to team members to ensure tasks are completed on schedule. Such leaders focus on executing tasks effectively to reach the desired level of performance. Moreover, task-oriented competencies help in recognising the abilities of individuals who achieve specific objectives through task management and coordinated efforts. This results-oriented method is more focused on task completion than on the interpersonal aspects[19]. Indeed, task-oriented leaders consistently positively impact project performance, fostering a constructive attitude within the project team. In task-oriented projects, team members believe their managers are competent and possess the necessary knowledge to complete project tasks, thereby instilling confidence in the project manager's capabilities[19].

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Task-oriented leadership is a leadership that is imposed in an institution and is coercive in nature. Task-oriented leaders have all the control of decisions in an organization and makes choices depending on their ideas and preferences and do rarely allow subordinates to contribute in decision making. Task-oriented leaders provide clear expectations of what is to be done and how it should be done. Task-oriented leaders outline tasks to be done and demand error free results. Principals who are authoritarian make all decisions to be followed, supervise them and are only concerned with the job processes[20].

However, since task-oriented leaders do not tend to think much about the well-being of their employees, this approach could suffer many of the flaws of autocratic leadership with difficulties in motivating and retaining employees. From the above definitions, task-oriented leadership can be defined as goal-inclined and focused leaders in the school that ensure the completion of school objectives within a timeframe. Task-oriented leaders in the school setting define the roles of the whole teachers specifically in the schools and provide teaching resources for the teachers to carry out their teaching assignments. The task-oriented leaders provide instructional materials for the teachers, and other educational resources to get the job done. In this kind of leadership in school, everything is focused on achieving the school tasks and goals. Task-oriented school leadership is a school leadership model in that the school leaders' priority is getting tasks done through the use of the teachers' goal setting and definition. Task-oriented school leaders tend to be more focused on creating step-by-step plans to achieve the school's objectives. Tasks-oriented leaders in school are very organized, creating structures and systems for their teachers to excel in the school tasks[15].

One of the main advantages of task-focused leadership is that all necessary tasks are carried out accurately and promptly. This quality helps employees manage their time effectively. Additionally, task-focused leaders set an example for their team by concentrating on essential workplace protocols and demonstrating how tasks should be accomplished. As a result, they

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can delegate responsibilities and ensure that assignments are completed efficiently and on schedule. As for the other strengths of task-oriented leadership style, the purpose is clear and the task definitions are precise. Leaders are open to communication in the sense that they want to be sure that the targets are clearly understood by the employees. In addition to this, they design work groups for specific tasks and ensure that group members have a clear understanding of their roles. Therefore, it can be concluded that this leadership style is suited to well-structured work environments, such as manufacturing assembly lines, in which repeating well-defined processes results in high levels of productivity and quality[21].

As for the weaknesses of the task-oriented style, a fear of breaking the rules among employees, may result in a lack of creativity, low morale and thus, high turnover. When employees afraid to break rules, they may not take any risks, and therefore there may occur a lack of innovation. Moreover, the employees who are really creative, may feel demoralized and tend to leave their current organizations so as to find more appealing opportunities in other organizations. Another weakness is seen in organizations which operate in highly competitive industries, such as retail or food services. These organizations must be able to immediately react to external threats and opportunities in order to survive. Therefore, their employees should take risks, and this may make them not feel comfortable[17].

Relationship-Oriented Leadership

To ensure the successful completion of a complex project, project leaders with a focus on relationships possess unique competencies that may be well-suited for the task. Such leaders prioritise nurturing, motivating, and fostering strong relationships among team members, promoting effective teamwork and collaboration, as well as fostering positive interactions and clear communication. Project managers who exhibit relationship-oriented traits emphasise open and thorough communication both within the project team and with other stakeholders to

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enhance understanding and reduce conflicts throughout the project[18]. Leaders who focus on relationships place a strong emphasis on the well-being of their team members, making efforts to address the unique needs of everyone participating in the project. This approach includes preventing conflicts within the team and engaging in more informal interactions to understand the strengths and weaknesses of each member. Additionally, these leaders strive to foster a transparent, non-competitive work atmosphere and guide their team in a friendly and motivating way[19].

Leaders who prioritise relationships tend to be very approachable, transparent, and sincerely care about the welfare of their team members. They provide support and ensure that the project team is cared for in a manner that allows each member to perform at their highest potential, without unnecessary distractions or emotional strain. This leadership style often fosters a harmonious work environment, as it encourages strong social bonds within the team[22]. Furthermore, the likelihood of project success is greater when a project manager possesses experience and maintains a positive outlook. Key competencies for a project manager, among others, include the ability to communicate effectively and the skill to develop teams to manage project resources efficiently and successfully[6]. Leadership that prioritises relationships emphasises interpersonal skills and interactions with others. These leaders encourage and motivate their subordinates to meet project goals and offer support. They are accessible, amicable, and attuned to the needs of their team members, making efforts to meet their expectations[19].

Relationship-focused leadership is a style that prioritises employee job satisfaction, motivation, and work-life balance. Leaders who embrace this approach concentrate on supporting, motivating, and developing their team members. They foster teamwork and collaboration by cultivating positive relationships and promoting open communication. Such leaders give precedence to the well-being of each individual employee and are willing to invest time and

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resources into addressing their specific needs. In this regard, they may provide incentives such as bonuses, address conflicts within the workplace, engage in informal interactions to understand employees' strengths and weaknesses, and strive to create a non-competitive work environment[23].

Strengths and Weakness of Relationship-Oriented Leadership

One benefit of this leadership style is that leaders who prioritise relationships create teams that people genuinely wish to be a part of. Team members often become more productive and are more willing to take risks, knowing their leader will provide support when needed. Another advantage of relationship-focused leadership is that employee's work in an environment where their leader truly cares about their welfare. These leaders understand that sustaining productivity in the workplace involves fostering a positive atmosphere where individuals feel motivated. Consequently, they prioritise their staff to reduce problems like dissatisfaction, boredom, interpersonal conflicts, and high turnover rates.

In relationship-oriented leadership, leaders are fully committed to organising, supporting, and aiding in the development of their team members. This participatory approach generally encourages strong teamwork and enhances creative collaboration, standing in contrast to task-focused leadership. Additionally, team members may be more inclined to take risks, confident that their leader will offer support when it's required. However, a downside of relationship-oriented leadership is that the emphasis on building team morale can sometimes hinder the completion of tasks and the achievement of specific goals. Some leaders may take this approach too far, placing team development above the objectives of tasks or projects. Moreover, if employees are given too much responsibility without sufficient guidance from their leader, decision-making may become difficult, which could lead to lower performance, higher staff turnover, customer dissatisfaction, and decreased profitability[23].

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Numerous leadership theories exist, with some of the most prominent including the Great Man theory, Trait theory, behavioural theory, Role theory, Participative leadership, Situational leadership, Contingency theory, Transactional leadership, and Transformational leadership, among others. Selecting the most suitable one for this research was particularly challenging due to the involvement of President Buhari. Ultimately, we opted for the Paternalistic leadership theory. This approach is characterised by a central authoritative figure who assumes a parental role, treating employees and collaborators as though they are part of an extended family. In return, the leader anticipates loyalty, trust, and compliance. Employees operating in such an environment are expected to trust that the authority figure has the organisation's best interests at heart, and to accept that the leader is better positioned to make the right decisions for the organisation. While employees are given a voice, the leader retains the final decision-making power[14].

A proficient paternalistic leader should take a holistic view, considering the impact of their decisions on the entire organisation. Such leaders often value education and social skills, providing their employees with opportunities to enhance their business acumen and interpersonal abilities. When effectively implemented, this leadership style can motivate employees to work diligently, aiming not only to meet but exceed their goals, thereby earning the approval of the paternal leader and enhancing the organisation's prestige. Nevertheless, a potential downside of paternalistic leadership is the risk of disrupting the organisational hierarchy, particularly in times of crisis. If a leader is seen as unfairly favouring certain individuals, it can lead to jealousy and resentment, undermining workplace harmony and the leader's effectiveness.

Paternalistic leadership is pertinent to this study as President Muhamadu Buhari was often perceived as a paternal figure, a man of integrity, especially by the Nigerian masses from the Northern regions who viewed him as a fatherly leader. This perception significantly influenced

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the popularity of any political party he affiliated with. The public believed that Buhari, given his background as a retired Nigerian Army general, former military Head of State, ex-Minister of Petroleum, and former military governor, yet maintaining a modest financial profile, had not engaged in corruption or misappropriation of public funds. This trust in his integrity contributed to his support and electoral success, despite differing views among Nigeria's elite. Notably, Buhari contested the presidential elections four times— in 2003, 2007, 2011, and finally in 2015 when he emerged victorious[14].

President Muhamadu Buhari and his Leadership Style

Muhammad Buhari was born on 17 December 1942 in Daura, Katsina State, Nigeria. He came from a Fulani background, with his father, Hardo Adamu, serving as a Fulani chief, and his mother, Zulaihat. Buhari was his father's twenty-third child. Following his father's death when Buhari was around four years old, his mother raised him. At the age of 19, in 1962, he enrolled in the Nigerian Military Training College (NMTC). By January 1963, when he was 20, Buhari had been commissioned as a second lieutenant and took on the role of Platoon Commander for the Second Infantry Battalion in Abeokuta, Nigeria. Buhari officially became the President of Nigeria on 29 May 2015. He retired with the rank of Major General in the Nigerian Army and had previously held the position of Head of State from 31 December 1983 to 27 August 1985, following his rise to power through a military coup that overthrew Shehu Shagari, Nigeria's first civilian President. He currently serves as the 15th President of Nigeria[14].

Paternalistic leadership is pertinent to this study because President Muhammad Buhari was perceived as a father figure and a man of integrity. Particularly among the populace from the Northern regions of Nigeria, he was seen as a paternal leader. This perception led to the popularity of any political party he joined. Many citizens believed that Buhari, a retired Nigerian Army general, former military Head of State, ex-Minister of Petroleum, and former

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military governor, lived modestly despite his previous high-profile roles. This belief reinforced the notion that he had not engaged in corruption or misappropriation of public funds, making him a trustworthy candidate in political elections. However, the Nigerian elite might have held different views or perceptions of him. Buhari's journey to the presidency required persistence, as he contested in the 2003, 2007, and 2011 elections before ultimately securing victory in 2015[14].

President Muhamadu Buhari and his Leadership Style

A successful paternalistic leader should focus on the overall vision and assess how each decision will impact the organisation. Such leaders place a high value on education and social skills, offering employees opportunities to enhance their business and interpersonal skills. One advantage of this leadership approach, when effectively implemented, is that employees may strive to work harder and complete tasks within specified deadlines, aiming to meet and sometimes surpass their goals. This drive is often motivated by a desire to satisfy the paternal leader and bring pride to the organisation, akin to honouring one's family. President Buhari's political career included roles such as Federal Commissioner of Petroleum and Natural Resources (March 1976 to June 1978), Governor of Borno State (3 February 1976 to 15 March 1976), and Governor of the North-Eastern State (1 August 1975 to 3 February 1976). He first married Safinatu Yusuf in 1971, but they divorced in 1988. He then married Aisha Halilu in 1989. Buhari is a father of 10 children, although two have passed away. His service in the Nigerian Army spanned from 1961 to 1985. Buhari also held the position of Chairman of the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF), an initiative established by General Sani Abacha's government. This fund, financed by revenue from increased petroleum product prices, was aimed at driving developmental projects across the country[14].

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Buhari made unsuccessful bids for the Nigerian presidency in the 2003, 2007, and 2011 general elections. However, in December 2014, he was selected as the Presidential candidate for the All Progressives Congress ahead of the March 2015 general elections. Buhari secured victory in the Presidential election by defeating the sitting President, Goodluck Jonathan. This victory marked a historic moment as it was the first instance in Nigeria's history where a sitting President was defeated by an opposition candidate in a general election. Buhari took the oath of office on 29 May 2015.

In the introduction of this paper, we highlighted two primary leadership styles: (a) task-oriented and (b) human-relationships-oriented. To identify an individual's leadership style, Fiedler (1967) introduced a straightforward assessment method known as the Least Preferred Coworker (LPC) scale. This scale requires respondents to rate or evaluate individuals they have previously worked with, identifying those with whom they had the least successful working relationships. Another assessment technique developed by Fiedler is called Assumed Similarity between Opposites (AS), which measures the extent to which leaders perceive group members as being similar to themselves. This concept is based on the belief that individuals tend to perform best and collaborate most effectively with those they see as being most like themselves[14].

The survey also indicated that the federal government received below-average ratings on its three main campaign promises: tackling corruption, enhancing security, and improving the economy. When Nigerians were asked to assess President Buhari's performance in the economic sector, 67% of participants rated it poorly, while 21% deemed it fair, and only 12% considered it good. In contrast, the 2017 National Survey showed that 39% of respondents rated economic performance negatively. This was despite the country's economic recovery, marked by an increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and a reduction in inflation rates. In terms of sector-specific performance, President Buhari's administration was similarly rated poorly

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across six sectors: electricity, education, housing, oil and gas, transportation, and health. Nevertheless, the administration's effectiveness in the agriculture sector was viewed more favourably, achieving the highest average score of 2.65. The survey also highlighted that radio and television were the main sources of information about government activities for Nigerians[14].

While giving to accolades to the influencing figure of President Muhammadu Buhari, the President of the Republic of Guinea Bissau in the year 2022, attributed his assumption into office as president firstly to God and secondly to President Muhammadu Buhari. According to him, Baba, as I fondly call him, is a mentor, always available to offer solutions. Baba is a tireless artisan in the maintenance of peace and solidarity in the sub-region.'' The emphases here is the usage of baba to describe Muhammadu Buhari typifying him as a fatherly figure. The apt usage of the word baba resonates every political pace of not only Nigeria but in Africa. He is seen as a paternalistic figure in the context of the paternal theory of leadership[23].

In his own capacity, the Chad president in the year 2022 described President Buhari as a very experienced man with a great dream for Nigeria and a clear vision for Africa. According to him, President Buhari brings a heritage and a source of knowledge to us all. He praised the inestimable gift of President Buhari. The Chad President also described Buhari is undoubtedly an icon whose role and action make the African voice to be heard in the world. In his words, he has always contributed to development in Africa by protecting and defending Africa and Africans. You are undoubtedly a model. You taught us perseverance in politics. Here, the Chad President, like his counterpart, also depicted President Buhari in the capacity of a father whose figure and personality is highly revered[25].

While commenting on the leadership traits of President Buhari, it was asserted that he generally believes in the free choice of his party. Though he initially lost the bid to become Nigeria

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president on three occasions, he continued to appeal to voters to vote for the candidates of their choice. Applauding the democratic credentials, resolve and confidence of Buhari in the electoral system, former Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of African Affairs, Ambassador Johnnie Carson, at the recently-concluded U.S-Africa Leaders' Summit organised by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), noted that "President Buhari never gave up on democracy and he never gave up on the electoral process''. He never abandoned the social and ethical convictions that have guided him throughout his life and that motivated him to run for his country's highest office[24].

Contrary to what were said of President Buhari, his leadership style also had some dark sides of which may not be ignored or overlooked. They formed some incidences of high-handedness, impunity, disregard for rule of law and illegalities that detract from democratic principles under President Buhari's administration. In early October 2016, the State Security Service (SSS), in an unprecedented move, raided the homes of some senior judges at midnight allegedly to gather evidence of corruption against them. The raids on multiple residences of the affected judges took place simultaneously on a weekend in Abuja, Port Harcourt, Gombe, Kano, Enugu and Sokoto states[26].

The judges whose homes were raided in a Gestapo style by the SSS operatives included Adeniyi Ademola, and Nnamdi Dimgba of the Federal High Court in Abuja as well as Sylvester Ngwuta and John Okoro of the Supreme Court. In Kano, the home of a High Court Judge, Kabiru Auta, was raided along with another residence in Enugu belonging to the Chief Judge of the state, A. I. Umezulike. The residences of a Gombe State judge, Muazu Pindiga, as well as that of his counterpart from Sokoto State, Justice Samia, were also raided during the operation. The action was broadly criticised as being anti-democratic, showing a lack of respect for the rule of law, and seen as both an attack on and an attempt to intimidate the judiciary by agents of the executive under Buhari's administration[26].

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Some of the judges were later suspended from the bench and prosecuted by the state. However, the court in most of the cases discharged and acquitted the accused judges. It ruled that the Federal Government under Buhari failed to establish a prima facie case to prosecute them. For instance, in April 2017, a High Court of the Federal Capital Territory sitting at Maitama struck out the 18-count corruption charge the Federal Government preferred against Justice Adeniyi Ademola, his wife, Olabowale and a Senior Advocate of Nigeria. The court held that the government failed to prove any of the allegations it levelled against the judge who, hitherto, served at the Abuja Division of the Federal High Court. Consequently, the trial Justice Jude Okeke, in a ruling that lasted over five hours, had terminated further hearings on the criminal case, even as he discharged and acquitted all the defendants[26].

In a similar manner, President Buhari had, on January 25 2019, shortly before the general elections of that year, sacked a serving Chief Justice of Nigeria, Justice Walter Onnoghen, in what was generally seen as questionable circumstances. He replaced him with Justice Ibrahim Tanko Mohammed (now retired) as CJN. Buhari said he removed Mr Onnoghen based on an order of the Code of Conduct Tribunal dated January 23, 2019. Many regard the removal of CJN Onnoghen as essentially politically tainted. In April 2018, Buhari transmitted a letter of request to the Senate seeking its approval to withdraw the sum of $496 million from the Excess Crude Account for the purchase of 12 military aircraft (Tucano Jets). Buhari, in the letter, revealed that the money had been withdrawn and paid to the United States for the 12 Super Tucano aircraft, ahead of the request for legislative approval[26].

The lawmakers, however, condemned the action, saying it violated Section 80 of the Constitution, which stipulates that any expenditure must first be approved by the National Assembly. In his reaction to the letter, Senator Matthew Urhoghide representing Edo South had said:

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> "I heard very clearly when you read the letter that came from Mr President over the payment that was made for the Tucano aircraft. I was completely taken aback because I represent a people. This letter that you just read to us, with due respect to the office and the status of Mr President, is a violation of some of the provisions of the Constitution. I stand against it with every vehemence and I want to read Section 80 (1), (2), (3) and (4) of the Constitution. What you just read to us violates these provisions. Mr President couldn't have ever, and no Nigerian citizen that is up and active under the provisions of the Constitution is allowed to make any disbursement or any approval coming from any quarter, whether it is by the Council of State of the Federation or the committee of the governors or anybody in the Presidency, without approval or appropriation from this Assembly. I think it important we remind ourselves, because if we sit down here, tomorrow, posterity will judge us[26].

On April 18 2018, the Senate plenary was disrupted after suspected thugs invaded the chamber and made away with the mace, the symbol of authority in the legislative chamber. About 10 suspected thugs reportedly forced their entrance into the chamber. Seconds later, the thugs ran out of the chamber with the mace causing pandemonium in the Senate. They left the National Assembly with the mace. The mace was, however, recovered days later. The Senate described the action as treasonable, saying it was aimed at overthrowing an arm of the government[26].

In August 2018, operatives of the Department of State Service (DSS) laid siege to the National Assembly to the shock and consternation of lawmakers, members of staff, Nigerians and the international community. This illegality, which was condemned by several quarters, led to the abrupt sack of the then Director-General of DSS, Lawal Daura, the same day by then Acting President Yemi Osinbajo. In an interview conducted at Channels television, the former minister of works and housing compared the leadership of both administration he worked with at the national and state Level based on his personal experience working with both men. Tinubu's leadership style was likened to that of a football team manager who delegates duties to team members and provides informed guidance, while remaining actively involved until success is achieved. To demonstrate his point on the leadership style of Tinubu, Raji Fashola made an

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allusion of two football coaches. According to him, Tinubu would be that kind of coach playing the game with them (in the dugout)[25].

In furtherance of the leadership trait of Tinubu, he asserted that he is a nocturnal leader who inspects and ensures that those he delegates' duties to deliver as promised. In contrast, Fashola likened Buhari's leadership style to that of a football coach who prepares the team and then sits on the sideline to watch them play, trusting them to do well without much intervention. In his words, "Buhari is the type of president of a 'football coach' that will prepare his team and then go and sit in the coach's dugout and watch them play for 90 minutes. When presented in the context of the postulated two major styles of leadership, while Buhari style could be in-tuned with task-oriented trait, Tinubu on the other hand exemplifies human-relationship-oriented leadership style[27].

2.1.1.2 Leadership and Good Governance

Political leadership is inherently linked to the quality of governance, whether effective or lacking, and effective governance is an essential prerequisite for the establishment of vital infrastructure within a nation [26]. Throughout Nigeria's history, three distinct forms of political leadership have governed the nation between 1960 and 2010: colonial rule, military rule, and democratic governance. Each of these forms of administration has had a significant impact on the quality of Nigeria's civil service and the effectiveness of the bureaucracy responsible for implementing government policies, programmes, and projects. The rigid command-and-control structure during the three decades of military rule hindered the growth of the Nigerian civil service and rendered it ineffective in delivering infrastructure development. Meanwhile, various democratic governments also struggled, largely due to the apparent lack of capacity within the already weakened Nigerian civil service[14].

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While the Nigerian civil service was recognised for its strength and high level of professionalism between 1960 and 1975, the situation changed drastically from 1975 to 2010[15]. Reforming the civil service became essential to ensure the successful implementation of development programmes within the country[27]. The budget's primary focus had shifted towards maintaining the government bureaucracy rather than prioritising investment in infrastructure and enhancing service delivery for the population. Additionally, the Nigerian civil service had grown excessively large, with inadequate skills and insufficient remuneration, resulting in substandard service delivery[12]. What led to the decline of the vibrant, merit-based Nigerian civil service, once inherited from colonial Britain and elevated to a prominent status in Africa during the 1970s?

Several decades of military authoritarianism have severely undermined the Nigerian civil service[16]. Public service recruitment exercises were often used as political tools to appease various constituencies based on the assertions of a study[28]. The outcome was a substantial workforce that lacked adequate skills, with many employees frequently missing the necessary technical competencies required for their roles. In this environment, hierarchy and seniority were frequently valued over merit and actual job performance. The situation within the Nigerian civil service deteriorated further in 1979 following the implementation of the "Federal Character" principle. This policy introduced quotas for recruiting civil servants from each of Nigeria's 36 states[29], which fostered mediocrity and preferential treatment, overshadowing merit-based hiring practices. As a consequence, the foundational values of the Nigerian civil service were gradually eroded. Effective leadership is essential for promoting good governance[12]. Research indicated that adopting transformational leadership theory could facilitate positive reforms[30]. Additionally, discussions on Vision 20:2020 highlighted the importance of infrastructure development, concluding that achieving this vision is contingent on advancements in the country's infrastructure[31].

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2.1.2 Democracy

The notion that democracy is a system of governance founded on a certain level of popular sovereignty and shared decision-making is largely uncontested. However, there are concerns about additional features to this basic formulation that have caused important and serious debate about the various definitions of democracy. For the purposes of this chapter, these definitions of democracy include procedural democracy, liberal democracy, and social democracy, are now considered in turn. Procedural definitions of democracy, made most notably in seminal work Polyarchy, include the two dimensions of contestation and participation[32]. Contestation captures the uncertain peaceful competition necessary for democratic rule, a principle which presumes the legitimacy of some opposition, the right to challenge incumbents, protection of the twin freedoms of expression and association, the existence of free and fair elections, and a consolidated political party system.

Participation captures the idea of popular sovereignty, which presumes the protection of the right to vote as well as the existence of universal suffrage. Liberal definitions of democracy maintain concerns over contestation and participation, but add more explicit references to the protection of certain human rights. Liberal definitions include an *institutional* dimension that captures the idea of popular sovereignty, and includes notions of accountability, constraint of leaders, representation of citizens, and universal participation. But it adds a *rights* dimension, which is upheld through the rule of law, and includes civil, political, property, and minority rights. Social definitions of democracy maintain the institutional and rights dimensions found in liberal definitions of democracy but expand the types of rights that ought to be protected, including social and economic rights.

Taken together, these three definitions of democracy share certain features such as the notion of peaceful competitive politics and some form of participation, but then add further features meant to protect individuals and groups across increasingly wider aspects of their lives.

Procedural definitions of democracy identify the minimum requirements for upholding participatory competitive politics. Liberal definitions include the full protection of civil, political, property, and minority rights, which are meant to curb the possible negative consequences of democratic governance based on majority rule only[33]. Social definitions include additional protections for economic and social rights, which are seen as essential for the full participation of citizens in the collective decisions that may affect their lives. There are thus 'thin' and 'thick definitions of democracy, the differences in which are inexorably linked with the degree to which scholars have been able to measure and analyse the patterns in the emergence, maintenance, and performance of democracy[34].

2.1.2.1 Measuring Democracy

Social science metrics offer foundational concepts and indicators by developing a structured representation of these foundational ideas, operationalising the structured concept, and assigning meaningful "values" that differ depending on the unit of analysis. Numerous political science measurement initiatives focus on capturing aspects of democracy. While providing indicators for the institutional and legal components embedded in its basic procedural format or through a more open-ended definition, a fully comprehensive measure of social democracy has remained difficult to define. This challenge is partly due to the political culture and ideology prevalent in (American) politics, which often favours a more limited definition of democracy. Overcoming this could enable the development of a valid and meaningfully comparable measure of economic and social rights[35].

Social scientists have employed various strategies to quantify democracy for empirical research, including categorical measurements, ordinal scale measurements, objective metrics, hybrid evaluations of democratic practices, and perceptions of democracy based on public voting behaviour in opinion polls. However, the pursuit of comparability and broad temporal and geographical coverage often compromises the ability of these methods to capture the

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unique, context-specific elements of democracy. In response to this challenge, the Institute for International Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) has proposed an alternative framework for evaluating democracy. Shifting away from national rankings and external assessments, this approach involves national assessment teams comprising government bodies, civil society, and academic institutions, facilitating a comprehensive evaluation. This framework allows the use of existing measurement tools while integrating more detailed, context-specific data on democratic quality, linking these assessments to the domestic democratic reform process. These measurement and evaluation methods are examined sequentially.

Democracy as an All or Nothing Affair

The initial series of direct indicators for regime classification used in cross-national quantitative analysis have been developed. These indicators span a 'democracy-dictatorship' spectrum, encompassing stable democracies, unstable democracies, unstable dictatorships, and stable dictatorships[36]. Recently, a binary classification system was created, employing a fixed benchmark to determine if countries are considered democratic or authoritarian[37]. To be considered a democracy under their criteria, a country must have its leaders elected, its main legislative body elected, and must have more than one political party. These criteria are quite limited and notably exclude considerations of accountability, liberty, participation, and rights, among other aspects. This classification is also based on the assumption that democracy is an 'all-or-nothing' concept, classified as either zero or one, and aims to avoid overestimating the number of democracies globally[38]. Despite these assumptions and narrow focus, this method has provided democracy measures with extensive geographical and temporal coverage for use in global quantitative comparative analysis. Generally, the resulting data sets cover more than 150 countries over a span of 40 to 100 years[39]. In fact, for those whose research extends back to the 19th century, democracy is defined in an even more basic manner, including free and

fair elections, accountable leadership, and at least 50% enfranchisement of the male population[39].

Democracy Scales

Ordinal scales for measuring democracy also define specific criteria for assessing nations, but unlike categorical measures, they treat democracy as a more continuous concept and offer scales that vary from low to high values. Freedom House uses two distinct scales for political rights and civil liberties, both ranging from 1 (complete enjoyment of liberties) to 7 (complete restriction of liberties). These scales are frequently used in cross-national comparisons, often combined to form an overall indicator of democracy[40]. These scales provide greater variation in the level of democracy (as opposed to an 'either-or' classification) and have wide ranging spatial and temporal coverage (e.g. between 194 and 200 countries and territories for over 30 to 200 years). While these measures provide greater variation in democracy, criticisms have focused on their less than transparent coding rules (especially Freedom House), their illogical form of aggregation into single indices that does not take into account trade-offs between the institutional and rights dimensions, their inability to differentiate the democratic performance of those countries at the extreme ends of the spectrum (i.e. among mature democracies and highly authoritarian regimes), and the possible presence of ideological biases (Freedom House in particular)[41]

Objective Measures of Democracy

Objective metrics of democracy avoid relying on a fixed set of standards or subjective judgements about countries' placement within specific categories or scales. Instead, they focus on observable indicators of democratic practices. Democracy is defined in a minimal and procedural manner, following Robert Dahl's framework, which then allows for separate evaluations of competition and participation. To gauge contestation, Dahl utilises the

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percentage share held by the smallest parties in the national legislature, calculated as 100 minus the share held by the largest party[42]. For participation, he uses the percentage of voter turnout in national elections. These two metrics are multiplied together and divided by 100 to create an 'index of democratisation'. While this approach moves away from subjective and judgments-based categories or scales, several issues still persist.

Hybrid Measures of Democracy

Another approach involves combining objective indicators with subjective ones to develop a mixed measure of democracy. A procedure which centres solely around three components of decisions: participation, competition, and legitimacy were developed[43]. These objective indicators include voter turnout, the proportion of votes received by the winning candidate, the percentage of seats held by the largest party, and the percentage of seats held by the second-largest party. His subjective and absolute indicators encompass measures such as the freedom and fairness of the election, the opportunity for opposition participation, whether an incumbent autocrat has been removed from office, whether there has been a transfer of power, whether the defeated parties have accepted the outcome, whether the election was conducted peacefully, and whether the newly elected government remains in power[43]. Dissimilar to different endeavours which total these different pointers into a general file of a majority rule government they are kept separate yet like Opportunity House, his abstract markers might have some inclination as no between coder dependability tests have been conveyed out[44].

Perceptions of Democracy and Trust in Institutions

Aside from these metrics of a democratic system, another method of measurement avoids making external judgments based on pre-established standards or using the objective metrics mentioned above. Instead, it focuses on public perceptions of democracy by gathering individual-level survey data. This data provides an indication of the extent to which the general

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public supports democracy overall and offers insights into public perceptions of how well democracy is performing and the level of trust in democratic institutions. The various 'barometer' surveys began in Europe and have since been extended to Latin America, Africa, and are now part of the broader World Indicator Surveys. Survey data has been widely used across the social sciences, but the cross-national application of survey data for analysing democracy, such as this, rests on the fragile assumption that all publics hold a similar 'model' of democracy in their minds when responding to standardised questions[45].

On a more positive note, academic studies regarding the outcomes of democratic governance indicate that democracies tend to achieve significantly better human development outcomes and do not perform any worse at fostering economic growth compared to authoritarian systems[46]. Despite the issue of illiberal democracies, democratic nations are more effective at safeguarding 'personal integrity rights,' with notable enhancements in rights protection observed following the first year of democratic transition and after successive electoral cycles, particularly in African countries. Additionally, democracies, especially those that are newly established, are more inclined to engage with international human rights frameworks by ratifying human rights conventions. Fourth-wave democracies typically endorse more international human rights treaties with fewer reservations compared to third-wave and well-established democracies. However, the opposite holds true for the actual enforcement of human rights, where long-standing democracies demonstrate better human rights records than both third and fourth-wave democracies, respectively[47].

In addition to their tendency to commit to international human rights standards, democracies exhibit a significantly reduced likelihood of becoming entangled in international disputes. Studies related to the concept of 'democratic peace' indicate that since the mid-19th century, democratic nations have not gone to war against each other. Beyond direct involvement in warfare, evidence suggests that democracies are generally more peaceful compared to

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authoritarian regimes. For instance, analyses using cross-national and longitudinal data of state pairs (dyads) from 1885 to 1992 demonstrate that the likelihood of a militarised conflict between two countries is significantly lower if both are democracies, even when considering traditional 'realist' factors such as power balance, geographic proximity, and shared borders. Additionally, research indicates that having one democracy within the pair substantially decreases the chances of engaging in a militarised conflict with another nation, implying that democracies are inherently less inclined towards conflict than authoritarian states[48].

2.1.3 Democracy in Nigeria: Practice, Problems and Prospects

Democracy and Nigeria are like conjoined twins; while linked together, they remain uncomfortable and under significant strain, which could lead to various forms of damage, or even demise[47]. Although democracy might not be unfamiliar to the majority of Nigerians, what might be less familiar to them is a version of democracy that prioritises investment in human and material resources as a foundation for political stability, economic prosperity, scientific progress, technological innovation, educational growth, and life-enhancing social services[48]. Considering the widespread optimism that Nigeria would become the stronghold of democracy in Africa following its independence from Britain in 1960, it would be reasonable to expect that democracy would now be well-established and ingrained in the country. Ironically, and regrettably, Nigeria still struggles to realise the true practice and benefits of liberal democracy, remaining a nation that can hardly stand, let alone walk or run.

Democracy, whether viewed as an idea or a system of governance, has grown exceedingly vague in modern political discourse. In fact, there may be no other concept that has been subject to so many different definitions, conflicting interpretations, and opposing applications as democracy. This is hardly unexpected, given that democracy has become increasingly celebrated and adopted, making it ever more challenging to define precisely. Politicians spanning the entire political spectrum, from the far left to the far right, frequently claim that

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their preferred form of politics or governance is the true embodiment of democracy. Even military governments, which cannot truly implement democracy, often invoke the term in their rhetoric, although such references are frequently undermined by widespread violations of citizens' fundamental rights[35]. The term 'democratism' describes a style of governance that exploits 'misleading principles of democratic institutions' while simultaneously establishing conditions that oppose democracy[31].

Consequently, as the least disagreeable type of governance, the majority of regimes make some form of assertion about practising democracy. Even those that do not follow democratic principles often argue that their specific form of non-democratic governance is an essential step on the path towards achieving full democracy. In fact, Bernard Crick has referred to democracy as the most overused term in the realm of public discourse[49]. This is seemingly because democracy is considered the ideal state of governance – even within Africa, where liberal democracy has faced numerous significant challenges. However, since the 1990s, it has gathered a momentum akin to that of science in the technological sphere since the Industrial Revolution. A primary outcome of the widespread scholarly focus on democracy is what could be termed its contestation. As a result, some academics might not be mistaken in classifying democracy among what he termed ‘essentially contested concepts,’ as a term that can mean anything ultimately means nothing and specific meaning, and more of a broad endorsement of a popular notion[50]. Despite this, some speculative efforts can still be made to elucidate the common yet intricate and almost theoretical concept of democracy. As suggested by various studies, any serious endeavour to comprehend democracy should begin with the ancient definition of it as the rule of the people. The Greek terms demos and kratia translate to people and rule or authority, respectively. Hence, democracy denotes 'rule by the people'.

This concept emerged in the first half of the 5th century B.C. among the Greeks, marking the beginning of what Robert Dahl describes as the shift from governance by a select few to

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governance by the many. During the French Revolution (1789-1799), a particular French lawyer and political figure described democracy as a "state in which the people, as sovereign, directed by laws of their own creation, accomplish for themselves all that they are capable of doing effectively." This definition suggests that there are tasks that 'the people' might be incapable of performing or unable to perform well. This raises the following questions: what are these tasks, and who should undertake them instead[50].

In his Gettysburg Address, delivered on 19 November 1863 during the dedication of the Soldiers' National Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, Abraham Lincoln offered what is now considered the most renowned description of democracy. In this speech, Lincoln proclaimed the principle that 'all men are created equal' and characterised democracy as a 'government of the people, by the people, for the people'[51]. Andrew Gamble refers to a democratic state as a 'republic of equals'. This term is used because democracy suggests that there should be a significant level of equality among people. This equality is understood in two ways: firstly, all adult members of a society should, as much as possible, have an equal say in decisions that impact key aspects of the community's life; secondly, disparities in wealth, social standing, access to education, and knowledge should not be so vast that they lead to the lasting subordination of certain groups to others. In any democratic society, citizens are considered to be 'political equals'[42]. This is due to the fact that, in some essential ways, all humans are strikingly similar; they possess comparable physical, emotional, and intellectual requirements[52].

In 1646, Richard Overton, a Puritan, wrote an article titled 'An Arrow against All Tyrants' in which he stated, "By nature, all men are equal... and so we should all live equally." Similarly, Alexis de Tocqueville repeatedly emphasised in nearly all his significant works that history, the narrative of humanity, is essentially about equality. Nevertheless, despite the intriguing nature of the concept of egalitarianism, there is a substantial gap between its theory and its

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practical application, as well as between the theory and practice of democracy itself. It is rare to find a place where democracy operates as a true republic of equals, for, as it has been observed, 'through their occupation or wealth, certain citizens possess greater ability than others to influence political decisions[53].

From the Greek city-states to the rise of the modern state, the idea of egalitarianism has been consistently overlooked. In the often-praised Greek city-states, which Giuseppe Di Palma described as the 'cradle of democracy,' it was believed that every resident had a direct voice in matters that impacted the state. However, it is essential to note that Greek democracy was, in reality, quite exclusive, as a significant portion of the adult population was deprived of full citizenship, meaning they could not participate in politics by either attending meetings of the Sovereign Assembly or holding public office. Full citizenship rights were not granted to women, long-term foreign residents (known as metics), or slaves. In fact, slaves were considered mere property of their owners, completely lacking any legal rights. Consequently, only non-slaves had the right to vote, and by 430 BC, almost half of Athens' total population consisted of slaves[54]. The notion and distinction of the elite might have led Pareto to his assertion that "history is a cemetery of aristocracies." So, what exactly is the nature and environment of the egalitarianism that democracy celebrates?

The principle of equality promoted by democracy is largely theoretical, which is why William Letwin dismissed it as the primary fetish of our age. This is partly because a significant portion of the adult population was excluded from full citizenship, meaning they had no right to engage in political activities, such as attending meetings of the Sovereign Assembly or holding public office. Women were not only deprived of full citizenship, but long-term resident foreigners (metics) and slaves were also excluded. In reality, slaves were considered mere property of their owners and had no legal rights whatsoever. As a result, only non-slaves had the right to vote, and by 430 BC, nearly half of Athens' population consisted of slaves[55]. Even in a leading

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democracy like Britain, as pointed out by a scholar, most people only engage in democracy when they vote in general election every four to five years. While admitting that to an extent, voices are lost or misplaced, a scholar argued that more often than not, they are simply not heard. In a penetrating study of American political system, studies asserted that 'elitist and inegalitarian traits have always existed in American society.

This point was more clearly noted that, despite the grand assertion that all individuals are created equal, true equality has never been an inherent right in America. References were made to the 1882 exclusion that prohibited Chinese immigration to the United States. This suspension, along with various other forms of discrimination against the Chinese and other Asians, persisted until 1965 and was rooted in the belief that the Chinese were an inferior race. Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged, as Lees rightly pointed out, that American politicians have consistently recognised the significance of the average citizen, demonstrating a strong commitment to freedom. From our discussion thus far, it seems that while governance may serve everyone, it cannot involve everyone. As previously mentioned, in any system of governance, power is something exercised by others, even if it is for the benefit of the people[56]. Another scholar succinctly describes politics as the act of making decisions for others. This viewpoint might have shaped the understanding of democracy as a form of governance where citizens wield ruling power, either directly or by choosing representatives who are periodically elected by the people themselves[57].

In Nigeria, no one represents or protects the interests of others: individuals, whether in the cabinet or parliament, can hardly be described as the representatives of the people[58]. This is hardly surprising considering the repeated disappointments and unfulfilled aspirations of the people caused by successive Nigerian administrations. Even if we accept that one person can adequately represent another, the reality is that, at best, one individual can only represent a segment of society – for instance, an agriculturist may represent fellow agriculturists, lawyers

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may represent other lawyers, and a teacher may represent fellow teachers. This is because a representative might possess a superficial knowledge of everything, making them ineffective, and lack in-depth understanding of anything to excel. It's worth remembering that in Nigeria, military coups are often justified by widespread discontent with the political and economic policies of the overthrown government. The common argument is that democracy has been suppressed, attacked, starved, and mistreated, while the economy has been mismanaged recklessly to the disadvantage of the general population and for the selfish gain of a small elite who are supposedly the people's representatives. However, governance by everyone is neither feasible nor practical, especially with the vast populations in modern nation-states, making direct involvement in decision-making by all citizens impossible[59].

2.1.3.1 The Practice and Problems of Nigerian Democracy

While democracy is a universally recognised idea, its implementation varies across different locations, especially regarding the acquisition, use of power, and the structure of institutions[60]. Therefore, we can refer to distinct types of democracy, such as American democracy, British democracy, Irish democracy, Canadian democracy, and so forth. As mentioned earlier, the notion of egalitarianism is more theoretical than practical. In reality, no democracy functions as a society of equals. As a result, socio-economic and political inequality is a significant and enduring characteristic of democratic systems, particularly in Nigeria, where democracy has further increased the divide between those who have access to power and public resources and those who do not. Since democracy is often described as government by the people, for the people, it is widely considered the most appropriate form of governance, particularly concerning the provision of what Ronald terms 'political goods.

It is commonly assumed that prioritising the well-being of the majority is central to democracy wherever it is implemented. While this holds true for some democratic systems, the opposite is true for others: in certain places, democracy equates to comprehensive development and

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overall progress, whereas in others, it symbolises betrayal and severe deprivation. Nigeria likely exemplifies the latter. Some nations strive towards and successfully implement democracy for the socio-economic advantage of the majority or at least as many individuals as possible. However, countries like Nigeria have developed their own version of democracy, which is government by a few, for the benefit of a few. In fact, a notable characteristic of Nigerian democracy is the astonishing and indefensible squandering of public funds on the luxury of a select few. The wasteful democracy practised in Nigeria prioritises the comfort of officials over investment in human and material resources[61].

For instance, in the national budget of 2012, approximately ₦176 million was earmarked for extending the gates of the Aso Rock Villa, the President's official residence, in addition to ₦280 million designated for acquiring two bulletproof vehicles. Additionally, around ₦36 million was set aside for extending the power supply to the State House Centre Store, while ₦52.4 million was allocated to ensuring an uninterruptible power supply for the Presidential Guest House. Moreover, ₦127.5 million was devoted to overhauling two generators in the Presidential Lodge. Further allocations included ₦512.54 million for refurbishing and renovating the family wing of the President's main residence and ₦101.67 million for the maintenance of the transformer sub-station in the Villa. Lastly, ₦97.95 million was assigned to expand the Villa's car parks. In total, roughly ₦1.5 billion was allocated for various upgrades and renovations in and around the President's residence. Based on the available evidence, it is clear that Nigeria possesses one of the largest Presidential Air Fleets (PAF) globally[62].

While Ghana and Algeria each have only one aircraft in their Presidential Air Fleets, and Japan and the Netherlands have two each, Nigeria operates a fleet of ten. The total value of the aircraft in Nigeria's Presidential Air Fleet, which is larger than those of three Nigerian airlines put together, is estimated at approximately $390.5 million (₦60.53 billion). Additionally, it is estimated that around $58.5 million (₦9.08 billion) is spent annually on maintaining the aircraft

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in Nigeria's Presidential Air Fleet. A related issue concerns foreign travel. In 2012, ₦684.74 million was allocated for President Jonathan's international trips, with ₦1.289 billion set aside for the same purpose in 2013. This was despite the President's earlier commitment to significantly reduce his overseas travel following nationwide protests against the removal of fuel subsidies in 2012[63].

In 2014, the President allocated ₦1.159 billion for international trips and ₦1.219 billion for domestic travel; ₦483.279 million for vehicle maintenance; ₦426.493 million for publicity and advertising; ₦56.786 million for healthcare; ₦23.9 million for food supplies; ₦173.3 million for refreshments and meals; ₦122.9 million for lubricants; and ₦320 million for honorariums and sitting allowances, among other expenses. Overall, the Presidency's budget allocation under the 2014 Federal Republic of Nigeria budget was ₦33 billion (approximately $190 million). In contrast, all federal roads in Nigeria, many of which are prone to accidents due to severe neglect, received a mere ₦100 billion (roughly $575 million). Another instance of what the Women Arise for Change Initiative described as Nigeria's 'culture of waste' was the allocation of over ₦4 billion (about $23 million) for constructing an office for the African First Ladies Mission Initiative[64].

Mrs. Patience Jonathan, the President's wife and the initiator of the project, guaranteed that funding for this initiative was included in the 2013 budget of the Federal Capital Territory. However, the Senate questioned the justification for dedicating a substantial amount of taxpayers' money to a project that would not benefit the socio-economic welfare of Nigerians, ultimately cancelling it. Regrettably, this practice of financial mismanagement is evident, to different extents, even at the local government level[65]. This is due to the fact that similarly excessive budgetary and non-budgetary funds are allocated for state governors and their spouses, ministers, numerous advisers and personal aides to political office holders, parliament members, commissioners, local government chairpersons, and many others[66].

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Regrettably, as will be demonstrated later, the persistent corruption means that funds are rarely used for their intended purposes, even when they are eventually disbursed. This leads to funds being repeatedly allocated to the same projects, often without a clear end in sight. Ironically, in contemporary Nigeria, people go to great lengths to secure basic social services that the government ought to provide. Those who can afford it generate their own electricity, arrange private security, and use private schools and hospitals. Meanwhile, the majority of the less fortunate rural population live in constant darkness, consume various forms of contaminated water, suffer from numerous water-borne diseases as a result, and are frequently threatened, injured, or even killed by armed criminals[65].

The Inspector-General of the Nigeria Police Force has only just acknowledged publicly that the Force is severely underfunded, which makes its role of safeguarding the lives and properties of Nigerians extremely challenging[66]. In certain parts of the world, malaria fever has been completely 'eradicated,' yet it continues to claim the lives of countless children whose parents are unable to afford private healthcare. Meanwhile, many underprivileged school-aged children are either not attending school or are forced to learn in appalling conditions within state-run schools. In March, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) published a concerning report about the state of Nigeria's education system. The report highlights that Nigeria has over 10.5 million children who are not in school[52].

A recent State of the World's Mothers Report by Save the Children International highlights that approximately 89,700 newborns in Nigeria die each year on the day they are born. The report indicates that Nigeria ranks 12th globally for the highest number of first-day fatalities and holds the top spot for such deaths in Sub-Saharan Africa[62, 63]. In most parts of Nigeria, power supply[64] is almost exactly nil, potable water is a scarce commodity, health care facilities are either altogether non-existent or in complete shambles while hundreds of people die in motor accidents annually owing to extremely poor road networks[65]. All evidence suggests that

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enhancing the well-being of the general populace is neither the main focus nor the fundamental aim of those steering Nigeria's democratic system. Regrettably, a population that is impoverished, feeble, and uninformed can barely act as a driving force for strengthening and maintaining democracy. A recent World Bank report highlights that nearly 100 million Nigerians are living in poverty, meaning that Nigerians make up 8.3% of the world's 1.2 billion impoverished individuals. In a newspaper article titled 'The Story of Cain, Abel, and Nigeria[53] captures the practise of Nigerian democracy thus:

> Today, Nigeria is literally bleeding. There is too much violence. We have bred enough Frankenstein monsters to haunt us. We feed them red meat each time they cry for blood. Those who are not killed by Boko Haram are killed by the Joint Task Force. Those who escape the JTF fall into the hands of mind-bending illiteracy. Those who manage to escape all those are consumed by road accidents. Some die in poorly equipped hospitals. Those lucky to bypass all of the above are either killed by hunger, poverty, or frustration practically turns them to the living dead. It is the curse of Cain. The earth antagonises people who needlessly shed blood. Recently, multiple road accidents claimed almost 100 lives. In a country where life counts, that should have led to a major social change. Sadly, not even a paragraph of official response came from the government, not even the local government chairmen of the areas the accidents happened. Unfortunately, the government aides who explain away these deaths are the same ones who rush to twitter to console President Barack Obama over the Boston bombing. They are not their own brother's keepers because their brother's life is worthless[66].

Although, Nigeria has produced nine written constitutions; it is yet to institutionalize democracy[53]. The issue lies not with the creators or the constitutional matters, but rather with those responsible for upholding and enforcing the constitutions. Establishing democracy involves building and fortifying the legal and rational frameworks that will inherently bolster democracy and the rule of law. Political institutionalisation refers to the establishment, development, and legitimisation of stable and intricate political systems and processes, aimed at achieving a certain level of autonomy within sub-systems to enable the operation of governments focused on serving the people[55].

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Though an in-depth investigation of the immediate reasons behind the widespread occurrence of coups and coup attempts in Africa is beyond the study scope, it is important to acknowledge that several contributing factors exist. To avoid excessive generalisation, one factor is that countries with widespread poverty and low per capita GDP are often more prone to experiencing successful coups. Additionally, a researcher has noted in his study that when civil society is weak and politicians are corrupt and fragmented, the military tends to take control when an opportunity arises. This opportunity often relies on the presence of a charismatic military leader, someone who is not connected to or cannot be held responsible for the unpopular actions of the current government. Moments of such opportunities are frequently found throughout African history[67].

Due to deep-seated corruption, widespread poverty, and persistent economic and political turmoil, military interventions in the democratic process were sometimes met with applause and broad support, as seen in Nigeria in 1966 and 1983. From 1960 to 1969, there were 27 coups in Sub-Saharan Africa, with 30 occurring between 1970 and 1979, and 22 from 1980 to 1989. Thomson's estimates suggest that by 1989, around 60% of Africa's democratically elected governments had been overthrown by the military. The flawed implementation and frequent collapse of democracy in Africa have led to the perception that representative governance, especially adversarial democracy, is not native to the continent. The immediate reason for the struggles of Nigerian democracy is that it was imposed externally rather than developing organically from local needs[68].

Forms of Athenian-style democracy were present in traditional African societies, empires, and kingdoms. For instance, democratic principles were firmly established and largely unchallengeable in the Old Oyo Empire. The doctrine of separating powers, which sought to prevent the chief executive from accumulating excessive authority (mirroring the objective of liberal democracy), was inviolable. In the Old Oyo Empire, any Alaafin who endeavoured to

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claim powers beyond those constitutionally allotted faced serious consequences, including being compelled to 'sleep' (commit suicide) by the Basorun. Thus, as highlighted, the mere presence of chiefs who advised and supported the Yoruba ruler served as a balance against absolute monarchical power[69]. In rejecting an offending Alaafin, one of the pronouncements made by the Basorun is ...the people reject you. This is in perfect agreement with the submission of Casely Hayford that;

> The office of the King is elective. No King, that is to say, is born a King... lt is the right of those who placed him there to put him off the stool for any just cause. But no other authority can rightly interfere with his position, if his people are satisfied with him

This aligns with the principles of liberal democracy, which allow for the ousting of an unpopular, cruel, dictatorial, oppressive, or corrupt leader while preserving those who are compassionate, selfless, responsive, and responsible. In fact, in many traditional African societies, the idea of democracy was endorsed by the authority of the gods. This divine endorsement consistently held leaders accountable, as any divine rejection of a ruler was swift, irreversible, and final. This contrasts with Western democracy, where conflicting rulings might emerge from legal systems. Therefore, the power of traditional African leaders stemmed from the people's sovereign will. Historically, Africans have always detested tyranny, opposed dictatorship, and resisted oppressive behaviour. African history is filled with examples of resistance against tyrannical and ruthless rulers, such as those seen in the Benin Empire, one of the reasons for the rejection of the Ogiso Dynasty by Benin people was the perceived highhandedness of the Ogiso kings (Kings of the Sky)[70].

Even Oba Ewuare, considered the founder of contemporary Benin, faced considerable resistance from various groups due to his perceived authoritarianism and despotic approach. In one of his Intelligence Reports on the Ekiti Division of Ondo Province, Captain N.A.C. Weir,

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serving as an Assistant District Officer, mentioned a "clear expression of resistance to the governance of someone who tends to be autocratic." In many instances in pre-colonial Africa, rulers and their decisions could only endure if they had the backing and approval of the general populace[70]. It is thus incorrect to claim that democracy lacks roots or origins within indigenous Nigerian political traditions. A Sessional Paper released by the Kenyan Government highlights that traditional African communities possessed two notable characteristics: political democracy and shared social responsibility[63]. The paper highlighted that political democracy in traditional African societies served as an effective safeguard against the excessive political power of economic groups.

Even in cases where traditional African leaders seemed to wield considerable political control over their tribe or clan, there existed traditional systems of checks and balances, including sanctions for any perceived misuse of power. Therefore, it is reasonable to concur with the portrayal of traditional African leaders as 'trustees', whose authority was restricted by both customary law and religious beliefs. The primary reason for the frequent collapse of democracy in Africa, and in Nigeria specifically, is not due to democracy lacking roots in indigenous African or Nigerian political culture. As noted, many traditional African governance institutions possess valuable attributes that could contribute to the establishment of culturally relevant democratic institutions in modern Africa[71]. Pre-colonial African communities possessed well-established traditional political, economic, and social systems that managed resource distribution, legislation, and social order. Notably, a key characteristic of Africa's traditional governance structures was the emphasis on consensual decision-making, especially in matters of resource distribution and the creation of laws.

It could be argued that traditional African societies had an advantage over liberal democracies when it came to resolving conflicts. This is because disagreements and disputes were almost always settled through consensual discussions, as opposed to the adversarial methods of liberal

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democracy, which often result in triumphant winners and defeated losers. Examples of early democratic practices in Africa include the Eritrean village, Baito, the Igbo village assembly in Eastern Nigeria, the kgotla in Botswana, and the gada system in Ethiopia. The frequent collapse of democratic systems in Africa generally, and in Nigeria specifically, can be attributed to the failure to institutionalise democracy[72].

In one of its reports, Global Financial Integrity (GFI), a research and advocacy group based in Washington, placed Nigeria as the 7th highest out of 143 countries for illicit financial outflows[73]. As per the report, Nigerian leaders laundered approximately $19 billion over a decade, specifically between 2000 and 2010. This is in addition to numerous billions of naira embezzled by public and civil servants, which remain securely stored within the country. From the perspective of the current author, the figures regarding illicit financial outflows from Nigeria cited by Global Financial Integrity seem rather understated. Let us examine two of the most notable among many high-profile money laundering cases in Nigeria. A former Governor of Bayelsa State, Chief Diepreye Alamieyeseigba, was found guilty in 2007 of misappropriating billions of naira in state funds. He admitted guilt and agreed to return ₦43 billion (around $270 million) to the state treasury. Whether this actually occurred or how the funds were subsequently used are matters only state officials can clarify.

Furthermore, Chief James Ibori, a former Governor of Delta State, was accused of diverting $250 million in state funds. These examples represent just two among countless high-profile cases of state fund misappropriation. The root cause of this issue is that a majority of Nigerians glorify material wealth regardless of how it is acquired. This societal attitude has led to what Justice Mustapha Akanbi termed the ‘economic devastation of Nigeria,’ which, in turn, has resulted in rising rates of suffering, poverty, hunger, illness, illiteracy, malnutrition, and other socio-economic hardships. Regrettably, the efforts against corruption in Nigeria are weak and

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largely ineffective. Indeed, either directly or indirectly, successive Nigerian governments have supported and encouraged corruption.

For instance, in March 2013, then-President Goodluck Jonathan granted a pardon (as part of state amnesty) to Chief Diepreye Alamieyeseigba, despite his theft of public funds amounting to millions of dollars. Meanwhile, James Ibori, another former governor, faced little action until a Southwark Crown Court in the UK sentenced him to 13 years in prison in April 2012. Although it is true that former President Olusegun Obasanjo's administration set up two supposed anti-corruption bodies, most Nigerians are well aware that these entities, except in very rare instances, serve merely as tools for vendettas, revenge, and the persecution of the president's adversaries, real or perceived.

Regardless of the severity of their corrupt actions, public officials remain untouchable, immune from prosecution and conviction, as long as they maintain favourable relations with the president. Sadly, the judiciary, which is supposed to be the second estate in the realm and the last hope for ordinary citizens, has become a hotbed of corrupt practices, exacerbating corruption in Nigeria. Recently, a judge imposed a fine of ₦750,000 ($4,546) on a pension administrator accused of embezzling pension funds amounting to millions of dollars. This lenient judgement sparked outrage among many notable Nigerians, including the Chief Judge of the Federal High Court in Abuja, Justice Ibrahim Auta, who argued that corruption cases should not include the option of a fine. According to him, 'when penalties are more severe, corruption rates naturally decline[65].

Issues of corruption in Nigeria appears to have no foreseeable resolution. Many Nigerians may resonate with the sentiments of Alex Akinyele, a former Minister of Information and Culture, who pessimistically suggested that only the deities Sango and Ogun can eradicate corruption in the country[74]. The consistent failure to hold reasonably free and fair elections is the final

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challenge facing Nigerian democracy highlighted in this analysis. Competitive, transparent, and fair elections are fundamental to democracy as they offer citizens a regular and direct way to participate in governance. Regrettably, despite the significant financial costs, Nigerian elections often fall short of democratic standards due to rampant malpractice and fraud. It is worth noting that disputes stemming from widespread electoral fraud and misconduct have plagued Nigerian democracy throughout its entire post-colonial political history. It is worth noting that the military took over the democratic system on 15 January 1966, following a contentious election in the now-defunct Western Region. Similarly, the military ousted the civilian government led by Aliyu Shagari on 31 December 1983, after widespread post-election unrest in various parts of the country. Furthermore, the military-civilian regime under General Ibrahim Babangida fell apart following the annulment of the 12 June 1993 presidential election, which was widely believed to have been won by the late Chief Moshood Abiola, a Muslim Yoruba. These incidents clearly indicate that Nigeria has a long-standing history of unsuccessful electoral processes[75].

2.1.3.2 Prospects of Nigerian Democracy

It is clear that the state of democracy in Nigeria is far from ideal; however, there is still reason for optimism. Firstly, despite numerous disappointments, denial of rights, and betrayal of trust by successive Nigerian administrations, the desire for democracy among Nigerians has remained remarkably strong. Since the beginning of the current democratic era, Nigerians have consistently demonstrated their commitment to democracy through active engagement in various transition initiatives and electoral processes, even though they have reservations and regrets about certain aspects of these programmes and processes.

Furthermore, there is now a widespread recognition in the country that gaining political power can only be legitimately achieved through the ballot box. The ongoing stability and continuation of a multi-party democracy present positive prospects for the future of democracy

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in Nigeria. A brief look at Nigeria's political history shows that the current democratic period boasts the highest number of political parties. It is worth noting that the First Republic (1960-1966) was dominated by four main political parties: the Northern People's Congress (NPC), Action Group (AG), National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), and Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). During the Second Republic (1979-1983), five registered parties dominated the political landscape: the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), Nigerian People's Party (NPP), Great Nigerian People's Party (GNPP), and People's Redemption Party (PRP). In the Third Republic (1987-1993), there were two government-established and funded parties: the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

In the current political climate, before the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) deregistered 28 political parties on 6 December 2012, Nigeria had 50 registered political parties. Out of the remaining 30, only four are considered electorally significant: the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), and All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP). Apart from the Labour Party (LP) and the All-Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA), many of the other parties are relatively unknown, although they provide Nigerian voters with a broad spectrum of political choices, offering them the chance to decide their electoral preferences.

However, in a nation like Nigeria, where illiteracy rates are high, presenting voters with too many political parties can lead to confusion. It is encouraging, nonetheless, that some of these parties serve as relatively strong and viable opposition to the federal and state governments. A crucial indicator of the potential for the endurance and strengthening of democracy in Nigeria is the ability to transfer power from one civilian government to another, even if the elections are heavily flawed and widely criticised. Although Nigeria achieved independence from Britain in 1960, it was not until 2007 that the country successfully transferred power from one civilian

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government to another. Previous attempts resulted in severe political crises that led to military intervention in the democratic process. While the 2007 election results were met with widespread condemnation, the outcome was a relatively smooth and peaceful transition of power from one civilian government to another. On 29 May 2007, Olusegun Obasanjo, a Christian from the Southwest who had served two consecutive four-year terms, handed over power to Alhaji Musa Yar'Adua, a Muslim from the Northwest. Yar'Adua, however, passed away while in office on 5 May 2010, and his vice-president, Goodluck Jonathan, completed his term before running as a substantive president in the 2011 elections, which he won amid significant controversy. Once again, on 29 May 2011, Nigeria experienced a peaceful transition from one civilian government to another, achieving what had previously been impossible a few years earlier[67].

2.1.4 Presidential System of Government

The government is one of the fundamental components of the State, acting as its operational body[76]. The significance of government is particularly evident in contemporary times. Various forms of government have been classified over the years. A presidential system refers to a democratic and republican form of governance where a head of government leads the executive branch, which is distinct from the legislative branch. Typically, this head of government is also the head of state and is referred to as the president. In countries with a presidential system, the executive is elected independently and does not answer to the legislature, which generally lacks the power to remove it from office under normal circumstances. However, removal is possible in exceptional cases, often through a process of impeachment. Garner describes “Presidential Government” as a system where the executive, encompassing both the Head of State and their ministers, is constitutionally independent of the legislature regarding their tenure and is not accountable to it for their political decisions.

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The term "president" has historical roots, originating from a period when such an individual would personally preside over the governing assembly, much like the President of the Continental Congress in the early United States before the executive role was separated into a distinct branch of government[63]. There is also a hybrid system known as semi-presidentialism. Nations with either a presidential or semi-presidential form of government are not the only ones to use the title of president. In parliamentary republics, where the role is often largely ceremonial, heads of state are also called presidents. Even dictators or leaders of single-party states, whether elected by popular vote or not, are frequently referred to as presidents. The presidential system is the predominant form of governance across the Americas, and it is also widespread in Central and Southern West Africa as well as in Central Asia.

2.1.4.1 The Relevance of the Presidential System of Government to Nigeria's Democracy

The presidential system is defined by the separation of powers, the election of the president through universal suffrage, the president's authority to appoint and dismiss ministers, and the fact that these ministers are not accountable to the parliament politically[77]. Alexander Pope, in his reflections on governance, suggested that the substance and effectiveness of government are more significant than its form by stating, "For forms of government let fools contest; that which is best administered is best." Pope clearly prioritised the performance of government over its structure or institutional framework. While the substance of governance is undeniably crucial, its form should not be disregarded either. The structure of governance and its institutional framework significantly influence the nature of the relationship between those in power and the citizens. These structures impact political parties, electoral systems, constitutional arrangements, citizenship rights, and other mechanisms that safeguard citizens' freedoms and constrain the state's arbitrary actions. Thus, the ability of a government to serve the public interest is largely determined, or at least shaped, by the type of institutional frameworks in place. Certainly, other elements, such as leadership and prevailing political

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values, play a critical role in shaping the effectiveness of any government. Nevertheless, institutional structures and forms of government remain important.

In the context of liberal democracy, there are two predominant forms of governmental structures: the presidential and parliamentary systems. Both systems fundamentally address the concentration or distribution of power, as well as the manner and authority by which power is exercised, particularly at the national level. It has been observed that defining democracy as 'government by and for the people' raises essential questions: who will govern, and to whose interests should the government respond, especially when public opinion is divided and preferences vary?[69]

Nigeria's last two democratic experiments have been modelled on the presidential system. These include the Second Republic (1979–1983) and the current Fourth Republic (from May 1999 to the present). Even the abortive Third Republic (1989–1993) was based on a presidential system. Despite what seems to be a settled choice regarding Nigeria's preferred model of liberal democracy, there is substantial criticism of the presidential system and strong calls for a return to the parliamentary system used during the First Republic (1960–1966). The fact that both systems have failed in the past indicates that neither is fool proof or immune to collapse under significant political pressure. The question remains as to which system is more suitable for Nigeria's political context and might offer greater stability and longevity. Additionally, what factors influence the resilience of these systems, and how can Nigeria achieve lasting democratic stability and consolidation?

2.1.5 Governance

This study is also the beginning of an effort to better measure governance, which at this point will amount to nothing more than an elaboration of the issue's complexity and the confused state of current discussions[78]. Before we can measure good governance, however, we have to

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better conceptualize what it is. The state, that is, the functioning of executive branches and their bureaucracies, has received relatively little attention in contemporary political science. Since the onset of the Third Wave of democratizations now more than a generation ago, the overwhelming emphasis in comparative politics has been on democracy, transitions to democracy, human rights, transitional justice, and the like. Studies of non-democratic countries focus on issues like authoritarian persistence, meaning that the focus still remains the question of democracy in the long run or democratic transition.

In other words, everyone is interested in studying political institutions that limit or check power—democratic accountability and rule of law— but very few people pay attention to the institution that accumulates and uses power, the state. The relative emphasis on checking institutions rather than power-deploying institutions is evident in the governance measures that have been developed in recent years. There are numerous measures of the quality of democracy like the Freedom House and Polity measures, as well as newer and very sophisticated ones like the Varieties of Democracy project led by[70]. We have fewer measures of Weberian bureaucracy—that is, the degree to which bureaucratic recruitment and promotion is merit based, functionally organized, based on technical qualifications, etc. One of the only studies to attempt to do this was by Peter Evans and James Rauch back in 2000, but their sample was limited to 30-odd countries and produced no time series data.

Current methods for assessing state quality or capacity have several shortcomings. Expert surveys, in particular, have an inherent flaw, especially when attempting to generate time-series data. Given that the concept of good governance lacks a universally accepted definition, different experts might interpret the same survey question differently. For instance, there is a significant distinction between clientelism and outright corruption; the former involves genuine reciprocity between a patron and a client, while the latter entails no obligation for the corrupt official to reciprocate. The economic effects of corruption can vary greatly depending on

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whether the corruption "tax" is 10% or 50%, as well as the quality and type of services clients receive in return. In China, for instance, corruption appears widespread, but the tax rate is lower and service delivery much higher compared to, say, sub-Saharan Africa. To my knowledge, none of the existing corruption surveys can differentiate in this manner. There are compelling arguments suggesting that impartiality should be the primary measure of government quality[63].

Nevertheless, it appears entirely plausible that a state could maintain a high level of impartiality while still lacking the capacity or independence to deliver services effectively. Rothstein contends that impartiality necessitates adequate capacity. While this might be accurate, it is a proposition that requires empirical investigation rather than mere assumption. Moreover, various measures of the Rule of Law pertain to bureaucratic quality, including those provided by the ABA Rule of Law Initiative and the World Justice Project's Rule of Law Index. Some Chinese academics have attempted to gauge the extent of rule-based decision-making by tracking the number of administrative cases brought against government bodies and the proportion of these cases that result in victories for the claimants. The concept of the rule of law is interpreted in diverse ways by different scholars and can alternatively refer to law and order, the enforcement of property rights and contracts, adherence to substantive Western human rights norms, and constitutional limits on executive authority[79].

Some academics have differentiated between governance by law, where the executive employs law and the bureaucracy as tools of power, and governance under the rule of law, where the executive is bound by the same laws that apply to everyone else. In many ways, governance by law aligns with the quality of the state, as we desire states to function according to general, transparent, impartial, and predictable regulations. Conversely, the rule of law, specifically in the context of constitutional limitations on the executive, is strongly linked to democracy. Authoritarian regimes such as the Prussian/German Rechtsstaat of the 19th century, Meiji Japan, and modern-day China could all be described as having governance by law but not true

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rule of law. This suggests that certain elements of the rule of law might serve as indicators of state quality. However, many rule of law metrics tend to assess what is easily measurable rather than the fundamental quality of the legal framework, so careful selection of these metrics is necessary[80].

2.1.6 Political Institution and Governance

Many of the institutions that support markets are publicly provided. The ability of the state to provide these institutions is therefore an important determinant of how well individuals behave in markets and how well market's function. Successful provision of such institutions is often referred to as "good governance"[81]. Good governance includes the creation, protection, and enforcement of property rights, without which the scope for market transactions is limited. It includes the provision of a regulatory regime that works with the market to promote competition[82]. And it includes the provision of sound macroeconomic policies that create a stable environment for market activity. Good governance also means the absence of corruption, which can subvert the goals of policy and undermine the legitimacy of the public institutions that support markets.

2.1.6.2 Weak Institutions: The Nigerian Situation

A fragile institution signifies a state where government bodies experience a decline in power or are unable to adequately perform essential state duties, such as upholding law and order and safeguarding national borders[75]. Indicators of such institutional fragility include losing control over territories, inability to monopolise the use of force, challenges to the legitimacy of the state, attempts by certain regions to break away, and failing to deliver fundamental services to the populace. In a society as culturally diverse and religiously fragmented as Nigeria, the key measure of governmental effectiveness lies in its capacity to establish an institutional structure that promotes peaceful coexistence among its citizens. This can be achieved through representative governance, a robust judicial system, and efficient law enforcement.

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The Nigerian government was founded on fragile legitimacy, shaped by the dual British colonial administrative system, which featured a comparatively weak central authority and more autonomous regions in terms of governance, thereby affecting the structure of the independent Nigerian state. This colonial legacy resulted in stronger regional and local ethnic powers and weaker central institutions, where mechanisms for central coordination were either not fully embraced or only weakly implemented. Consequently, the central Nigerian government appears largely ineffective in exerting significant control over its entire geographical areas, which has, in turn, allowed violence and conflicts to persist. In other words, the modern Nigerian state exhibits common characteristics of institutional weakness, including a central government with limited practical control over much of its territory, failure to provide basic services, widespread corruption and criminal activity, displacement of citizens due to crises, threats of secession, and marked economic decline[82].

The current structure of the Nigerian state is often viewed as resembling that of a failed state, particularly in terms of its institutional framework and central regulatory authority. Despite more than fifty years of political independence, Nigeria continues to grapple with finding legitimacy and earning the loyalty of its citizens amidst significant threats of secession, separatism, and insurgency. Political conflicts have become a common occurrence, frequently escalating into violent clashes either among the populace or between the citizens and the government. Although scholars understand politics as inherently conflict-inducing—since it involves the authoritative allocation of values among competing societal groups—political conflicts are seen as inevitable, especially in a diverse and multifaceted nation like Nigeria.

Nevertheless, conflicts become particularly problematic when the state's institutional mechanisms fail to prevent simple disputes from escalating into violence, as seen in Nigeria. For example, political crises such as the civil war in the 1970s, numerous inter-ethnic and religious confrontations, and the rise of ethnic militias and terrorist groups like Afenifere, ACF,

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Odua People's Congress, MASSOB, MOSOP, IPOB, and Boko Haram, all highlight the Nigerian central government's inability to address the underlying issues that often fuel grievances, which in turn can lead to violent outbreaks or the emergence of militant groups[83]. The presence of structurally fragile governance institutions in a country such as Nigeria, where translating national economic potential into tangible, sustainable development has proven to be quite challenging, raises significant concerns. These institutions struggle to fulfil their governance roles effectively due to inherent structural flaws in administration, which create substantial obstacles in carrying out their duties.

2.1.7 The Dysfunctional State of Nigeria

Nigeria's travails, while hardly unique within the developing world, are surely exceptional in their scope and persistence. Mass poverty, economic stagnation, endemic corruption, political instability, weak institutions, and social conflict can be found in many countries, and viewed in this light, Nigeria might seem unremarkable. Yet the scale of Nigeria's developmental failure and the ironies surrounding its malaise place the country in sharper relief. It is not appropriately regarded as a "failed" (much less "collapsed") state, if by that term we mean a system that lacks major attributes of sovereignty or cohesion[84].

In Nigeria, the state exercises a modicum of political control, there is a basic level of public institutions, and much of the population accepts some notion of common identity and national authority. Nor should Nigeria be characterized as a "poor" country, lacking the resources or capital necessary for economic and social development. During the last three decades, Nigeria has generated about US$500 billion in petroleum exports, much of which has accrued as revenue to the central government. Many of the country's leaders, professing aspirations for development, have spent prodigiously on infrastructure, production, and social services[81].

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From an American perspective, Nigeria's situation presents some concerning inconsistencies[79]. Historically, the relationship between the United States and Nigeria has been generally cooperative, although occasionally strained. Since gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria has taken a moderate approach in its foreign policy, maintaining a non-aligned position while fostering friendly relations with most Western countries. While disputes have occasionally occurred between Nigeria and the United States, there has never been a significant ideological or historical conflict to disrupt their bilateral relations. Moreover, the two nations share a considerable trade and investment connection. For the past thirty years, Nigeria has been a key supplier of high-quality oil to the United States. The increasing importance of Nigeria for U.S. energy needs and the presence of a significant Nigerian immigrant population in America strengthen the ties between the two countries. Additionally, Nigeria has become a pivotal player in regional security within West Africa over the last decade, particularly through its leadership in regional peacekeeping operations in places like Liberia and Sierra Leone[82].

In the interest of regional security, Nigeria has assumed responsibilities and faced risks that major external powers have mostly avoided[83]. Its interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone were not highly effective, leaving unresolved the question of how to ensure a more stable regional security framework. Economically, the United States has experienced strained relations with various Nigerian administrations over issues related to debt and economic policy reform. Nigeria’s ongoing economic stagnation and widespread corruption obstruct U.S. business ties with the country and generally hamper economic progress throughout West Africa. Poor governance and economic weakness also contribute to the main sources of friction in U.S.-Nigerian relations: drug trafficking, financial fraud, and money laundering. Moreover, the increasing prevalence of HIV-AIDS in Nigeria exacerbates humanitarian issues and heightens health risks associated with global interactions.

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The United States would clearly benefit from a stable, democratic, and prosperous Nigeria—one capable of managing its internal conflicts, ensuring the welfare of its population, promoting transparent governance, and acting as a stabilising force in the region. This indicates that a proactive engagement policy by the United States is needed to support political renewal and economic reform. Unfortunately, U.S. trade relations with Nigeria, which are heavily focused on the energy sector, often overshadow other aspects of the bilateral relationship. For those within the U.S. government and private sector primarily concerned with energy, the relationship is driven by the need to maintain a favourable investment environment and stable conditions for production and export. These priorities do not always align with broader aims of fostering improved governance and economic performance, especially when trade interests bring the United States closer to authoritarian regimes or hinder necessary reforms[86].

2.1.7.1 Explaining Poor Developmental Performance

Nigeria's political economy is deeply affected by economic hardship, ineffective governance, and societal division, highlighting a significant social challenge. According to public choice theorists, a social dilemma arises when individuals or groups prioritize their own interests over the common good, making it impossible for an external entity to reconcile the conflict between personal and communal interests. In simpler terms, the pursuit of self-interest by individuals and groups results in a worse outcome for everyone compared to a cooperative approach, but political leaders or institutions fail to facilitate coordination towards shared objectives[87]. This fundamental issue of collective action underscores the political challenges in tackling the nation’s developmental issues. In the economic sphere, disputes over resource distribution among ruling factions hinder investment and capital accumulation, leaving no government or authority in the state able to lead a growth and transformation agenda. Politically, divisions among the elite and ongoing instability undermine the foundations of governance. The frequent shifts between civilian and military rule, each plagued by internal conflict and uncertainty,

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obstruct effective leadership, the strengthening of robust institutions, and the delivery of vital public services. Socially, a notable feature of Nigeria's communal politics is the lack of a comprehensive social agreement that could create a shared understanding of national identity and citizenship. Such an agreement is crucial for developing institutions to handle intergroup relations, yet attempts at reconciliation have often been overshadowed by divisive communal conflicts.

By viewing Nigeria's developmental challenges as a social dilemma, I direct attention to governance issues. Of course, other factors are also significant. Economists have rightly pointed out that the poor policy decisions of successive governments have played a role in the country's sluggish growth. Jeffrey Sachs, for example, has identified four types of crises in underperforming states: a "poverty trap," where limited resources restrict growth; state insolvency, where the government struggles with persistent fiscal crises and bankruptcy; liquidity crises, characterized by sudden shifts in capital flows that lead to temporary shortages; and transition crises, which arise during regime changes when institutional instability disrupts policymaking and economic exchanges[87]. Nigeria exhibits two of these syndromes: state bankruptcy, largely resulting from policy decisions rather than external shocks, and a transition crisis stemming from internal political and economic disturbances. Given the country's substantial petroleum revenue, attributing its poor performance to a poverty trap is challenging. Additionally, its detachment from global capital markets prevents the kind of liquidity crisis linked to the Asian financial downturn. There is little doubt that harmful government policies have instigated and prolonged Nigeria's economic stagnation over the decades. However, this observation does not clarify why various Nigerian leaders have chosen and continued to implement policies that were clearly detrimental to development.

Addressing this question necessitates an examination of the political landscape surrounding policymaking and market dynamics. Sachs and others have also highlighted the geographic

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factors underlying underdevelopment in tropical regions, particularly in Africa. Unfavourable conditions, such as climate, soil quality, and disease, alongside limited participation in global trade, have contributed to slow growth and low productivity. While these factors undeniably affect many countries, it is crucial to question why modern governments have not implemented public health measures, agricultural reforms, or trade initiatives to overcome these geographical challenges. Other analyses, focusing on structural and historical factors, encounter similar issues. Numerous scholars have pointed to Nigeria's colonial past and the difficulties of economic dependency. It has also been proposed that states with dominant resource-export industries face unique barriers to economic growth[88].

a. **Communal Competition**

Nigeria exhibits substantial ethnic fragmentation. There are hundreds of ethnic groups, including dozens that are politically significant[89]. Communal rivalry is predominantly concentrated among the three major ethnolinguistic groups—Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba—though these boundaries are often blurred by wider regional distinctions and the involvement of smaller groups such as the Tiv, Ijaw, Nupe, Kanuri, Edo, and Efik. Such rivalry and conflict have been influenced by different economic characteristics and resources for collective mobilisation.

During the colonial period, British policies exacerbated the disparities between the northern and southern populations. Southern communities had more access to modern education, business opportunities (due to coastal proximity and urbanisation), and involvement in the colonial administration. In contrast, the Northern Region, governed by the colonial principle of indirect rule, remained under the influence of traditional authorities within the Emirates, as well as Islamic religious, judicial, and educational institutions, and a predominantly agrarian economy. In the postcolonial period, these historical patterns of socioeconomic development

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provided significant advantages for southerners in entrepreneurship, administrative experience, and education. The establishment of three regional governments, each dominated by ethnically aligned political parties, further entrenched and politicised these disparities. Ironically, the Northern Region, despite having fewer educational and economic resources, demonstrated the greatest proficiency in mobilising collective action in pursuit of sectional interests[90]. Throughout the colonial era, elites linked to the emirate system-maintained influence and built upon common religious and cultural identities. Northern elites coalesced in the 1950s under the Northern People's Congress (NPC) to achieve dominance in the post-independence parliamentary system. The Northern Region held a plurality of legislative seats, while dissension among southern groups prevented a countervailing regional coalition. The growing influence of northerners in the armed forces bolstered regional supremacy. Communal competition in Nigeria is defined by these polarities of political and economic power.

Northern rulers have consistently favoured statist strategies to direct economic resources and opportunities toward "disadvantaged" regions and mitigate the presumed advantages of the south. Groups in the south are more frequently proponents of economic liberalization due to their perceived advantages in competitive markets. Communal competition in Nigeria has created a proliferation of points of access to state resources and formed a set of mutual vetoes among groups over market access and distribution. This political stalemate is antithetical to economic development, as without a stable governing coalition across communal lines, it is largely impossible to organize concerted state action on behalf of growth and capital formation. Political leaders prioritize discretion over resources over institutional credibility, leading to distributive pressures on state actors that impel the immediate dispersal of resources, hindering cooperation over broader policies or institutional changes that would enhance investment and exchange[91].

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b. The Rentier State

The rise of the oil economy greatly heightened political barriers to development. The expansion of oil exports led to the formation of a rentier state, with the government largely dependent on income from resource rents. Nigeria experienced a rapid fiscal shift in the early 1970s, which had significant implications for public finance, economic planning, distributive politics, and private sector activities. In the first decade following independence, the federal system and a diversified export base resulted in considerable fiscal decentralisation.

The three regions, each specialising in distinct cash crops and minerals, maintained control over their own export earnings[87]. The financial independence of regional governments and their dependence on local production led to incentives to boost and sustain output throughout the economy. However, with the onset of petroleum exports, these incentives changed drastically, with revenue becoming largely controlled by the federal government and the transition from regions to states diminishing the fiscal independence of sub-national governments. The rapid growth of petroleum exports soon eclipsed other income sources, leading to a centralization of resources.

The phenomenon known as "Dutch disease" is linked to price imbalances and structural shifts in economies that export resources, which typically hinder growth. This situation discourages investment in productive sectors like agriculture and non-oil industries, undermining their competitiveness and economic adaptability. The effects of Dutch disease are often associated with inflation, increased high-profile projects, rapid urbanization, crime rates, and heightened corruption. State insolvency is a frequent issue for resource-rich countries, as seen in Nigeria, where the surge in oil revenue led to a significant rise in public spending, with fiscal expansion outstripping the growth in revenue. Substantial debt accumulation by the 1980s was filled by borrowing from foreign sources, and leaders' perspectives and motivations shifted dramatically after the initial windfall. Occasional revenue boosts from favourable oil market conditions have

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not offered lasting fiscal relief but have merely contributed to an ongoing trend of financial instability.

A rentier state mainly sources its income from a foreign-controlled enclave, leading to a separation between state finances and domestic production. Consequently, the primary focus of the ruling elites shifts away from generating revenue via taxation and broadening the economic foundation, and towards the allocation of profits that are predominantly sourced from foreign entities[92]. A self-sufficient revenue base diminishes the need for ruling authorities to uphold productive conditions, giving them the flexibility to utilise fiscal policies for bolstering political influence. This tactic involves enlarging the public sector, enabling leaders to use jobs, financial support, infrastructure projects, and development funding to establish networks of patronage. The expansion of government generosity heightens competition over resource allocation between both elites and ordinary citizens, with politicians and military personnel facing greater stakes. The state becomes a source of resources and a regulator of economic prospects, particularly for business elites. This rentier state cultivates a rentier economy, where gaining access to politically controlled rents becomes the main means of wealth accumulation.

c. The Decline of Institutions

Another contributing factor, especially following the oil boom, has been the trajectory of Nigeria's institutional deterioration[93]. This situation is both a reflection of inadequate governance and a contributor to further governance decline. While the impacts of weak institutions can sometimes be hard to separate from other influences, it is clear that the decline of key state institutions has played a significant role in the poor developmental outcomes observed over the past twenty years. Like many postcolonial nations, Nigeria had fragile institutional foundations at the time of its independence, and the initial years of state-building were marked by slow and inconsistent progress. The oil boom brought about a period of swift institutional expansion. The rapid growth of the civil service and the increase in public

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enterprises during the 1970s and 1980s exacerbated issues related to institutional structure and local staffing. This expanding state apparatus became overextended, leading to inefficiency, disorder, and corruption within public institutions[94].

The situation significantly deteriorated during the 1980s as resources dwindled and political instability further weakened government capabilities. The downturn in the oil market led to financial deficits, delayed salary payments, and a decline in vital services. During the Second Republic, this resource shortage was worsened by lack of budgetary discipline and rampant corruption. After the civilian government, the Buhari administration introduced strict austerity measures in response to reduced export income and growing debt, which included extensive job cuts in the public sector and state-owned enterprises. This approach persisted under Babangida, whose Structural Adjustment Programme called for additional reductions in public sector employment and subsidies, along with widespread liberalisation and the sale of state-owned companies. Consequently, from the 1980s onwards, the situation has been marked by escalating resource limitations, declining public services, and widespread insecurity within government institutions[95].

2.1.8 Poor Governance in Nigeria

It is widely acknowledged that the phrase 'poor governance' does not lend itself to a universally accepted definition, prompting scholars to explore the concept through a descriptive lens rather than providing a concrete definition[96]. From a descriptive standpoint, 'poor governance' is closely tied to the notion of 'governance' and is generally recognised as the antithesis of 'good governance'. Efforts to provide a comprehensive definition of 'governance' have sparked debate among experts and academics, particularly regarding its practical application. Nevertheless, it is broadly acknowledged as "the management of society by its citizens or the exercise of authority to oversee a nation's affairs and resources." Governance refers to both the process of making decisions and the manner in which those decisions are carried out. When decisions are

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made and executed with consideration for their participatory nature, it is referred to as good governance[97].

Similarly, when a decision is made with consensus, is responsive, effective, efficient, fair, inclusive, and adheres to the rule of law, it constitutes good governance. The 'Institute on Governance' has suggested that governance becomes necessary whenever a group of individuals join forces to achieve a particular goal. It also pointed out that most definitions of 'governance' are based on three key aspects: authority, decision-making, and accountability[98]. It, therefore, came out with its own working definition of governance which is expressed as follows:

> Governance determines who has power, who makes decisions, how other players make their voice heard and how the account is rendered. Governance is therefore a process of directing the affairs of a given nation or organization under whatsoever type of system is adopted with the intent of creating and sustaining orderliness, peace and promoting the general wellbeing of the people of such an organization.

Effective governance must exhibit the following traits: (a) avert the emergence of tyranny, chaos, corruption, instability, stagnation, uninformed decision-making, lack of accountability, and unwarranted secrecy; (b) ensure the establishment of a well-functioning, stable, and responsible government through the successful avoidance of detrimental political challenges[99]. Additionally, the notion of good governance encompasses the expectation of a consistent, transparent, and well-informed public policy, supported by a bureaucracy that upholds a professional ethos aimed at promoting the public interest. This concept also includes adherence to the rule of law, clear and open procedures, and an active civil society engaged in public matters[100]. In clear alignment with this viewpoint, the Nigerian Constitution asserts that its creation was aimed at advancing good governance and the well-being of every individual. Recognising that 'poor governance' stands in direct contrast to 'good governance', it can be

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inferred that 'poor governance' refers to any form of administration that is missing the key qualities associated with 'good governance'[101].

While good governance refers to a participatory style of governing that operates responsibly, accountably, and transparently, adhering to principles of efficiency, legitimacy, and consensus to advance individual rights and the public interest; thereby demonstrating a political commitment to societal welfare, sustainable development, and social justice; poor governance represents the inability to govern competently, effectively, and efficiently. Leadership lacking in transparency, accountability, credibility, justice, selflessness, and fairness is considered bad governance. An illustrative case of poor governance is found in Military Governor of Lagos State & 2 Ors. v. Chief Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu & Anor. In this case, the Lagos State government seized the respondent's property without regard for ongoing legal proceedings. Fortunately, the courts intervened, with the Supreme Court ultimately ruling against the government's actions:

> In the area where the rule of law operates, the rule of self-help by force is abandoned. Nigeria, being one of the countries in the world which proclaim loudly to follow the rule of law, there is no room for the rule of self-help by force to operate. Once a dispute has arisen between a person and the government or authority and the dispute has been brought before the court, thereby invoking the judicial powers of the state, it is the duty of the government to allow the legal and judicial process to run its full course. The action the Lagos State Government took can have no other interpretation than the show of the intention to pre-empt the decision of the court. The courts expect the utmost respect of the law from the government itself which rules by the law[102].

In the developmental aspect, also, governing without transformative capacity is bad governance. In view of this, it was argued that:

> The basic argument about the role of governance in development holds that weak governance originates due to a sequential failure of the state to (a) project a developmental vision; (b) demonstrate a commitment to realize this vision, through putting in place policies and programs, as well as calibrating its allocative priorities to realize this vision; (c) develop a capacity to fulfil its commitments. This includes administrative and

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> technical capacity as well as the political capacity to mobilize necessary support both within civil society as well as in the political arena to translate the vision into reality[103].

Poor governance is characterised by an adverse relationship between the governing authorities and the governed, often due to external influences such as breaches of key norms or flawed economic policies. This problem is particularly widespread in Nigeria, where the ruling elite and public institutions have failed to deliver essential public goods such as infrastructure, rule of law, and legitimate symbols of state authority and political unity. Achieving good governance has been a persistent challenge in Nigeria, with periods of civilian and military rule frequently disrupted by false starts, unsuccessful transitions, and ongoing threats to stable governance. Elected governments have struggled with weak institutions, internal divisions, and widespread corruption. The First Republic, established as a parliamentary system, was structured to promote ethnic division and regional power struggles, resulting in community tensions, political disputes, and social unrest. The military stepped in during 1966, but the leadership was susceptible to ethnic conflicts, eventually leading to a civil war. The Second Republic, based on a presidential model, lasted only four years, marred by extensive corruption, poor management, and violence, which undermined the legitimacy of the democratic framework[104].

In July 1975, General Murtala Muhammad replaced Gowon, pledging to expedite the transition to civilian rule, improve economic transparency, and introduce administrative changes. Unfortunately, Murtala's leadership was cut short when he was assassinated during a failed coup attempt just six months later, prompting his deputy, Olusegun Obasanjo, to assume control and continue the government's policies. In addition to steering the nation towards civilian governance, the Murtala-Obasanjo regime embarked on an ambitious programme of state-led industrialisation and extensive social welfare initiatives. This four-year civilian era

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came to an abrupt end in 1983 when General Muhammadu Buhari seized power, with the public anticipating that his leadership would tackle the corruption and disorder left by the Second Republic. Nevertheless, Buhari's administration marked the onset of another phase of military rule, which ultimately caused more harm to governmental efficiency, economic progress, and societal stability than previous administrations. The tenures of Buhari (1983–85), Ibrahim Babangida (1985–93), and Sani Abacha (1993–98) saw a continual decline characterised by repression, erratic governance, economic exploitation, and the degradation of key institutions, including the military, central administration, vital public services, and infrastructure[105].

Following the removal of General Buhari's government (alongside his close ally, General Tunde Idiagbon), whose authoritarian methods and economic incompetence eroded public support, General Babangida promised substantial political and economic reforms, setting forth a timetable for transitioning to democratic governance as well as a strategy for economic stabilisation. However, Babangida's reformist intentions were short-lived; he repeatedly delayed and altered the political plan, hesitated on implementing economic reforms, and soon abandoned even the semblance of stable governance.

The general utilised force to suppress dissent, while his administration was marred by widespread corruption. The lowest point of Babangida's leadership came in June 1993, when he nullified the results of a presidential election that had been widely seen as free and fair by a populace eager to return to civilian government[106]. The subsequent crisis led to widespread uncertainty, heightened ethno-regional hostility, and further economic deterioration. Babangida was compelled to step down, leaving behind a weak civilian caretaker government, which was dismantled within weeks by General Sani Abacha, the defence minister at the time.

Unlike his predecessor, Abacha lacked subtlety and political agility, opting for a more authoritarian and corrupt style of leadership. He utilised the state security apparatus to

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intimidate, harass, imprison, or even kill political rivals. Additionally, he orchestrated a so-called political "transition" designed to extend his rule as a civilian president. After briefly experimenting with populist economic policies, his administration reverted to more traditional measures. However, rampant fiscal mismanagement and outright economic exploitation left the economy in a dire state. Over a span of just four and a half years, Abacha is believed to have amassed a fortune estimated at around US$6 billion, mainly through embezzlement of public funds or misappropriation from state enterprises and projects. The rapid and extensive looting at the centre mirrored the accelerated decline in the education and healthcare systems, public administration, utilities, and domestic fuel supplies.

As Abacha's plans for self-perpetuation in power seemed imminent, social and political tensions escalated. His unexpected death in June 1998, officially reported as a heart attack, provided an opening for reform-minded elements within the military to push for political change. General Abdulsalami Abubakar, chosen by the ruling military council, outlined a plan to return Nigeria to civilian governance. The regime adhered to its swift timetable for transition, handing over power to an elected civilian government in May 1999. The new president was Olusegun Obasanjo, the retired general who had previously transferred power to the politicians of the Second Republic two decades earlier. The reinstatement of civilian rule has brought numerous improvements in public participation and human rights in Nigeria. However, in other areas of governance, the progress has been less promising. The administration faces the accumulated damages caused by its predecessors, including a depleted treasury, substantial debt, deteriorating public institutions, endemic corruption, and ongoing social tensions. Little progress has been made in addressing the long-standing economic issues, while communal violence has erupted into numerous conflicts across the country. A contentious and largely inexperienced political class shows limited ability to tackle the pressing economic and social challenges facing the nation[107].

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2.1.9 Institutional Capability

Countries that strive to respond effectively to crises and to build resilience need adaptable, capable institutions[108]. Gaining a deeper insight into how a nation's institutional capabilities serve as a foundation for effectively addressing economic shocks is crucial for maintaining human development progress, including advancements towards the MDGs. This part of the discussion focuses on the attributes required by institutions leading crisis response efforts, presents case studies from various countries, and suggests methods for evaluation and recommendations. The institutions referenced in this chapter are described as official governmental and public service bodies, encompassing government ministries and agencies, regional governments, and other state organisations responsible for public services, policy formulation and execution, and the management of state functions.

2.1.9.1 Defining Institutional Qualities

Performance, adaptability, and stability are essential traits for any effective crisis response. While the performance of institutions forms the basis of a state's capacity to operate and meet its responsibilities to its citizens, this alone is not enough for nations needing to respond to shocks and navigate a shifting environment. Building resilience necessitates institutions that are not only stable but also capable of adapting. High-performing institutions, equipped to provide basic public services and to formulate and implement policies, play a vital role in a country's efforts to reach its developmental objectives, particularly in times of crisis. For instance, the quality of governance, assessed through levels of corruption and the efficiency of the bureaucracy, can account for differences in how effectively public spending enhances health and education outcomes[109]. Institutional performance, assessed by its effectiveness and efficiency, forms the basis of a state's ability to handle its executive, legislative, and judicial roles, manage the economy, deliver public services, sustainably utilise natural resources, uphold human, economic, social, civil, and political rights, and maintain security.

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Effectiveness refers to how well an institution meets its goals. Gaining insight into areas where an institution is more or less effective can aid in crafting programmatic approaches to build capacities in those specific domains. Efficiency is the comparison of achieved outcomes to the resources employed (such as money, time, and labour). Enhancing efficiency brings benefits that go beyond straightforward cost savings, with recent studies highlighting a direct link between the efficiency of public sector operations and economic growth[110]. In times of crisis, countries need institutions with the capacity to anticipate, adapt and respond to changing needs and shifting priorities. Adaptability is thus an ability to perform in future conditions and to innovate to meet future needs[111]. Adaptable institutions are flexible and able to continuously invest in endogenous improvements, while anticipating and responding to crises with innovative solutions.

Stability in an organisation refers to its capability to minimise fluctuations in performance by embedding effective practices and robust risk management strategies. Organisations with stability can lessen uncertainty and optimise the use of resources by adopting best practices and innovative standards. Consistently applied, efficient processes contribute to ongoing and uniform performance. Stable organisations should also be proficient in developing and implementing comprehensive methods for identifying, analysing, and managing risks. A comprehensive approach to risk management, which encompasses risks across different departments, enhances the organisation's ability to control risks and lessen vulnerability to significant threats, thus maintaining stability. For instance, a government's finance ministry might establish a permanent unit focused on economic analysis, monitoring, and policy guidance to support this stability[112].

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2.1.9.2 Application of Institutional Qualities to Core Country Systems and Country Evidence

The attributes outlined earlier namely, performance, adaptability, and stability are crucial for national systems, which play a pivotal role in responding to crises. These systems are tasked with ensuring that available capacities, assets, and resources are utilised in the most efficient and effective manner possible. National systems encompass the legislation, policies, procedures, and organisational frameworks necessary for state operations, including human resource management, civil service, public financial management (PFM), procurement, and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. This section will concentrate on four key systems: the civil service, PFM, procurement, and monitoring and evaluation, all of which are essential for a successful crisis response and the sustainability of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and other development objectives. The examples and evidence provided below illustrate how these core systems have applied the fundamental institutional qualities of performance, adaptability, and stability, particularly in response to the recent economic downturn.

Civil Service: Among the various institutions activated during a crisis, the civil service at both national and local levels serves as a fundamental system upon which the state depends to meet its responsibilities to its citizens. Therefore, for a country to operate effectively and achieve its development goals, it must invest in building a professional, merit-based civil service and strengthen local government bodies responsible for managing or providing essential social services, particularly for the poor and other vulnerable populations[113]. The way nations have dealt with the recent economic shock highlights the importance of institutions being able to deliver evidence-based evaluations and effective policy options to tackle the crisis. This essential capability depends on consistently having skilled and experienced personnel within

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key governmental bodies and primary economic organisations, such as planning ministries, finance departments, and central banks[114].

The lack of a predictable, coherent and functioning bureaucracy undermines the ability of developing countries to respond to crises[115]. The World Bank identified that around 25% of developing nations were unable to mitigate the impact of poverty resulting from the economic downturn because of inadequate foundational capacities. Similarly, recent research by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) highlighted the lack of robust state and institutional capabilities, which hindered these countries' ability to implement effective and enduring policy measures in response to the economic crisis[116]. Extended periods of underinvestment in the civil service, along with educational policies that overlook funding for specialised tertiary education, may result in an inability to develop a workforce equipped with the necessary skills and capabilities to establish an efficient and ethical civil service. This can also lead to the displacement of skilled professionals from the public sector to the private sector. A recent analysis of the response to the 2008 economic crisis, carried out by the UNDP-supported Regional Centre for Public Administration, highlights this issue.

Reform (RCPAR) found that inconsistent and ineffective responses in several Eastern European and Central Asian countries have highlighted fundamental weaknesses in their public sectors. A lack of investment in a professional civil service system has impaired their ability for strategic and evidence-based policy-making, efficient public finance management, budget planning and execution, and the effective delivery of public services. The same study indicated that the economic crisis either halted or significantly slowed down ongoing efforts in many nations to modernise state structures, including reforms in civil service and public administration, decentralisation initiatives, and other processes[117].

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Countries where reform efforts were still in progress, and where only the groundwork for a modern state had been established, struggled to implement effective measures to mitigate the crisis's effects. This is particularly evident in their sub-national governance frameworks, which have faced setbacks due to the suspension of initiatives aimed at enhancing their capability to handle increasing responsibilities in providing essential services to local communities. In times of crisis, especially in countries with chronic underinvestment in the civil service, which has failed to develop competent bureaucracies, institutions must be agile enough to adapt to new challenges. They need to establish viable mechanisms and strategies to boost their capacity for formulating and executing effective counter-crisis policies[118].

Although each country's context demands tailored interventions and policy choices, all countries can improve their institutional capacity by implementing short-term strategies. These could include offering incentives to attract skilled and educated members of the diaspora to assist their nation in responding to the crisis. Sometimes, the required skills and competencies are already available within the country but may be dispersed across various state institutions or working within the private sector. In these cases, setting up task forces and committees, and promoting public-private partnerships, would enable institutions at the forefront of crisis management to temporarily utilise these resources. In the absence of robust systems and a strong civil service, states have often relied on short-term, ad hoc measures to manage crises. While the effectiveness of such task forces and other institutional setups created within ministries of finance and central banks to address the crisis is uncertain, examples from Bangladesh, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Mauritius demonstrate that when these mechanisms for policy development and coordination are formalised, countries possess a greater ability to craft and implement more coordinated policy responses to the 2008 economic crisis[119].

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For example, Lebanon's handling of the recent economic downturn highlights the benefits of prior investments in building the capacity to reform its Ministry of Finance. The Ministry's Economic and Technical Support Unit (ETSU), staffed by highly trained and skilled Lebanese professionals, was instrumental in providing the government with top-level policy guidance to manage the immediate impacts of the financial crisis. Established in the early 1990s with support from the UNDP as a provisional economic advisory entity and staffed by members of the Lebanese diaspora, ETSU is primarily responsible for offering current economic analysis, research, and policy recommendations to the government[120]. The ongoing assimilation of its personnel into the Ministry and the formal establishment of ETSU have been maintaining steady institutional performance and preserving capacity. Implementing immediate solutions, such as establishing task forces or policy advisory groups staffed with highly skilled professionals, can give institutions the short-term ability to tackle a crisis. However, embedding these measures into the institutional framework enables nations to stay adaptable. Consequently, countries aiming to handle future disruptions more efficiently and enhance their resilience should adopt, alongside temporary and ad hoc approaches, medium- and long-term strategies that address foundational institutional shortcomings[121].

Procurement

Public procurement accounts for most of government budgets; indeed, in Africa, it accounts for as much as 70 percent of government budgets[122]. The effectiveness of procurement systems is crucial for countries heavily reliant on aid, particularly those aiming to implement countercyclical strategies during economic downturns or needing prompt imports of essential goods, like staple foods, to safeguard their vulnerable populations. In this context, well-functioning national procurement systems are vital for preventing the misuse and wastage of public funds, reducing corruption, and ensuring that public spending on goods and services meets quality and quantity standards. For instance, addressing crises through the creation of

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labour- and capital-intensive projects, such as extensive public infrastructure initiatives, necessitates the presence of strong procurement systems capable of managing substantial infrastructure projects with transparency and efficiency[123].

In developing nations, where institutional frameworks are fragile, these initiatives are highly vulnerable to resource misappropriation and widespread corruption. Strengthening and overhauling procurement systems is crucial, not only to mitigate the impact of crises by facilitating the execution of counter-cyclical programmes (such as public procurement of essential goods), but also to reinstate the levels of economic growth and development that have been undermined by these crises. For instance, after emerging from the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s, the Indonesian government recognised that shortcomings in its procurement processes and service delivery had exacerbated the crisis's effects. As a result, it initiated a comprehensive overhaul of its national public procurement system to enhance resilience against future economic shocks[124].

Developing effective national procurement systems or enhancing those already in place is particularly crucial for nations reliant on importing vital goods and services, like food products, especially during periods of rising food prices. Least-developed landlocked nations (LLDCs), such as Malawi and Niger, require strong procurement systems to facilitate the import of food and other essential items. In Niger, the primary reason for the growing reliance on imports is linked to structural adjustment programmes, including trade liberalisation, introduced from 1994 onwards. These measures have led to the gradual reduction of food reserves, which have been substituted with monetised alternatives[125].

Deficiencies in national procurement systems, combined with ineffective domestic and regional markets, exacerbated the negative effects of recent food price crises on both the nutritional status of the poor and food availability. This issue persisted even when countries

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like Malawi and Niger managed to implement fairly robust anti-poverty and social protection measures. Additionally, procurement policies are crucial during crises as they can economically uplift the poor and other vulnerable groups by encouraging local employment practices or providing procurement and contract opportunities to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), businesses owned by women and minorities, and community-based organisations.

Monitoring and Evaluation

The recent global economic downturn's complexity and breadth have highlighted the importance of accessing real-time information about the effects of economic and other shocks. Accurate data, along with robust monitoring and evaluation systems at both national and local levels, are essential for creating evidence-based responses and directing interventions effectively. When the economic crisis emerged in 2008, some countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia lacked current, policy-relevant statistical data to gather the baseline information needed for evidence-based policy development, implementation, and impact evaluation. Insufficient monitoring and inadequate analysis of economic patterns left nations like Kazakhstan, Hungary, and Serbia without a thorough understanding of the crisis's impact on their populations and industries, making it difficult for these countries to adequately lessen the effects[118].

2.1.9.3 Linkages between Institutional Qualities and Key Governance Principles

The institutional attributes and governance principles outlined above are interconnected and mutually reinforcing, as demonstrated in the chart below:

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Institutional Qualities	Governance Principles
Performance	Participation/Inclusion
Adaptability	Non-Discrimination/ Equality
Stability	Rule of Law/ Accountability

Fig 2.1: Linkages between Institutional Qualities and Key Governance Principles

Source: Researcher's Fieldwork, 2022

On one side, governance principles create a framework that allows institutions to function, adjust, and maintain stability, particularly during crises. For instance, ensuring that state bodies are accountable for their decisions, actions, and outcomes (accountability) makes these entities more efficient and effective in meeting the evolving requirements and demands of the community (performance). Another instance illustrating the empowering effect of governance is participation: as previously mentioned, involving the public in decision-making processes (participation) helps institutions become more responsive and gain greater legitimacy, particularly when navigating difficult decisions in times of limited resources (adaptability). Conversely, the institutions tasked with implementing and upholding these governance principles must also be capable of performance, adaptation, and stability. This implies that institutions charged with maintaining accountability (such as anti-corruption bodies, judicial systems, ombudsman offices, and parliaments) must operate effectively to carry out their roles and secure legitimacy. Regarding participation, the institutions and methods designed to promote involvement (like local government town hall meetings and local service provision boards) must be able to adjust in order to respond more effectively to the needs of those they serve[119].

- The relationship between these governance principles and institutional qualities, as outlined above, holds true in any developmental context. However, as illustrated by the

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country examples in this report, these connections between institutional qualities and governance principles appear to be particularly critical for governments to effectively address economic crises:

- In instances where task forces and mechanisms for policy development and coordination have been established (rule of law), countries have shown a greater ability to create and execute more cohesive policy responses during an economic crisis (adaptability). This has been evident in nations such as Mauritius, Bangladesh, the United Republic of Tanzania, and Lebanon.

- A well-functioning rule of law can also facilitate adaptation within state functions and enhance governmental performance under challenging conditions. For instance, in countries with a clear system of checks and balances and established institutional frameworks, it becomes easier to introduce additional or alternative mechanisms that can improve the effectiveness of crisis response, including the capacity to address public demands and manage distributive pressures.

- Widespread stakeholder involvement promotes innovation and policy dialogue, thereby enhancing the adaptability of institutions. Recognising the importance of innovation for building resilience against shocks, Chile has spent the last decade investing in strengthening its ability to develop innovative policies, moving away from inefficient, one-off development interventions[119].

2.1.10 Politics

Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. Although politics is also an academic subject (sometimes indicated by the use of 'Politics' with a capital P), it is then clearly the study of this activity. Politics is thus inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. On

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the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that, in order to influence these rules or ensure that they are upheld, they must work with others – hence the definition of political power as 'acting in concert'[120]. This is why the heart of politics is often portrayed as a process of conflict resolution, in which rival views or competing interests are reconciled with one another.

However, politics in this broad sense is better thought of as a search for conflict resolution than as its achievement, as not all conflicts are, or can be, resolved. Nevertheless, the inescapable presence of diversity (we are not all alike) and scarcity (there is never enough to go around) ensures that politics is an inevitable feature of the human condition. Any attempt to clarify the meaning of 'politics must nevertheless address two major problems. The first is the mass of associations that the word has when used in everyday language; in other words, politics is a 'loaded' term.

Whereas most people think of, say, economics, geography, history and biology simply as academic subjects, few people come to politics without preconceptions. Many, for instance, automatically assume that students and teachers of politics must in some way be biased, finding it difficult to believe that the subject can be approached in an impartial and dispassionate manner. To make matters worse, politics is usually thought of as a 'dirty' word: it conjures up images of trouble, disruption and even violence on the one hand, and deceit, manipulation and lies on the other. There is nothing new about such associations. As long ago as 1775, politics is dismissed as 'nothing more than a means of rising in the world', while in the nineteenth century the US historian Henry Adams summed up politics as 'the systematic organization of hatreds'[121].

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2.1.10.1 Politics as the Art of Government

'Politics is not a science . . . but an art', Chancellor Bismarck is reputed to have told the German Reichstag. The art Bismarck had in mind was the art of government, the exercise of control within society through the making and enforcement of collective decisions. This is perhaps the classical definition of politics, developed from the original meaning of the term in Ancient Greece. The word 'politics' is derived from polis, meaning literally 'city-state'. Ancient Greek society was divided into a collection of independent city-states, each of which possessed its own system of government. The largest and most influential of these city-states was Athens, often portrayed as the cradle of democratic government. In this light, politics can be understood to refer to the affairs of the polis – in effect, 'what concerns the poleis.

The modern form of this definition is therefore 'what concerns the state[121]. This view of politics is clearly evident in the everyday use of the term: people are said to be 'in politics' when they hold public office, or to be 'entering politics' when they seek to do so. It is also a definition that academic political science has helped to perpetuate. In many ways, the notion that politics amounts to 'what concerns the state' is the traditional view of the discipline, reflected in the tendency for academic study to focus on the personnel and machinery of government. To study politics is, in essence, to study government, or, more broadly, to study the exercise of authority. Politics is defined as the 'authoritative allocation of values[122].

2.1.10.2 Politics as Public Affairs

A second and broader conception of politics moves it beyond the narrow realm of government to what is thought of as 'public life' or 'public affairs. In other words, the distinction between 'the political' and 'the non-political' coincides with the division between an essentially public sphere of life and what can be thought of as a private sphere. Such a view of politics is often traced back to the work of the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle. In Politics, Aristotle declared that 'man is by nature a political animal', by which he meant that it is only within a

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political community that human beings can live the 'good life'. From this viewpoint, then, politics is an ethical activity concerned with creating a 'just society'; it is what Aristotle called the 'master science'.

However, where should the line between 'public' life and 'private' life be drawn? The traditional distinction between the public realm and the private realm conforms to the division between the state and civil society. The institutions of the state (the apparatus of government, the courts, the police, the army, the social security system and so forth) can be regarded as 'public' in the sense that they are responsible for the collective organization of community life. Moreover, they are funded at the public's expense, out of taxation. In contrast, civil society consists of what was called the 'little platoons. Institutions such as the family and kinship groups, private businesses, trade unions, clubs, community groups and so on, that are 'private' in the sense that they are set up and funded by individual citizens to satisfy their own interests, rather than those of the larger society. On the basis of this 'public/private' division, politics is restricted to the activities of the state itself and the responsibilities that are properly exercised by public bodies[123].

The view of politics as an essentially 'public' activity has generated both positive and negative images. In a tradition dating back to Aristotle, politics has been seen as a noble and enlightened activity precisely because of its 'public' character. This position was firmly endorsed by Hannah Arendt, who argued that politics is the most important form of human activity because it involves interaction amongst free and equal citizens[124]. It thus gives meaning to life and affirms the uniqueness of each individual.

2.1.10.3 Politics as Compromise and Consensus

The third interpretation of politics does not focus on the setting in which politics occurs, but rather on the process by which decisions are reached. Here, politics is understood as a specific

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method of resolving disagreements: through compromise, dialogue, and negotiation, rather than by exerting force or displaying sheer power. This concept is encapsulated in the phrase 'the art of the possible'. Such a definition aligns with common everyday usage of the word. For example, describing a solution as a 'political' one suggests it was achieved through peaceful discussion and mediation, contrasting with what is often referred to as a 'military' solution. This perspective on politics is also linked to Aristotle's writings, particularly his notion that a 'polity' represents the ideal form of governance, characterised as 'mixed' because it blends elements of both aristocracy and democracy. One of the foremost contemporary advocates of this idea is Bernard Crick. In his influential work In Defence of Politics, Crick provided the following explanation:

> Politics [is] the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and the survival of the whole community[125].

From this perspective, the central element of politics is the broad distribution of power. Recognising that conflict is unavoidable, it was contended that when social groups and interests hold power, they must be appeased; simply crushing them is not an option[126]. This is why he depicted politics as 'the resolution to the issue of order that favours conciliation over violence and coercion'. Such a perspective on politics demonstrates a strong commitment to liberal-rationalist ideals. It is founded on firm belief in the power of debate and dialogue, as well as the idea that society is defined by agreement rather than irreconcilable conflict. In essence, existing disputes can be settled without resorting to intimidation and violence.

However, critics argue that Crick's view of politics is overly biased towards the type of politics found in Western pluralist democracies: essentially, he associated politics with electoral choices and party competition. Consequently, his model offers little insight into, for example, one-party states or military governments. This perspective on politics has a distinctly positive

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nature. Politics is certainly not a utopian solution (compromise requires all parties to make concessions, so no one is completely content), but it is unquestionably better than the alternatives: bloodshed and savagery. In this regard, politics can be seen as a civilising influence. People should be encouraged to value politics as a meaningful activity and should be willing to participate in the political affairs of their own community. Nonetheless, failing to recognise that politics, as a process of compromise and reconciliation, is inherently challenging and frustrating (because it involves attentively listening to others' viewpoints) may have contributed to a growing public disillusionment with democratic politics in many parts of the developed world[127].

2.1.11 Political Development and the Need for Strong Institutions in Nigeria

The current socio-political and economic situation in Nigeria is both pathetic and shameful. It's disheartening to see that only a handful of dissatisfied and self-serving politicians, along with their families, are enjoying a life of luxury. Meanwhile, the majority of her law-abiding citizens are being treated unfairly. They are subjected to extreme poverty, chronic hunger, rampant diseases and infections, marginalisation, victimisation, joblessness, unchecked violence and abuse, insecurity, premature deaths, and other socioeconomic challenges. These issues are undoubtedly the result of poor governance, ineffective leadership, mismanagement of the nation's resources, and, most notably, corruption. The situation is especially disgraceful considering that Nigeria, known as the 'Giant of Africa' and a country abundant in both natural and human resources, paradoxically ranks among the poorest nations. This unfortunate reality stems from the fact that political leaders and institutions responsible for managing the country's economy to ensure the well-being of all have failed to fulfil their duties. This failure might be due to their negligence, self-interest, lack of integrity, corrupt tendencies, or incompetence[128].

"Bad leaders or officials, who are entrusted with their country's resources, often choose to enrich themselves through political means, thereby increasing their own wealth"[129]. Therefore,

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self-interest has consistently outweighed the commitment to addressing the fundamental needs of all citizens in the minds of numerous Nigerian leaders and politicians. This regrettable situation has led several studies to observe that poor governance typically lacks the motivation to eliminate poverty[130]. Moreover, he noticed that one of the major issues in political life is the materialistic greed of politicians. Even Awolowo came to a similar conclusion in his examination of leadership and effective governance in Nigeria, but does Nigeria have to remain in this state of disarray? The answer is certainly not. The country's political, social, and economic systems must be cleansed of all fraudulent and corrupt activities. Therefore, despite the existence of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), and similar agencies, there is still an urgent need to build robust institutions or reinforce the current ones to regulate the excesses of public officials and politicians, as well as to promote sustainable development in Nigeria. As we move forward, our focus will be on this proposal, beginning with an exploration of the ideas of development and political development, and considering how Nigeria has experienced the latter so far.

Political development is shaped by three core elements: equality, capacity, and differentiation and specialisation. Equality pertains to the mindset or ethos of equality, encompassing equal involvement, active citizenship, and governance by the populace. Capacity relates to the ability of a political system to influence the social and economic aspects of society through its actions. This encompasses governmental capability, effectiveness and efficiency in the implementation of public policies, rational administrative processes, and a secular approach to policy-making. Differentiation and specialisation refer to the division and specialisation of governmental structures, including offices and agencies, each with specific roles and a clear distribution of responsibilities[131].

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Table 1: Huntington's Classification of Political Development and Political Decay

S/N	Positive Indices (Development)	Negative Indices (Decay)
1	State-building or territorial integration	Electoral rigging and irregularities
2	Nation-building or national integration.	Protest demonstration by the use of violence.
3	Increasing franchise and free and fair elections with larger over turnout	Anomic disturbances underground activities and armed attacks.
4	Politicisation or Participation of more and more people in the political process.	Political defection for selfish gains.
5	Popular participation in decision-making bodies.	Fragmentation of political parties.
6	Growing interest articulation by autonomous groups	Suppression of dissent
7	Growing interest aggregation by stable political parties having democratic character	Idolization of rulers
8	Freedom of the Press and growth of the Mass Media	Glorification of Official Ideology
9	Political and administrative decentralization	Political Assassination
10	Authority of the units of local /local self-government	Politicization of the armed forces
11	Expansion of education facilities	Commitment of public services to the lines of ruling party
12	Effective role of legislative bodies and constituency service by the representative	Wide corruption and Maladministration
13	Effective role of quasi-governmental agencies like public undertaking	Concentration of powers
14	Role of powerful organizations to oversee the working of public servants (like Ombudsman) and redressal of public grievances	Mass arrest
15	Tolerance of dissent and control over anomic movements	Foreign interference in domestic matters

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16	Broadening of the social base of political elites
17	Openness in the workings of government and accountability of the rulers to the ruled
18	Independence of judiciary and the existence of rule of law
19	A political character of the armed forces
20	Consensual politics implying use of constitutional methods
21	Neutrality and independence of public service
22	Secularization of political culture

Source:[130]

Since gaining independence, Nigeria has experienced governance under both military and civilian regimes. For a significant portion of the 56 years of Nigeria's nationhood, the country was under military rule. However, the establishment of civilian governance in 1999 marked the beginning of Nigeria's Fourth Republic, a key moment in the country's democratic journey. This shift was widely celebrated by Nigerians, both domestically and internationally, as a significant milestone, occurring under the leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo. Despite the enthusiasm, there were concerns and uncertainties about the possibility of the military re-entering the political sphere. Such involvement would be contrary to the military's traditional role of safeguarding and protecting the nation's territorial integrity from external threats, aggression, and pillage, as well as countering internal subversion, which is particularly relevant in developing nations[6].

To determine the conditions that lead to military involvement in the political sphere, it is posited that these conditions arise when: the military establishment gains overwhelming influence over state matters; the military's priorities take precedence over other state interests; state institutions are configured to promote military ideals; and circumstances where the

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military openly sways the nation's political proceedings. The military defends its engagement in political leadership by claiming that civilian leaders are often highly corrupt and lack the necessary political resolve to effectively govern[132].

Given Nigeria's reputation for corruption, President Olusegun Obasanjo, upon taking office at the start of the Fourth Republic, engaged in frequent diplomatic travels. His main goal was to improve Nigeria's international image by portraying it as a nation free of corruption, thereby attracting foreign investors. During this era of democracy, Nigerian citizens held high expectations of their political leaders. They desired a political leadership with a fresh outlook, promoting new political practices not rooted in the narrow-mindedness and opportunism of the past. They hoped for a new generation of leaders committed to societal and economic development, aiming to enhance citizens' lives by ensuring essential services such as electricity, clean water, quality roads, healthcare, education, employment, and more[133].

In a democratic environment, strong and efficient political leadership is crucial not only for the successful implementation of government policies, programmes, or party principles, but also for creating a genuine platform that enables public involvement, which is essential for ensuring the endurance of the political system and the legitimacy of the government itself. Within this inclusive process, the significance of political leadership that fosters national development must consider how the selection and appointment of ministers, as well as heads of government agencies and parastatals, are carried out[134].

Since Nigeria's post-independence era, the nation has been plagued by a recurring theme of leadership shortcomings. These failures have plunged the populace into extreme poverty, making living conditions intolerable for many. National development can only be achieved if the country has leaders with the determination and political resolve to establish the essential foundations for progress. A researcher critically questions this persistent issue by asking: How

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is it that after more than half a century, we still struggle to generate and distribute electricity, provide water to our citizens, reduce the distressingly high rates of infant mortality, create and sustain a functioning education system, establish clear guidelines for attaining political power, curb the cycle of violence that surrounds our elections, combat corruption, foster national discipline, and build a society that is more compassionate and humane?[136].

The report from the 1977/78 Constitutional Assembly sheds light on several reasons behind the adoption of the presidential system. Key among these reasons are the desire for unity, vigour, and resolve associated with a single executive structure, which are essential for fostering legislative relations and autonomy to enhance the effectiveness of both the executive and legislative branches of government. Consequently, while each sector is endowed with specific governmental responsibilities, the exercise of power often necessitates constitutional collaboration and joint efforts between the two[137]. The Executive. Despite the contentious politics of the Second Republic, the 1987 Politburo, the 1989 Constitution, the 1994 Constitutional Council, and the 1999 Constitution all endorsed the continuation of the presidential system as the preferred model for Nigeria's government[6].

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was enacted on 29 May 1999, coinciding with the transition of power from the military to a democratically elected civilian administration. In comparison to the 1979 Presidential Constitution, various amendments have been introduced to establish Nigeria as a federation comprising 36 states and a single federal capital. These governments are regarded as equal, with no state being subordinate to another. Each branch operates independently within its designated area of authority. According to Article 4 of the 1999 Constitution, legislative authority in Nigeria is vested in a bicameral legislature, made up of the National Assembly, which includes both the Senate and the House of Representatives. State-level legislative power is assigned to unicameral legislatures. Additionally, the constitution vests executive authority at the federal level in the President,

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while state executive powers are held by the governors. Furthermore, Article 6 assigns the judicial powers of the federal government and the states to a judiciary composed of courts established by the constitution for both federal and state jurisdictions[138].

The 1999 Constitution allocates governmental powers to three distinct branches, yet this allocation is not meant to strictly enforce the separation of any single branch. Instead, defining the separation of powers for each branch merely establishes a system of checks and balances rather than absolute independence, which is impractical. This is clearly illustrated in Nigeria's constitutional framework, where the president can veto bills passed by the legislature, and the legislature holds the power to impeach the president. Furthermore, presidential nominations for appointments to the Supreme Court require confirmation by the Senate. The legislature also performs oversight roles, including financial and investigative authority. Meanwhile, the judiciary has the power to review the actions of both the executive and legislative branches. Therefore, separation of powers fundamentally refers to the distribution of governmental powers, ensuring a system of checks and balances that enables each branch to maintain its position within the constitutional structure. It necessitates adaptability, mutual understanding, and collaboration among government branches to acknowledge and respect their limitations. Consequently, governmental goals are achieved through the collective efforts of all branches working together as partners in progress[13].

Another contributing factor, particularly evident since the reinstatement of the presidential system in Nigeria in 1999, has been the country's institutional decline. This not only reflects poor governance but also exacerbates it. While it can be challenging to separate the impact of institutional frailty from other factors, the erosion of key state institutions has undoubtedly been a significant contributor to the underwhelming development performance over the past two decades. Similar to many other postcolonial nations, Nigeria inherited a fragile institutional base at independence, and the initial nation-building efforts were inconsistent and slow. The

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oil boom era saw a period of rapid institutional growth, with the expansion of public services and the proliferation of state-owned enterprises during the 1970s and 1980s, which intensified issues related to institutional design and the employment of local personnel. As these fast-developing states expanded excessively, public institutions succumbed to inefficiency, disorder, and corruption[28].

During the 1980s, the situation significantly worsened due to the exhaustion of resources and the further weakening of government capacity brought about by political instability. The collapse of the oil market led to a decline in tax revenues, delays in wage payments, and a reduction in critical services. Fiscal mismanagement and rampant corruption under the Second Republic widened the resource gap. Following civilian rule, the Buhari administration, faced with declining export income and rising debt, implemented stringent austerity measures, which included large-scale cuts to public services and the dismantling of state-owned enterprises. This approach was continued by Babangida, who introduced structural adjustment programmes requiring further downsizing of public sector employment and subsidies, as well as widespread privatisation and liberalisation. Consequently, since the 1980s, this scenario has been marked by ongoing resource depletion, a decline in public services, and widespread concerns among government bodies[139].

In 2011, President Jonathan set up the Presidential Committee on Restructuring and Rationalisation of Federal Government Parastatals, Commissions and Agencies. It was headed by a former Head of Service, Steve Oronsaye. The committee submitted its report in 2012. Popularly known as the Oronsaye Report, the Report recommended far-reaching reforms on the need to merge some MDAs and abolish some[30]. The Jonathan administration set up the Mohammed Adoke panel to issue a White Paper on Oronsaye Report but also set up Bukar Aji Committee to review the Adoke White Paper. Generally, presidential leadership has been lacking or indecisive, there has been lack of synergy between the National Assembly and the

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Presidency on reforms and other than cut the cost of governance, the legislature has created over 200 additional agencies since 1999[30].

Babangida subdued two major rebellions during the first five years of power. Both showed a concern fragmentation of the army along the boundaries of factions, ethnicities and generations. Moreover, corruption within the military regime has become more and more prominent. Officials were more openly interested in ongoing political control and less interested in providing a rationale for reform[30]. The continuation of the junta politicized the army, and the traction of power at the source of oil wealth increased the venous impulses at its critical institutions. These conditions were evident in Sani Abacha's dictatorship, which shaped his administration around the agenda of economic looting and political domination. Abacha embodied power on an unprecedented scale, used widespread repression, promoted cult of personality, and manipulated political processes to maintain his control[31].

Historically, Nigeria's military system has been relatively collaborative, with leaders working within a consultation process and a broader decision-making body. Abacha has made a firm move towards the creation of a "sultanist" regime based on personal control and a monopoly of sponsorship. His efforts to seize power at the centre by avoiding consultations, bypassing, manipulating or remodelling state agencies and plundering resources have accelerated the decline of major government tools. Hunger and abused education and health systems have declined due to expert protests and state crackdowns. Traditionally independent judicial bodies, manipulated by dictatorial rulers and scarce in resources, are becoming increasingly ineffective and corrupt. Civil servants were systematically weak, depressed, and full of cheating and the banking system fell into a full-blown financial crisis after the rush of politically-affected liberalization in the early 1990s. The diminished legitimacy of the military and other major public institutions further weakened its ability to govern. Increased anti-government violence and social conflict were further signs that the nation was at stake. With the collapse of Abacha

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and the subsequent transition to civilian rule, the tendency towards institutional decline was largely reversed, but stopped.

The institutions bequeathed to the new government have been weakened by years of mismanagement and looting, and civilians lack the resources and programs to activate services and overhaul government machinery. The Obasanjo administration has regained some tax and transparency, while pledged to curb corruption. But the new democratic institutions pose additional problems. Among them are unexamined party systems, legislatures, and many elected positions, and inexperienced many parties. While tensions between the president and parliament have hampered budgets and spending, major reforms have been stalled by parliamentary or subsequent bureaucratic implementation. Institutional malaise is evident in the poor state of public services and government functions, and the unruly political struggle that seems to impede effective reforms[32].

Institutional capability is currently one of the most important issues in the development process and the provision of effective public services in every country except Nigeria. The capacity of an institution is essentially the product of a dynamic interaction between the people who command the institution and the policies, rules and regulations that govern the institution[12]. Designing and implementing a robust and coherent approach to institutional capacity building is important for exercising good governance in Nigeria[10]. Good governance is about effective and efficient institutional capabilities and arrangements to provide credible services to the public, primarily characterized by accountability, public participation, responsiveness and transparency. Therefore, both personal and organizational parameters of institutional capacity have been highly emphasized in this development plan. Therefore, developing government organizations by building top management capabilities; developing talent in various government agencies; improving work systems and procedures; and promoting good

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governance in the public sector, and also achieving the pillars of good government governance, which is considered to be the main goal for building capacity[140].

Leadership is a very slippery concept, and even more slippery when applied to nationhood and national development[32]. Nonetheless, efforts shall be made to pin down the sets of commons and apply same in the course of this discourse. Leadership that proves adequate in one situation may prove disastrous in another. For nations, it is even more so. This explains why a seemingly good leadership can be voted out of power or bad one retained. Historically, Winston Churchill (1940-1945) lost power to Clement Attlee (1945-1951) despite leading the allied forces to win the Second World War. Britain had become war weary and needed a sort of change, even though Churchill returned in 1951 as British Prime Minister. From Winston Churchill example, it can be seen that what mostly prescribes the needed leadership at any point in time seems to be situation. In the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria, General Muhammadu Buhari was elected over an incumbent Dr Goodluck Jonathan for the simple reason that Nigerians felt at that point in time that they needed a firmer leader to tackle the twine evil of terrorism and corruption.

Leadership and good governance are crucial to realizing any giant stride taken in pursuit of development anywhere in the world, and Nigeria is not an exception. In all sectors and segments of Nigerian society, the repercussions of management failure, corruption and inadequate governance are visible and felt. In Nigeria, cash unemployment and employment, anxiety, oil theft, education crisis, medical services, transportation, housing, telecommunications, and lack of infrastructure such as medicines are common. Ironically, of all oil-producing countries, Nigeria is the only country with a history of crude oil theft. A survey of Nigeria's socio-economic and political history is postulated to show that many of Nigeria's leaders have applied the "iron law of oligarchy" for many years[141].

For a considerable period, Nigeria's political scene has been characterised by intense disputes among the country's various ethnic groups. This history of disputes has resulted in a complex and multi-dimensional political system unique to Nigeria. Ethnicity is deeply woven into the fabric of Nigerian politics, transforming it into a communal pathway to rights and ownership. The Nigerian federation remains unstable, frequently contested, and prone to conflict. Since gaining independence in 1960, Nigeria has faced continuous challenges not only in governing society but also in enhancing the socio-economic wellbeing of its citizens. The nation's political environment has been frequently marked by military takeovers and intense inter-ethnic rivalry. These events have significantly shaped our understanding of the different political forms and dynamics present in Nigeria today. They have also impacted democratic processes, the levels of peace and stability, and Nigeria's path towards development. As a result, the literature in this reading list, though not comprehensive, seeks to elaborate on the evolution of Nigerian politics to its current state[35,36].

The shift to the Fourth Republic in 1999 marked a significant moment in Nigerian politics. To date, it represents the most prolonged period of democratic rule in the country, witnessing Nigeria’s political environment evolve from its initial stages towards a more mature state. Various sources in this reading list argue that the lengthy military regimes that came before the Fourth Republic weakened democratic institutions in Nigeria, preventing the nation from fully reaping the benefits of democracy, even after 1999. This perspective has some validity, as military governance not only disrupted Nigeria’s political evolution but also hindered the natural progression of its society. Notable events during military rule include the 1966 coup and subsequent counter-coups, which ultimately sparked the civil war, the dismantling of civil institutions, the implementation of inappropriate policies, and the cancellation of the general elections on June 12, 1993[37].

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Although it is common to place the blame on the military, this selection of readings suggests that it's equally possible to argue that the civilian-run Fourth Republic has also failed to enhance the living conditions of ordinary Nigerians. Burdened by unemployment, inflation, and corruption, Nigeria is currently among the world's poorest nations. The country also faces significant security issues, including terrorism, kidnapping, armed robbery, and violent clashes. Politically, election malpractice and widespread misconduct are rampant. Additionally, the prevalence of ineffective, unpatriotic, and corrupt leadership has stalled the progress of Nigerian politics. It can be reasonably argued that the rise of ethnic particularities and religious extremism during the 1980s set the course for Nigeria's current political landscape[142].

The 1990s marked a notable era in Nigeria's history. In 1993, during the rule of General Ibrahim Babangida, the military nullified the presidential election results and detained its victor, Moshood (MKO) Abiola. Shortly after the infamous 'June 12' annulment, General Sani Abacha rose to power, leading to the arrest and, in some cases, killing of activists like Kudirat Abiola. Despite the widespread oppression and brutality of this time, some Nigerians bravely resisted the regime. Among these courageous individuals was M.D. Yusufu, who was a presidential candidate representing the Grassroots Democratic Movement (GDM)[35].

In 1995, the military regime under General Abacha initiated a transition programme aimed at establishing the next civilian leader. Despite this, Abacha maintained control over the transition process and manoeuvred to position himself as the civilian leader starting from 8 June 1998. Although Abacha did not officially announce his intentions, four out of the five political parties endorsed him as their presidential candidate, with the exception of the GMD. This was due to one of GMD's aspirants refusing to withdraw his candidacy. M.D. Yusufu utilised legal and constitutional measures to oppose Abacha[36].

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Since the flag-off of political independence in 1960, Nigerian leaders and their governments have been plagued by excessive corruption and inadequate governance. Nigerian political leaders have access to explicit election operations, census operations, violence, robbery, arson, vandalism, gangsterism, corruption, religious prejudice, regionalism, tribalism, ethnic sentiment, robbery, and more. We have "grabbed" power by using all means, proven by a statement from some representatives at the 2014 National Conference. Devaluation of the public interest, all kinds of illegal activities, all kinds of crimes, mentality, dishonesty, cheating, physical violence, utilitarianism, ethnic and sectarian tendencies are the only games in town. All of this leads to social turmoil, anxiety, violence, severe poverty, socio-economic and political instability.

National integration has been elusive, but it must achieve the universal goal of development: the pursuit of material well-being and people's well-being. A society that is unfair and lacks justice and equality is inherently unstable. Since its return to civilian rule in 1999, the Nigerian government has taken several steps to address the two challenges of national corruption and inadequate governance. These measures include public service reforms such as: B. Monetization and government procurement reforms to reduce waste and bloated staff, establishment of anti-corruption bodies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), the Independent Corruption and Other Practices Commission (ICPC). Despite the success achieved by these measures, the situation remains unacceptable as corruption and bad governance continue to permeate everything. Even more worrisome is the national consensus on how to repel perpetrators, regardless of race, religion, class, or gender, despite the general anger of corruption and poor governance that robbed people of their collective well-being. Still, there seems to be no emergence of popular movements that can ignite the apparent anger of people and lead them to various actions and consequences that may challenge the status quo[143].

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Concept of Corruption

It is truly disheartening that Nigeria, ranked as the world's eighth-largest exporter of crude oil and blessed with a wealth of natural resources, still has over 70 percent of its citizens living in poverty due to poor governance. Sadly, the mindset of the Nigerian political elite has largely been one of self-interest, with some leaders prioritising personal enrichment and self-promotion. Consequently, corruption has essentially become synonymous with political leadership in Nigeria[144].

Corruption has also been described is a phenomenon which increases in quantity, intensity and in a geometric formation in Nigeria. Its consequences on both the economy and the citizens is catastrophic as it constitutes a huge problem to the standard of living of citizens. The menace is persistent in rendering millions of Nigerians uneducated, reduced the standard of living, and increased the cost of living. This is due to mismanagement, embezzlement, misappropriation of public funds. Leadership style in Nigeria can be classified as imposition. This is because, the manner at which leaders emerge in Nigeria is being characterized by widespread of electoral malpractices, such as rigging, thuggery, snatching of ballot boxes, intimidation of voters etc. This has made the choices of the electorates to be defeated because those they voted for do not emerge the winners. This has led to a poor representation and bad leadership thereby causing lot impediments in the nation building. This is because once there is a bad leadership, there is a tendency that the policies the leader will be making will not be that of the populace but for that of the personal aggrandizement of those that made them to seize the power[145].

Corruption involves deliberately and selfishly straying from what is considered an acceptable standard. This behaviour reflects a person’s diminished spiritual, philosophical, political, or moral condition. In the political realm, corruption can be seen in acts like election rigging, fraud, the unlawful exertion of power, and the encouragement of public fund embezzlement,

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capital flight, or misuse of public assets. It has been suggested that corruption is a killer, and it claims many lives. Corruption is prevalent in all countries and governments, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, which has faced persistent political and economic instability since gaining independence in the 1950s and 1960s. This instability largely results from leaders' inability to manage resources effectively. Even decades after decolonisation, numerous sub-Saharan African nations continue to struggle with seemingly unsolvable leadership crises. The advantages of peaceful coexistence and unity, such as stability and socio-economic progress, have remained largely unattainable in the region due to ongoing corruption issues[146].

Corruption is the diversion of resources from the betterment of the community to the gain of individuals at the expense of the community. A public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reason. Corruption is the deliberate binding of the system to favour friends or hurt foes, any misbehaviour deviation from or perversion of the system, or misleading Nigerians or giving them wrong or distorted information about things they ought to know. Thus, any act or behaviour or omission, committed, internationally or not to influence the actions of another, the influential and the influenced, respectively has corrupted a system which is detrimental to the entire society. It is the process of obtaining material enrichment or opportunities for oneself and or for others, through the use of public office (or influence) in ways other than those publicly acknowledge through rules and procedures. Two types of corruption identified are, Vertical corruption, which involves managers and decision makers. This is common in less developed countries and; Horizontal corruption, which involves the entire Officials, informed and laymen groups in the countries. These classifications of corruption are prevalent in Nigeria which should be seriously addressed and eradicated if any meaningful economic or political progress is to be made[147].

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In the Transparency International rating in 2019, Nigeria was ranked 146th out of the 180 countries surveyed, scoring 26 points out of a possible 100. On a scale of zero to 100 in TI's rating, zero means "Highly Corrupt," while 100 stands for "Very Clean". This means that Nigeria is two steps worse off than it was in 2018 when she scored 27 points to place 144th out of 180 countries. The summation is simply that corruption in the country has worsened. According to the 2020 ranking, Nigeria was the second most corrupt country in West Africa with Guinea-Bissau the only country more corrupt than Nigeria in the sub-region[148].

Table 2.2: Transparency International Corruption Rating, 2012-2022

Year	Score
2012	27
2013	25
2014	27
2015	26
2016	28
2017	27
2018	27
2019	26
2020	25
2021	24
2022	24

Source:[142]

The table above indicate a static and slopping trend in the curve between 2012-2022. The table justified the concern raised by the Punch Editorial. The report indicated that Transparency International has provided new evidence showing that, despite assurances from President Muhammad Buhari (retired Major General), corruption remains a significant issue in Nigeria. According to TI's newly published 2022 Corruption Perception Index, Nigeria is still listed among the most corrupt countries globally. This bleak assessment is unsurprising and suggests that the Buhari administration's efforts to combat corruption have lost momentum. Although

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Nigeria has climbed four positions in the latest index, it hasn't improved its score from the previous year. With a consistent score of 24 out of 100 in both the 2021 and 2022 evaluations, Nigeria's rank moved up to 150th, compared to 154th out of the 180 nations assessed in the previous year. TI evaluates and ranks countries based on the perceptions of experts and business leaders regarding the country's public sector[149].

There has been no alteration in the country's score between 2021 and 2022. In the 2022 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), Nigeria is positioned at 150 out of 180 nations, an improvement from its rank of 154 in the 2021 CPI, according to the Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre, representing Transparency International (TI). The report once again highlights the persistent grip of corruption despite the administration's declared offensive and the valiant efforts of anti-corruption agencies. Under Buhari's leadership, corruption has escalated into a serious threat. The suspended Accountant-General of the Federation, Idris Ahmed, is accused of embezzling N109 billion, with N30 billion reportedly returned, as per the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission. Likewise, the N24 billion fraud case involving Jonah Otunla, a former Accountant-General of the Federation, has been stalled due to prolonged legal challenges[150].

The Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission reported that ministries, departments, and agencies inflated the 2021 budget by N300 billion through project duplication, which inflated the budget to N13.59 trillion. Allegations of similar padding have been made concerning the 2022 budget, with duplicated projects totalling N100 billion. Unfortunately, no action has been taken against the lawmakers and civil servants involved. This is in addition to N49.9 billion identified as salaries for non-existent employees between January and June 2022. Nearly seven years after a federal high court in Lagos ordered the prosecution of top National Assembly officials implicated in the alleged N481 billion padding of the 2016 budget, none of the lawmakers or their collaborators have been brought to trial. In

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2021, a civil society group, HEDA, compiled a list of 25 major corruption cases involving stolen or mismanaged funds totalling N900 billion, which were under investigation but had been neglected[151].

Government agencies are mired in corruption. Large-scale looting of public funds continues unabated at both state and local government levels, implicating numerous state governors, both current and former, as well as local government leaders and other officials. The pardoning of Joshua Dariye and Jolly Nyame, former governors of Plateau and Taraba states, respectively, after serving only a few years of their prison sentences, has undermined the anti-corruption campaign. This has emboldened other politically exposed individuals and officials to commit outrageous acts of corruption. The lack of transparency in oil revenue and receipts has long been a facilitator of corruption in the oil and gas industry. From January to July 2022, an average of 437,000 barrels of oil per day, valued at $10 billion, were stolen by criminals tapping into pipelines both onshore and offshore in the Niger Delta[152].

According to the 2022 Basel Anti-Money Laundering Index, Nigeria is categorised as high-risk, with a score of 6.77 out of 10, placing it 17th out of 128 countries. A report by the United States Department of Commerce estimates that at least 40% of all public sector procurement funds in Nigeria are lost to corruption. The mismanagement and corruption surrounding the fuel subsidy programme remain a significant issue that the government has inadequately addressed. While the House of Representatives estimates Nigeria's daily fuel consumption to be between 40 and 45 million litres, the Nigerian National Petroleum Company Limited claims to be subsidising over 60 million litres per day, as indicated in its monthly reports to the Federation Account Allocation Committee. Such vast discrepancies partly explain Nigeria's poor ranking in the TI index. Despite some successes by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) in terms of

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convictions and asset forfeiture, their efforts have not eradicated the entrenched corruption that is deeply damaging the nation[153].

The Centre for Democracy and Development, in its evaluation of the anti-corruption campaign, observes that the President has a tendency to overlook corruption within his own party, the All-Progressives Congress, as he frequently ignores wrongdoing by some of his appointees and resists independent oversight of Nigeria's most notorious agencies. The lack of transparency in the allocation of security funds supports the view that corrupt practices are deeply ingrained in the political system. Spending in the defence and security sectors continues to evade public and legislative scrutiny, often taking place under emergency procurement processes that lack fundamental anti-corruption measures. The fight against corruption requires robust institutions, free from undue interference by the executive, legislature, and judiciary. To effectively combat corruption, anti-graft agencies need enhanced capacity to tackle the pervasive nature of corruption. To expedite the delivery of justice, the government should establish specialised anti-corruption courts to accelerate the trial of cases. Judges should be adequately incentivised to reduce corruption, and penalties for corrupt practices should be proportional to the severity of the offences[154].

Cases of Corruption in Nigeria from 2015-2023

It was reported that politician, especially those with corruption cases, devised defections to the ruling party between 2015-2023 as a means to stall prosecution– a pattern that negates the self-acclaimed anti-corruption campaign of the present regime. Since the coming of President Muhammadu Buhari's administration in 2015, a number of Nigerian politicians and political leaders with corruption cases hanging on their necks have found a haven in the ruling party, All Progressives Congress. The defection of such political leaders to the APC has automatically stalled prosecution of their corruption cases; a pattern that negates the self-acclaimed anti-corruption campaign of the present regime Nigerian[155].

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During the 2019 elections, Adams Oshiomhole, a former National Chairman of the APC, was reported to have remarked that anyone joining the ruling party would have their "sins" pardoned. He urged politicians from opposition parties to follow the example of certain members of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) who had defected to the APC at that time. According to him, “I am told that many senior figures from the PDP have decided to join forces with President Buhari to use the broom to sweep away the PDP and ensure the APC continues to govern Nigeria. We have quite a number of other leaders who have joined... in fact, once you join the APC, all your sins are forgiven,” he stated. This comment sparked a wave of defections from the opposition, especially among those with corruption cases. High-profile politicians from the main opposition party seized this chance to defect, pursuing their narrow interests, with some securing appointments in President Ahmed Bola Tinubu's administration[156].

The list of defectors is substantial, but some prominent figures are highlighted here. Firstly, we have the former governor of Ebonyi and the current Minister of Transportation. In November 2020, Dave Umahi officially switched from the PDP to the APC, along with members of his cabinet, claiming that the South-East geopolitical zone had been treated unjustly by the PDP. Meanwhile, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission had linked Umahi to the alleged diversion of N400 million into private pockets during the 2015 presidential election via an arms deal. The governor's properties had been sealed before he decided to join the APC to have his "sins forgiven." Godswill Akpabio, the former Governor of Akwa Ibom State, Minister of Niger Delta Affairs, and current Senate President, also moved from the PDP to the APC in 2018, claiming he did so because he recognised President Muhammadu Buhari as “a man of integrity and a nationalist.” Nonetheless, Akpabio faced numerous allegations dating back to his tenure as governor of Akwa Ibom State. He was accused of siphoning over N100 billion from the oil-rich state between 2007 and 2015, and there were also claims of his involvement

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in a N40 billion fraud in the Niger Delta Development Commission, which fell under his ministry's oversight[157].

On 27 August 2021, former Minister of Aviation, Stella Oduah, joined the APC, stating her intention was to alter the political landscape in the South-East. Oduah, like others, had been under investigation by the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission for her alleged involvement in a fraud exceeding N9.4 billion. These allegations included a dubious contract for supplying security equipment to 22 airports across the nation. Former Abia State Governor Orji Kalu, after nine years of vigorous legal battles to evade conviction for corruption charges, formally joined the ruling APC in November 2016. Kalu left the Progressives People's Alliance for the APC while still being prosecuted by the EFCC for alleged money laundering amounting to N3.2 billion. In 2019, the late Adebayo Alao-Akala, former Governor of Oyo State, reportedly defected from the Action Democratic Party (ADP) to the APC. The EFCC had accused Alao-Akala of involvement in an N11.5 billion fraud case, alongside Hosea Agboola, a former Oyo State Commissioner for Local Government and Chieftaincy Matters, and Femi Babalola, a businessman based in Ibadan. The three faced 11 charges related to conspiracy, awarding contracts without budgetary approval, obtaining money under false pretences, acquiring property with funds from illegal activities, and concealing ownership[158].

In March 2021, retired Lieutenant General Azubuike Ihejirika, former Chief of Army Staff, joined the APC. In 2016, the Department of State Services had detained Ihejirika over his alleged connection to a $2.1 billion arms purchase investigation involving former National Security Adviser Sambo Dasuki. Ihejirika had denied the accusations against him. However, not all defectors were immune from legal action; former Plateau State Governor Joshua Dariye, who was convicted of criminal misappropriation and breach of trust in September 2016, also defected from the PDP to the APC[159].

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Causes of Corruption in Nigeria

Political corruption in Nigeria is caused by weak institutions, leadership style and cultural decay. Political corruption thrives very well in a community where the legal and political institution are weak and government policies generate economic advantage to those in position of authority. It was opined that a weak enforcement mechanism (e.g lack of judicial independence, weak sectorial institution) is one of the major causes of corruption in Nigeria. The forces which deter corruption, are often weak as most of the law enforcement agencies are themselves corrupt. In addition, leaders, politician and civil servants are highly corrupt and professional organization may be incapable of sanctioning their members. The administrative and legal institutions that leave public officials with wide unrestricted authority and power to create avenues for unjust enrichment or use the discretionary powers at their disposal to manipulate the system is bound to be corrupt. Secondly, role of formal rules and the criminal justice system has increased the rate of corruption in the country. There is hardly any country where corruption is legalized and ethicized like Nigeria not minding rules and procedure[160].

However, in a political economy that is laced with corruption, such formal rules are usually replaced with decayed ethnic norms, values and customs that allow corruption to flourish. Corruption is sometimes endorsed by certain cultures; otherwise, why would traditional leaders or institutions bestow a chieftaincy title upon someone convicted of corruption? Why do governors, some implicated in corrupt activities, receive awards or get elected to the Senate as senators of the Federal Republic of Nigeria? Why should a governor who fails to pay his employees' salaries on time seek a second term in office? There are other examples, such as religious organisations ordaining corrupt public officials in church or holding thanksgiving services for former corrupt convicts. Corruption is sometimes driven by motivational behaviour in response to social pressures, which contravenes the established goals and objectives of a social system[161].

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Besides these troubling instances, the rent-seeking system and poverty are also recognised as causes of corruption in Nigeria. In a nation with poor economic conditions, there is a tendency to experience high levels of corrupt practices, which further impede economic growth. Weak political competition has been identified as a key factor sustaining corrupt practices, often playing a significant role in the persistence of serious political and bureaucratic corruption. The reward system in Nigeria is arguably one of the poorest globally, insufficient to last until the next payday. Some states within the federation owe workers between two to six months' worth of salaries, yet the governors still pursue re-election. Members of society are expected to be honest, productive, and raise their children honourably, despite not receiving their wages[162].

Effects of Corruption

Indeed, a significant challenge hindering development in Nigeria is the impact of corruption. Corruption has adversely affected the Nigerian economy and conveyed the message that honesty, patriotism, hard work, and adherence to the law are not rewarded. Numerous political leaders have amassed immense wealth and assets, both within Nigeria and abroad, through questionable means, often living in luxury and openly displaying their riches without facing societal backlash. Currently, politics in Nigeria is perceived as a lucrative business or investment, where any funds spent to gain a political position are viewed as an investment that starts to pay off once one assumes office[163].

Transparency International identifies numerous issues linked to national corruption. These concerns largely align with those highlighted by the European Commission and include harmful impacts on the health of impoverished populations, not only because corruption leads to increased medical expenses but also because it misdirects aid. According to Transparency International, corruption results in higher prices for almost all products and services and contributes to the sub-standard delivery of government services. It also means that individuals

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are not treated equitably by law enforcement and the judicial system, allows offenders to evade justice, and heightens the likelihood of conflict[164].

Corruption also reduces economic growth, enhances inequalities and reduces the government's capacity to respond to people's needs. All these swerves down to create poverty in the society". Corruption distorts economic and social developments, by engendering wrong choices and by encouraging competition in bribery rather than in the quality and price of goods and services and, all too often, it means that the world's poorest must pay for the corruption of their own officials and of multinationals" agents. Corruption leads to a grooving gap between the rich and the poor and deepens poverty by enriching a few at the expense of fellow citizens. Under a corrupt system, there is a concentration of wealth in the hands of a tiny minority of the population[165].

Corruption presents a significant obstacle to development. In the political sphere, it weakens democracy and effective governance by disregarding or manipulating established procedures. Electoral corruption and misconduct within legislative bodies diminish accountability and skew policy representation; judicial corruption weakens the integrity of the legal system; and corruption in public administration leads to biased and inefficient service delivery. Overall, corruption weakens governmental institutions as standard procedures are ignored, funds are diverted, and public positions are traded. Consequently, corruption undermines the credibility of government and erodes democratic values of trust and tolerance. It creates substantial barriers to conducting business in countries where it is widespread. The detrimental impact of corruption on national development can be vast, with corrupt regimes potentially diverting billions of dollars into the hands of the country's leaders. Corruption exacerbates poverty and disproportionately affects lower-income individuals by draining resources from the national treasury into the bank accounts of a few politically powerful people. This kind of corruption has devastating consequences for developing economies that are in dire need of these funds[166].

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The resultant role of embezzlement and fraudulent sharp malpractice often lead to the collapse of the organization, disabling the investment made by government such as finance, equipment and manpower especially skill acquisition, in-service, training, conferences and workshops had been highly skilled. It was also argued that corruption is economically wasteful, politically destabilizing and mentally destructive of government capacity in economic development involving capital outflow which means economic waste. Economic waste leads to investment distortion because investments are channelled into unprofitable areas". What is stressed here is the harm that corruption unleash on public institutions. A painful result of failure of the public agencies and companies as stated above is unemployment and its side effects. Cyclical unemployment is a situation of oscillation period of boom and depression. The effect of the economic depression is mass lay off or retrenchment of workers. Poverty is a state of being poor and to be poor is not having and not able to get the necessaries of life". When opportunities for work to earn a healthy living are unavailable and those that are available collapses, the workers dismissed, the end is mass poverty[167].

It is easier for a developed country to weather through the storms of corruption than an emerging economy to do so. This is the reason why growth cannot be expected from African countries enmeshed in corruption. Ortho economic theory teaches that lower investment rates lead to lower rates of economic growth. Corruption undermines efficiency as time and money are wasted through corrupt activities at the expense of productive activities and which altogether discourages prospective investors. This weighs on both public administration and private enterprises. Public sector efficiency becomes compromised because corruption superimposes informal practices over the proper rules and procedures of government adding direct and indirect costs to the execution of programmes. Corruption undermines human and capital development in any society or nation. Corruption also generates economic distortions in the public sector by diverting public investment into capital projects where bribes and

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kickbacks are more plentiful. It also lowers compliance with construction, environmental, or other regulations, reduces the quality of government services and infrastructure, and increases budgetary pressure on government. Corruption slows down the pace of economic development through manipulation of funds for projects; it destroys or weakens efficiency and effectiveness of public service; it detracts government from giving priority to the areas of income and social inequality, poverty, malnutrition and other areas of need. The net impact of corruption on society is negative and Nigeria overtime has been on this negative side[168].

Rule of Law

The rule of law is often described as a fundamental principle in which society is governed by laws that ensure fairness in delivering justice, protecting individual liberties, and fostering peace and prosperity. This principle is based on the idea that laws are a rational manifestation of integrity. If we understand law as a compulsory directive issued by a state's highest authority, then the rule of law implies that all citizens should be safeguarded against the arbitrary whims of rulers, and governmental powers should be exercised within the constraints set by law. Consequently, no individual should be legally detained or penalised unless they have explicitly violated a law, proven through established legal proceedings in a court of law[18].

The rule of law can be defined as a universally applicable legal principle, validated by authoritative recognition, and typically expressed as a maxim or logical assertion. Garner explains that it is termed a "rule" because it acts as a benchmark or standard for decision-making, especially in uncertain or unprecedented situations. Sometimes, the rule of law is viewed as the predominance of law, ensuring that decisions are grounded in established laws or principles, free from arbitrary discretion. However, before exploring the core meanings of the rule of law, it is crucial to acknowledge that it may reflect the intentions of those in power, with or without the consent of the democratically elected populace. Nonetheless, achieving

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genuine democracy without the people's consent is questionable, as anything less would lead to authoritarianism rather than true democratic governance. Hence, the rule of law represents a democratic principle[98].

The Rule of Law and the Nigerian Experience

The Nigerian government portrays itself as a democratic entity operating under the rule of law. In theory, Nigeria endorses the enforcement of established laws without external interference. According to the principles of the rule of law, the judiciary is expected to play a crucial role in administering justice without showing favouritism. Consequently, judges should exhibit bravery, impartiality, independence, and fairness, showing no preference for any individuals, regardless of their societal status. A key issue is that without a judiciary that is both independent and untainted by corruption, the rule of law cannot be upheld. The rule of law mandates that government officials and the administration itself must respect and adhere to the law in all their actions. This implies that all governmental bodies should strive to minimise arbitrary decision-making in their policies and use of authority. Therefore, government actions should be consistently guided by legal principles. However, in Nigeria, the concept of the rule of law often appears to be more of a facade. The country struggles to comply with established rules and to function within the framework of recognised institutions. In this context, adherence to court orders serves as a fundamental indicator of adherence to the rule of law within any society[98].

Frequently, Nigerian public officials, especially those in top executive roles, conduct themselves as though they are beyond the reach of the law or not accountable to any authority. This behaviour was more common during Nigeria's military regimes and, regrettably, continues even under civilian governments. A military regime, by its nature, is a deviation from the rule of law, primarily because it outrightly dismisses the concept. Civilian governments in Nigeria have not performed significantly better in upholding the rule of law. In fact, civilian leaders

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often appear to surpass their military counterparts in their blatant disregard for legal principles. The administration of Obasanjo in Nigeria is often cited as the worst in terms of compliance with the rule of law, exemplifying executive misconduct[98].

On numerous occasions, a Nigerian leader, displaying authoritarian tendencies, may attempt to manipulate legal frameworks to further personal agendas, creating laws that suppress criticism or dissent against oppressive policies. Some of these laws even remove the jurisdiction of courts, effectively preventing any legal challenges against the ruler. Numerous examples of such practices can be found in Nigeria. Consider, for example, Section 3(3) of the Public Officers (Special Provisions) Act, Cap 381, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990, which states, among other things: "No civil proceeding shall lie or be instituted in any court for or on account of, or in respect of any act, matter or thing done or purported to be done by any person under this Act, and if any such proceedings have been or are instituted before, on or after the making of this Act, the proceedings shall abate, be discharged and made void". This is fundamentally flawed, as it implies that some individuals are above the law. Although such provisions remain in Nigerian legal statutes today, they are stark reminders of executive overreach and attempts to legitimise the oppression and suppression of the populace through legal means. Many public officials in Nigeria fail to grasp that the laws, regulations, and guidelines for public servants are meant to direct them in their public duties. This implies that no laws exempt them from the laws of the nation. Another way the Nigerian government often disregards the rule of law is by making arbitrary decisions and ignoring established regulations. The notion of the rule of law has yet to be fully realised in Nigeria. It is well-documented that blatant disrespect for court rulings and other constitutional requirements is widespread among the executive branch of the government[89].

President Muhammadu Buhari, the incumbent President of Nigeria in his inaugural speech on 29th May 2015, said he would uphold the Rule of Law in Nigeria. In Premium Times Online

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Newspaper, it was observed that President Buhari shortly after assuming office reiterated his commitment to ensure compliance to the rule of law by all agencies of government and that his government would not tolerate any arm of government that undermines the rule of law. Contrary to this, many Nigerians have discovered that there are several instances of non-adherence to this core concept of Rule of Law in Nigeria since the inception of the present administration. We shall look at some instances of clear exhibition of breach to the principle of rule of law within the first tenure of the Buhari-Led administration: Open disregard to court order among which are disobedient to court orders granting bail to Mazi Nnamdi Kalu, the Leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and Colonel Sambo Dasuki, who was the former National Security Adviser to the former President Goodluck Jonathan. The arrest of serving Judicial Officer It is worthy to note that the DSS on 8th October, 2016 at midnight invaded the houses of about five Judges of the Supreme Court, Court of Appeal and the Federal High Court with allegations of corruption and they allegedly recovered bags of money in different currencies. The action of DSS was supported by the Presidency despite the upraise it created in the society[84].

There has been a consistent lack of cooperation between the legislature and the executive branch, with executive agencies and security heads frequently ignoring calls to appear for clarifications on pressing issues. The proclamation of June 12 as Democracy Day and the awarding of controversial posthumous national honours have further highlighted this discord. According to Section 135 (2)(b) of the amended 1999 Constitution, May 29 remains the official inauguration day for any President-Elect, aligning with the exact four-year presidential term, regardless of whether June 12 is recognised as Democracy Day. The Guardian Newspaper also noted that Senator Edward Pwajok brought up the Public Holidays Act, which designates May 29 as a public holiday. He suggested amending the Act to reflect June 12 for it to be valid.

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Some senators courageously argued that governance should be firmly rooted in law and that these laws must be upheld[169].

On June 7, the President declared that the late Chief MKO Abiola would be posthumously awarded the title of Grand Commander of the Federal Republic (GCFR), alongside his running mate, Alhaji Babagana Kingibe. The late human rights activist, Chief Gani Fawehinmi, was also honoured with the Grand Commander of the Niger (GCON). These awards were bestowed on June 12, 2018, despite objections from the National Assembly and the public. Regarding the eligibility of posthumously honouring MKO Abiola, Senator Dino Melaye from Kogi West cited Chapter 43(2)(3) of the National Honours Act of 1964, which stipulates that the honouree must be a living Nigerian citizen and must be received in person by the President. Melaye respectfully noted that a deceased individual cannot meet these requirements, making such honours legally inconsistent without amendments. Senator Pwajok also stated that MKO Abiola should be officially declared the winner by the National Returning Officer of the Independent Electoral Commission. Furthermore, the court order that prevented the former National Electoral Commission from announcing the election results would need to be overturned before any such honours could be legitimately granted. Despite these legal and procedural objections, the President proceeded with the posthumous awards on June 12, 2018[159].

Given these events, it is crucial to recognise that Nigeria, being a constitutional state, is bound by the rule of law. The National Honours Act of 1964 governs the awarding of honours, requiring the President's warrant for related matters. As per the Honours Warrant, a subsidiary of the National Act, Sections 2 and 3 outline that recipients of honours must personally receive their awards from the President during a formal ceremony, implying that only living individuals can be honoured. However, an exception is provided under Section 3(3) of the same Act, allowing the President to waive this requirement in specific cases[159]. Senator Dino Melaye

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pointed out that the only explicit provision for posthumous awards is found in Section 3(1) of the Honours (Armed Forces) Warrant, which allows the Nigerian Star to be awarded posthumously for exceptional bravery, valour, or duty by armed forces members in the presence of the enemy. This type of posthumous recognition is similar to the highest military honours given in countries like the United States and the United Kingdom, where awards for bravery and self-sacrifice can be granted posthumously[159].

As such, it can be seen from the above that the administration of President Muhamadu Buhari constantly disregard the provisions of the constitution and rule of law by ignoring court pronouncement and by passively disrespecting the legislature institution as depicted by his appointed officials who take privilege in disregarding the invitation of the national assemble whenever they are called. Also, the President was fond of taking decision which contradicts the provisions of the constitution un-apological about it. His actions at times.

Institution Capabilities

The calibre of governance has a significant impact on economic development. By exploring the causal links among tax revenue, government spending, institutional quality, and economic growth, it was confirmed that robust institutions can drive economic advancement, facilitating more efficient macroeconomic policy creation. The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) are widely recognised for assessing the degree of corruption present in a nation's economy. To evaluate government quality, the WGI examines six distinct aspects of governance: voice and accountability, political stability and the absence of violence/terrorism, regulatory quality, government effectiveness, corruption control, and adherence to the rule of law. These indicators are employed as explanatory variables in various research studies[158].

Since gaining independence, Nigeria has grappled with the challenging task of establishing robust and lasting institutions. This struggle is evidenced by unethical business conduct,

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political corruption, legislative restrictions, and sluggish governance structures, among other issues, all of which have adversely affected the country's economic performance. It is relevant to note that there is a profound connection between the calibre of a nation's institutions and the degree to which policy initiatives can achieve their objectives, ultimately influencing the rate of national development. As a result, institutional activities can impact growth and development in numerous ways, including their influence on market operations, the level and nature of competition, socio-economic policies, legal frameworks, the business climate, security, and investment opportunities. This is due to the fact that various political and legal bodies of the state—such as ministries, departments, agencies, alongside the executive, legislative, and judicial branches; can impose checks on economic actors, thereby better serving public interests. They can accomplish this by having the capacity to prevent and deter violations of established procedures and protocols and, when necessary, to challenge the existing status quo, thus enhancing the nation's ability to make optimal use of limited resources[27].

Literature reveals that the success of local economic development (LED) is closely related to the strength of institutional capacity found within an area. This implies that it is difficult to expect success in LED initiatives in conditions where localities have institutional capacity limitation. LED initiatives are successful and sustainable only if localities have sufficient institutional capacity and the practice of LED strategy is supposed to be owned by these local institutions. That means, the more localities have sufficient institutional capacity, the more LED initiatives are successfully implemented and sustainable in the locality[85].

Various types of institutions are recognised and differentiated in academic literature. These include informal institutions or norms, such as customs and taboos, and formal institutions or rules, like constitutions and laws. A further distinction can be drawn between economic and political institutions. Economic institutions establish the rules governing economic activities,

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which can affect investment, production decisions, contracts, and property rights. In contrast, political institutions define the rules of the political arena, influencing how political power is distributed. Other factors influencing institutional quality and capacity have also been noted in the literature. These include the legal systems inherited from colonial powers, the availability of natural resources that can lead to rent-seeking behaviour and thereby affect the nature, quality, and capacity of institutions, and the degree of a nation's openness. A notable finding is the link between the average national intelligence quotient (IQ) and the quality of government institutions, suggesting that a higher average IQ positively affects institutional quality. While defining good institutions precisely has proven challenging, a common theme in scholarly discussions is that institutions are considered of high quality if they enhance the quality of life for a country's citizens. Studies by economists have shown a strong connection between the quality of institutions and economic prosperity. One of the key conclusions in the literature is that strong institutional quality is a vital condition for economic growth[27].

2.1.11.1 Meaning and Nature of Development in General

Lately, the term "development" has become a prevalent concept in numerous countries worldwide, particularly among those that are still developing. Its widespread usage likely stems from its various interpretations, uses, and importance. The word "development" has its roots in the French verb "veloper," which means "to wrap." Consequently, "to develop" implies "unwrapping" or evolving from a smaller state into one that is larger, stronger, more impressive, successful, or advanced. This term generally signifies a transformation from a lesser or unimportant state to one of greater significance or importance. One researcher describes it as "the gradual growth of something so that it becomes more advanced and stronger or … the process of producing or creating something new or more advanced." It can relate to the progress of social, political, and economic systems, involving an increase in skills and abilities to manage both internal and external relationships. The concept of development is

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multifaceted[86]. In other words, this concept can be applied to a wide range of fields, including individuals, countries, or even entire continents. For sociologists, it relates to the process of differentiation that is a hallmark of contemporary society. Economists and proponents of liberal theory often connect it with the pursuit of profit maximisation through manufacturing, production, or the growth of Gross National Product (GNP) via capital accumulation and industrialisation[87]. In this context, development signifies a transformation that typically follows a structured sequence and displays common features across different nations. It also refers to the ability of a national economy, which was previously relatively static, to achieve and maintain an annual rise in its GNP by perhaps 5 to 7 percent or higher. However, this liberal viewpoint is limited, as development encompasses more than just economic advancement.

Political scientists associate the concept with the government's capacity to enact political reforms and maintain stability, whereas political economists view it as a form of social change where new ideas are introduced into a societal framework to achieve higher per capita income and improved living standards through modern production techniques and enhanced organisational structures[88]. Psychologists view this concept as centred on the human individual, ultimately fostering self-reliance and self-worth. They agree with the notion that genuine development fundamentally concerns people and their capacity to cultivate ideas, enabling them to think critically and address the challenges arising from their circumstances. Research identifies a strong correlation between development and modernisation, considering them as intertwined processes. He references Berger, who suggests that together, these concepts represent a process through which societies and social institutions evolve from traditional and less advanced states[89]. This suggests that development and modernisation often conflict with traditional values. Both concepts involve intricate shifts in societies and institutions that enhance the welfare of citizens. Genuine development, therefore, focuses on fundamentally transforming the economy, society, political systems, or cultural aspects of a state, enabling

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the sustainable use and enhancement of individuals' potentials. In contemporary terms, it is seen as the “progression, growth, and maturation process involving elements that are key to meeting fundamental human needs and enhancing the quality of life”.

Contrary to the view that development and modernisation are interconnected, some argue that development is primarily about individuals and the extent to which each person realises their potential and achieves social integration. Hence, from this perspective, development is not the same as modernisation; development begins with the individual, while modernisation starts with society, using structural growth as its measure[90]. Nevertheless, authentic progress, according to a scholar, should consider humanity in its entirety, rather than focusing on just one facet of individuals or their community. In essence, genuine advancement is both comprehensive and enduring. It involves not only enhancing people's quality of life but also ensuring that a country's economic, political, and social structures can sustain and support that quality of life over the long term. This, in brief, is what should be anticipated in an independent nation such as Nigeria[91].

2.1.11.3 Assessment of Nigerian Efforts towards Achieving Political Development

Since her independence in 1960, Nigeria has, no doubt, been making some frantic efforts to foster economic, social and political well-being of her citizens. Many administrations are reported to have, in the past, thought of and actually presented plans which were geared towards achieving sustainable political development in the country. Such plans encapsulated programmes that were to improve the status of socio-economic and political structures, thereby enhancing the general welfare of the citizens and the nation as a whole. In fact, development and growth have always been the government’s top priorities since the attainment of independence. This has been the case because development planning, as experts believe, is the only avenue where the allocation and utilization of resources can be adequately handled[92].

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The first practical plan for political development in Nigeria was in 1946[147]. The plan had a specific objective of fostering economic growth and improving the general welfare of Nigerian citizens. In 1962, the development plan which reflected the independent status of Nigeria was introduced and was operational for a period of six years. The plan aimed at maintaining and improving the growth of the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by suggesting strict dependence on multi-lateral aids. 50 percent of the nation's total investment was to come from abroad. This plan, however, came to an abrupt end as a result of the collapse of the First Republic and the subsequent eruption of the civil war. And, out of the 50 percent of foreign aid which was expected, only about 14 percent was received, thus leading to the inability to achieve the identified objectives[149]. After the civil war, the second development plan was launched, spanning from 1970 to 1974. This plan came at a period when Nigeria's sale of crude oil and other products were at increase.

Hence, its priorities anchored on agriculture, industry, transportation, man-power, defence, electricity, communication, water supply and provision of social services. It also aimed at restructuring the nation that had suffered from post-war violence[149.] The third plan for sociopolitical and national development of Nigeria, which spanned from 1975 to 1980, was considered quite ambiguous as much emphasis was laid on rural development and agriculture. In fact, this and all other development policies aimed at generating government's revenue, reducing the need for importing foreign products, bringing income inequality to a minimum level, eradicating poverty as well as controlling inflation. The plan relatively succeeded in indigenizing the economy, establishing free education and other industrial projects. There was an increase in the GDP rate, while the manufacturing, building and construction sectors were also not left out in the transformation process[93.] The fourth development plan was also established in 1980, followed by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), all with the aim of restructuring and diversifying the economy, achieving a stable fiscal income and providing

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job opportunities over a stipulated period, laying foundation for non-inflationary growth and enhancing the possible growth of the private sector. Other national development plans such as National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS), Seven-Point Agenda and the Transformation Agenda have also been launched in response to the development challenges in Nigeria and as national plans for a long-term and integral prosperity[94]. Despite the outlined and many other development plans by the Nigerian government, a genuine or sustainable development, politically, culturally and socio-economically, is yet to be attained in the land given a number of challenges.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 The Western Theory of Political Development

The main proponents of this theory include Lucian W. Pye, Almond and Powell, Samuel Huntington, Edward Shills, and Fred W. Riggs. According to Pye, political development involves "the cultural diffusion and adaptation, as well as the blending and adjustment of traditional lifestyles to meet new requirements." He further perceives it as a "fundamental concept that underpins the slow spread of what could be termed a global culture across societies[95]. He observes that the concept or process can be emphasised at three different stages: (i) in relation to the entire population, (ii) regarding the performance levels of the government and broader systems, and (iii) concerning the organisation of policy. In another study, he outlines some key features of political development, which include: (i) political development as a fundamental requirement for economic growth, (ii) political development as characteristic of industrialised societies, (iii) political development as political modernisation, (iv) political development as the functioning of the nation-state, (v) political development as administrative growth and advancement, (vi) political development as involving mobilisation and participation, (vii) political development as the establishment of democracy, (viii) political

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development as stability or systematic change, (ix) political development as mobilisation and exertion of power, (x) political development as part of a broader process of social transformation, and (xi) political development as fostering national dignity in international relations[170]. The aspects mentioned above provide an understanding of three key dimensions of political development: equality, capacity, and differentiation. The equality dimension indicates that political development involves the broad engagement of the populace in the political processes of the country, whether these processes are democratic or authoritarian. It also signifies those laws should be universal in nature, applicable to everyone, and consistent in their enforcement176. All individuals should be treated equally under the law, with no differences based on wealth or power regarding adherence to the rule of law[170].

Capacity is concerned with the outputs of the political system. It is generally related with the performance of the government and the factors that affect such performance. It also connotes the sheer magnitude, scope and the scale of political and governmental performance, which ultimately lead to effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy. The efficiency and effectiveness of the governmental performance result in the universally recognized standards of performance. Differentiation involves the dispersal and specialisation of structures. It necessitates an equitable allocation of labour within the governmental framework, ensuring that offices and agencies have distinct and limited functions. Moreover, it requires the incorporation of intricate structures and processes. Therefore, this aspect does not imply fragmentation or isolation within the various components of the political system; rather, it signifies specialisation grounded in a broader sense of cohesion[170].

Furthermore, it has been suggested that different facets of political development might not necessarily align simultaneously; tensions may arise among the demands for equality, the need for capacity, and the processes of increased differentiation. The demand for equality could

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challenge the system's capacity, and differentiation may not guarantee equality when the system relies on individuals with specialised expertise. Additionally, development is neither linear nor defined by sharp, clear-cut stages but is characterised by a series of issues that may emerge either independently or simultaneously. Overall, it is believed that the issue of equality is linked to the political culture and prevailing sentiments regarding the legitimacy and commitment of the political system. Issues of capacity are associated with the effectiveness of authoritative governmental structures, while differentiation challenges are connected to the performance of non-authoritative structures and the broader political process within society[171.]

This view is prejudiced by Western mentality that a well-differentiated structure can guarantee better development. It attempts to reflect the perspective of evolutionary theorists who argue that the evolution of organisms shows a clear progression towards increasingly complex structures, starting from single-celled amoebas to human beings. However, in real-world scenarios, it is difficult to generalise the development processes of socio-political systems. Having a highly differentiated system does not necessarily ensure social equality or improved governance. This is why the implementation of Western governance models in third-world democracies has consistently faced setbacks. None of these models have successfully achieved true equality, justice, or freedom. Instead, they have been imposed frameworks, disconnected from the traditions and values of third-world societies. Consequently, they have failed to provide meaningful insights into non-Western social dynamics. The challenges of political development in areas such as state formation, nation-building, public participation, and resource distribution were discussed. They argue that issues with state building arise when stress is felt at both the internal societal level and the external societal level, potentially posing a serious threat to the system. A shift in political objectives by the influential elite class domestically, or conflict or aggression from external sources, can similarly threaten the stability of a political system. For them, state building occurs when the political elite establishes

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new structures and organisations aimed at infiltrating society to regulate behaviour and extract a greater amount of resources. This process is linked to a significant increase in the regulatory and extractive capabilities of the political system, the establishment of a centralised and pervasive bureaucracy that bolsters these capabilities, and the development of attitudes of obedience and compliance within the populace, which are connected to the rise of such a bureaucracy[172].

Nation building, on its part, is a process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller tribes, villages or petty principalities to the large political system[96]. Participation involves various groups, such as political parties, cliques, and factions, actively engaging within society to influence decision-making processes. These groups express their demands by offering different forms of support, and some of their key members take part directly in decision-making, shaping the 'inputs' into 'outputs' that benefit their interests. Additionally, the issue of distribution arises when wealth, national income, or opportunities are allocated based on merit. This scenario is often referred to as the politics of welfare or the pursuit of the common good[173].

The robustness of political organisations and processes differs based on their breadth of support and their degree of institutionalisation. Here, scope refers to the extent of involvement in society that these political organisations and processes cover. If the political organisation is confined to a small upper-class group that adheres to a specific set of procedures, the scope is considered narrow. Conversely, if a large portion of the population is politically organised and follows these procedures, the scope is regarded as wide. Thus, for him, institutions exhibit consistent, valued, and repetitive behavioural patterns, while organisations and procedures differ in how institutionalised they are. Institutionalisation, in this context, refers to the process through which organisations and procedures gain stability and significance[97]. The degree of institutionalisation in any political system is determined by the adaptability, complexity,

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autonomy, and coherence of its organisations and processes. This applies equally to the level of institutionalisation within any specific organisation or process. By comparing these criteria, we can assess the levels of institutionalisation. Additionally, it becomes possible to evaluate changes, whether increases or decreases, in the institutionalisation of specific organisations and processes within a political framework.

This study sought to incorporate all existing political systems into its theorisation. Here, the approach is broad and universal, with a focus on institutionalisation that is characteristically Western. Huntington's model suggests that a higher degree of institutionalisation in a society equates to greater development. Although his theorisation allows for the inclusion of non-Western political systems and acknowledges that political systems do not all follow a uniform path of development, there seems to be an overemphasis on the qualitative superiority of the well-institutionalised politics found in the Western world. Some scholars interpret the concept of political development by evaluating equality in terms of the involvement of the general populace in policy-making, and capacity as the ability of political and administrative systems to achieve their objectives. According to his view, both equality and capacity are likely to be undermined unless the political system is properly differentiated[98].

In his view, a mature political system would ideally have all these elements working harmoniously. Therefore, Riggs advocates for an equilibrium between equality and capacity. He perceives equality as representative of left-wing ideologies and capacity as indicative of right-wing ideologies. Riggs argues that there must be a balance between these two developmental attributes, or else there is a risk of falling into a "developmental trap. It was also argued that "so long as politics takes the form of struggle between the rightists and the leftists, each will view its specific demands - for increased capacity or more equality - as the epitome of political development. Both will be likely to miss the point that, only by establishing a balance between the two principles, will it be possible to heighten the level of structural

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differentiation, and thereby to enable both of the goals of equality and capacity to be realized to a greater degree".

When Riggs' theory is applied to the third-world nations like Nigeria, the political systems seem to be externally languishing in 'developmental traps[99]. Also, basing his theory on the traditional Western bias that the ideal balance between equality and capacity can only be achievable in the well-differentiated political systems of the Western world, Riggs, like his co-theorists seems to have evolved a theory that remains practically elusive to much of the third world political systems.

2.2.2 Theory of Governance

If it were to suddenly appear on the landscape of modern public administration, normative theories in hand, it is likely they would be unable to recognize the field of governance. The comprehensive, functionally uniform, hierarchical organizations governed by strong leaders who are democratically responsible and staffed by neutrally competent civil servants who deliver services to citizens – to the extent they ever existed – are long gone. They have been replaced by an 'organizational society' in which many important services are provided through multi-organizational programs. These programs are essentially "interconnected clusters of firms, governments, and associations which come together within the framework of these programs[100].

These implementation structures operate within a notion of governance about which a surprising level of consensus has been reached. There is a pervasive, shared, global perception of governance as a topic far broader than 'government'; the governance approach is seen as a "new process of governing, or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed. Similarly, in the scholarship that has followed the 'Reinventing

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Government' themes of public effectiveness; much has been written of New Public Management practices by which governance theory is put into action[101].

In this complex, devolved mode of service delivery, the unit of analysis for some students of policy implementation is the network of non-profit organizations, private firms and governments. As noted, in policy arenas such as health, mental health, and welfare, "...joint production and having several degrees of separation between the source and the user of government funds...combine to ensure that hierarchies and markets will not work and that networks are the only alternative for collective action[102].

The discussions below describe the relationship of governance and other Public Administration theories, the New Public Management, in particular. The (mostly European) literature on governance and the increasingly international scholarship on New Public Management (NPM) describe two models of public service that reflect a 'reinvented' form of government which is better managed, and which takes its objectives not from democratic theory but from market economics[103]. While some use the terms interchangeably, most of the research makes distinctions between the two. Essentially, governance is a political theory while NPM is an organizational theory, a particular study describes it thus; Governance refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors have become blurred. The essence of governance is its focus on mechanisms that do not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government…. Governance for (some) is about the potential for contracting, franchising and new forms of regulation. In short, it is about what (some) refer to as the new public management. However, governance …is more than a new set of managerial tools.

Governance is ultimately concerned with creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action[104]. As should be expected, all efforts to synthesize the literature draw from theories

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found in the separate traditions. This study adopts her definition of NPM as a series of innovations that – considered collectively; embody public choice approaches, transaction-cost relationships, and preferences for efficiency over equity notes, the outputs of governance are not different from those of government; it is instead a matter of a difference in processes.

Governance refers to the development of governing styles in which boundaries between and within public and private sectors has become blurred. The essence of governance, and its most troublesome aspect, according to its critics, is a focus on mechanisms that do not rest on recourse to the authority and sanctions of government[105.]

Five propositions are drawn to frame our understanding of the critical questions that governance theory should help us answer. He acknowledges that each proposition implies a dilemma or critical issue.

1. Governance refers to institutions and actors from within and beyond government. (But there is a divorce between the complex reality of decision-making associated with governance and the normative codes used to explain and justify government). The question, as it relates to policy implementation, is one of legitimacy. The extent to which those with decision-making power are seen to be legitimate (in the normative sense) will directly impact their ability to mobilize resources and promote cooperation and build and sustain partnerships. Thus, the normative dilemma has pragmatic overtones. For power to be legitimate it must conform to established rules; these rules must be justified by adherence to shared beliefs; and the power must be exercised with the express consent of subordinates[106.]

2. Governance identifies the blurring of boundaries and responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues. This shift in responsibility goes beyond the public-private dimension to include notions of communitarianism and social capital. (However,

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blurring of responsibilities can lead to blame avoidance or scapegoating). An interesting research area that has grown in scope and importance following the implementation of welfare reform is the study of faith-based organizations' role and impact in service delivery. Public agencies have not merely endorsed or encouraged this partnership, but in some cases have institutionalized these arrangements. This suggests a shift in responsibility beyond the more traditional notions of contracting out and privatization. At the same time, all of these activities contribute to uncertainties on the part of policy makers and the public about who is in charge and who can be held accountable for performance outcomes. Implementation theory must attend to the nature and impact of responsibility and accountability.

3. Governance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors. (The emergence of self-governing networks raises difficulties over accountability). Governance networks, in Stoker's terms, "involve not just influencing government policy but taking over the business of government[107]. The "hollow state" that networks have triggered, raises questions about how government can manage public programs when they consist largely of entities outside the public domain. Network theory and governance issues overlap, and they are both directly linked to questions of implementation.

4. Governance recognizes the capacity to get things done which does not rest on the power of government to command or use its authority. (But even so, government failures may occur.) It is in this proposition that we find a natural progression from the more encompassing theory of governance to the more prescriptive notions of New Public Management. Stoker notes that within governance there is a concerted emphasis on new tools and techniques to steer and guide. The language is taken directly from reinventing themes. The dilemma of governance in this context is that there is a broader concern with the very real potential for leadership failure, differences among key partners in

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time horizons and goal priorities, and social conflicts, all of which can result in governance failure. he suggests that design challenges of public institutions can be addressed in part by "revisability, robustness, sensitivity to motivational complexity, public dependability, and variability to encourage experimentation[90].

As noted, "governance is about maintaining public-sector resources under some degree of political control and developing strategies to sustain government's capacity to act" in the face of management tools that replace highly centralized, hierarchical structures with decentralized management environments where decisions on resource allocation and service delivery are made closer to the point of delivery[108].

2.3 Review of Empirical Studies

This section presents review of related literature from past studies on Presidential Leadership, Institutional Capability and Political Development in Nigeria (1999-2019). These are essential for us to understand the impact of this particular system of government on the development of Nigeria as a nation within the study period and also how the various government institutions have fared and their roles in nation building during the same period.

This research paper aims to portray the fact that several normative and empirical obstacles inhibit bureaucratic leadership in its efforts at promoting good governance and fight against corruption in a developing country like Nigeria since the return to democracy in 1999 and 2019. In what follows, we shall dwell on these challenges with a view of providing a road map for ameliorating, if not eradicating them. The spirit of patriotism and nationalism in Nigeria and Africa in general seem to have gone with the attainment of political independence. Ever since then, African leaders hardly pursue the goals of the state but their own personal and sectional interest. To exemplify this, is a statement credited to President Goodluck Jonathan that the dreaded Islamic fundamentalist group 'Boko Haram' has infiltrated his government. This

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bewildering statement is an indication that some cabinet members are there to pursue interest antithetical to that of the nation, thus, in these circumstances the issue of leadership and good governance remains a mirage. The unguided utterances and position of some delegates in the 2014 National Conference attest to this fact[109].

This study aims to find out the perception of the state in Africa and how its institution is a hydra headed problem that has robbed the society of it leadership and governance essences. The state in Africa is seen as an avenue of primitive wealth accumulation. This notion and virus have affected the conduct of government business and regrettably has crept into the whole society. It was argued that the only reason people in this kind of society seek public office is to pursue their material gain and, in the process, neglect public wellbeing and interest. For example, Mobutu Saisasiko a former President of Zarie now Democratic Republic of Congo once told a bewildered nation that it is not a crime to steal government money, only when you steal, steal small-small, and invest it in the country but you become an enemy of the state when you steal and invest outside the country[110].

Corruption

The Federal Republic of Nigeria, a nation within sub-Saharan Africa, is blessed with abundant natural resources and a highly skilled workforce. Despite these advantages, it faces ongoing challenges with sustainable development. One major factor contributing to this troubling trend is corruption. The study titled "Leadership and Political Corruption on Achieving Sustainable Development in Nigeria" seeks to identify and highlight the obstacles that prevent leaders from realising sustainable development. This research explores what is most important to typical Nigerian leaders and examines the prevailing value system in the country. It also investigates the perspectives of Nigerian leaders before and after their tenure concerning the established value system. The study utilised both descriptive and content analysis methods, with the collected data being analysed descriptively.

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The research was grounded in Karl Marx's theory of dialectical materialism as its theoretical framework. The findings revealed that the average Nigerian leader is more focused on personal and self-serving goals than on integrity, which is essential for achieving sustainable development. Moreover, the prevailing value system is closely tied to the issue of inefficient management of the country's human and material resources. The paper argues that achieving sustainable development in Nigeria remains an elusive goal with serious repercussions for the economy, the populace, and the nation's global reputation, unless Nigerian leaders embrace a spirit of patriotism in their interactions with the public and commit to comprehensive reform of all subsystems within the country. The paper concludes that without effective and pragmatic public leadership, the prospect of sustainable development will remain unattainable[174].

The paper tried to check the link between leadership, corruption and nation building. The paper addressed how the leadership style and the corrupt practices in Nigeria have led to a poor socio-economic development and the nation building in Nigeria. The paper relied on documentary method for its data gathering and qualitative descriptive analysis for its data analysis. The paper used the idealist theory of the state for its theoretical framework. The study thus canvassed for a patriotic leader, willing to deliver, self-denial. The study also argued for a strong anti-graft law which must be independent from either the judiciary, executive and the legislature, any administration that must lead must come in through a credible free and fair elections. It was also revealed that towards stimulating economic growth, reducing unemployment, reducing poverty, improving on government accountability and transparency, re-orienting values and rebuilding national integrity; the government must embark on reforms of its institutions. Passively, the study advocated for a strong institution[175].

This research explores the concept of governance by examining how corruption and political structures interact in a negotiated manner. Utilising a theory synthesis approach to formulate the research framework, the study brings a fresh perspective on governance from a national

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viewpoint. It posits that both corruption and political systems jointly determine the state of governance within a country, potentially offering new insights applicable worldwide. The main objective is to provide relevant evidence from existing literature to establish a robust foundation for understanding governance on a macro level. By employing a qualitative methodology, this research reviews existing literature on corruption, political systems, and their interrelationships to define governance. This investigation adopts a conceptual approach to explore governance shaped by the interaction between two loosely linked themes: politics and corruption. The purpose of this synthesis is to enhance our comprehension of governance, thereby strengthening mechanisms to curb corruption through effective political action. The discussions presented are intended to be valuable to regulators and policymakers in developing governance-related regulations, laws, or guidelines in their respective countries[176].

The alarming levels of corruption and the lack of effective leadership in Nigeria can no longer be overlooked or tolerated. Both military and civilian administrations have experienced widespread corruption within the country's political sphere. Consequently, this study is driven by the following research questions: Do the behaviours of political leaders in Nigeria promote corruption? Have the anti-corruption initiatives implemented during the Yar'adua and Jonathan administrations effectively reduced corruption in Nigeria? This research relied on secondary data sources for its methodology. Additionally, the Marxist theory of the post-colonial state was applied to the analysis. The study also found that the traits and characteristics of the colonial state had carried over into the post-colonial era. In other words, the colonial administration significantly shaped post-colonial governance practices. Despite numerous efforts by various administrations to combat corruption, it remains deeply entrenched in Nigerian politics. The study, therefore, recommends granting anti-corruption agencies full independence to operate without presidential interference, as this would provide a more comprehensive approach to tackling corruption[111].

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Nigeria, a country richly endowed with human and material resources critical for national development is yet to find its rightful place among the comity of nations. The level of development of a country sometimes does not depend solely on the abundance of human and material resources that are available in the country. Development goes beyond human and natural endowment. It is generally acknowledged that Nigeria is blessed with human and natural resources. It is also a truism that Nigeria is among the least developed countries in the world. The major reason for her socio-economic development stagnation is leadership crisis, corruption among other factors. Therefore, the main thrust of this paper is to explore the absurdity of leadership crisis and the challenges of good governance in Nigeria in the midst of abundant human and material resources. It examined the concept of leadership, corruption and governance in the context of Nigeria; the causes of corruption and the effects of corruption on Nigeria's democratic stability and sustainable development. It adopted extractive corruption theory which posits that all power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely[112].

The study conducted on value-based leadership style of President Muhamadu Buhari, identified two major styles of leadership: (a) task oriented and (b) Human relationships oriented. To determine a person's leadership style, the testing technique developed by Fiedler (1967) called Least Preferred Coworker (LPC) scale was also proposed by the study as a means of identifying the leadership of a person. In its final analyst, the study was not able to specifically identify the leadership style of President Muhamadu Buhari from the two styles identified in its introductory paragraph[14].

Rule of Law

It is undeniably clear that the principle of the rule of law is explicitly embedded in Nigeria's Constitution. What remains shocking to any knowledgeable person is the outright disregard displayed by Nigerian leaders who have publicly pledged to uphold it. Against a backdrop of

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numerous instances involving unjustified detentions, biased judicial proceedings, executive overreach, the stifling of free speech, and the marginalisation of minority groups, this study uncovered that Nigerian leader have become indulgent in deliberately diminishing the rule of law to a mere constitutional illusion, far from the reality it was meant to be[113].

The rule of law is expected to be the guiding principle of governance since it is the foundation of good governance. The experience in Nigeria is to the contrary as successive administration in the country often violated the concept with carelessness and recklessness. This paper thus examines how the concept has suffered in the hands of the administrations using doctrinal and analytical synthesis of events. It is the concern of the paper that successive military administrations in the country and democratic ones have not done better thus putting a big question mark on their democratic credentials. It is most certain that unless the political leadership in the country see itself as a creation of the law and must thus be guided by the law, the rule of law would continue to suffer in their hands. Also, the judiciary must be accorded absolute autonomy from the other arms of the government[114].

The rule of law was conceived as something that should map out the way and means of peaceful coexistence, progress and development of the society under a uniform rule-guided system. All sectors composed in the society are to be governed and subjected to the law. Over the years, the rule of law has progressively developed and has metamorphosed to have so many faces and has produced different results. These results are negative and positive in most cases. In few others the result is one that shows a complete misunderstanding and misapplication of the concept for ends other than what it was intended to achieve. It is, therefore, the quest of this article to reflect on the origin, meaning, and development of the rule of law. In the end, the article reveals that there is a failure to understand and appreciate the whole gamut of rule of law in most countries across the globe. The trend shows that in the Nigerian context the concept is by and large judiciously applied but politically, it is used mischievously for ulterior motives.

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Finally, the article suggests that time has come to add a few other requirements for the rule of law in order to give politics, law and governance a new face that is rule of law friendly[115].

This paper examines the actual implementation and feasibility of the Rule of Law in Nigeria. It further explores the initial term of the Buhari-led civilian government, which commenced in 2015 and was expected to end in 2019. This study provides a brief overview of the state of the rule of law prior to General Muhammadu Buhari's presidency. The research extensively utilised secondary sources of information. The results revealed frequent and bold violations of the rule of law in Nigeria, a trend that was particularly common during the military era. Unfortunately, the expectation that this issue would diminish or disappear under the current democratic regime has not been realised. Rather than being upheld as a practical principle, the rule of law has been reduced to mere rhetoric in society. Political corruption, poverty, abuse of authority, ethnic bias, inflammatory speech, and disobedience of court orders, among other factors, have undermined the rule of law. It is recommended that political leaders adhere to the country's laws, the judiciary should assert its power to deliver justice, and citizens should actively voice their concerns against violations of the rule of law[177].

The main thrust of this study is to examine the legislative - executive conflict and its implications on democratic governance and maintenance of rule of law in Nigeria from 2015 to 2019. With specific reference to the legislative process and investigates how the “power-relations” were managed to enhance good democratic governance. Understanding legislature executive relation is crucial to building democratic values and ideal for the sustenance of basic institutions and ensuring effective interaction towards democratic development. This study has adopted the Theory of Separation of Powers as propounded by Baron Montesquieu as its framework of analysis. The data used for this study were collected through the secondary source which was obtained from the review of related literature. Discussion revealed the existence of harmony and conflict. The attendant politics of legitimacy or the lack of it, as well

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as mutual distrust and frosty relations between the legislature and the executive dominated the period. Divergent interests which sometimes characterize a heterogeneous society like Nigeria accounts for the Legislative and Executive conflict especially in a nascent democracy as Nigeria. The paper succinctly draws a conclusion towards strengthening Legislative-Executive relationship in Nigeria. The quest for political power by both the executive and the legislative must be sorted out in the manner in which the political environment of the country is structured in its constitution[116].

Task Oriented and Relationship Oriented Leadership

The study examines how task-oriented leadership affects subordinates' knowledge creation behaviour. Data were collected from 877 full-time working employees in five pharmaceutical companies in China. Participants answered demographic questions and completed the task-oriented leadership, perception of competitive climate, achievement motivation, as well as knowledge creation behaviour scale. Structural equation modelling was used to test the hypothesized relationships. The results review that task-oriented leadership will significantly promote subordinates' knowledge creation behaviour. Perception of competitive climate and achievement motivation play mediator roles between task-oriented leadership and subordinates knowledge creation behaviour. Perception of competitive climate and achievement motivation have a serial mediating effect between task-oriented leadership and subordinates knowledge creation behaviour[178].

This study examines the relationship between task-oriented leadership style, psychological capital, job satisfaction and organizational commitment: evidence from Vietnamese small and medium-sized enterprises. Design/methodology/approach. The method employed in the research is the Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) for testing hypotheses of data collected from a sample of 800 employees working in small and medium-sized enterprises in Vietnam. Findings The results show that the task-oriented leadership style has a positive impact on

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organizational commitment, limits job satisfaction and no obvious association with the psychological capital of employees. Besides, job satisfaction and psychological capital play an important role in the organizational commitment of employees in small and medium-sized enterprises of Vietnam[179].

The effect of task oriented and relational leadership style on employee performance and moderating effect of communicator competence was examined by employing data collected from 200 full time working employees via questionnaires. The study was hinged on incorporating leadership style, employee performance and communicator competence. Correlation and regression analysis was than employed to examine the relationship, association and effect of the variables on each other. Results indicated a strong, positive and significant association between supervisor's communication competence, task and relational leadership styles and employee performance Further regression results specify that task and relational leadership style and communication competence effect employee performance positively and significantly. Results point out that communication competence fails to moderate relationship between Task-oriented leadership and employee performance but interactive effect of communication competence is there in between relational leadership style and employee performance, one important finding is that, results prove that relational leader style combined with communication competence have more effect on employee performance.

The research conducted at Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association (BMCDA) in Kanungu, Uganda, explored the connection between task-oriented leadership and employee performance. It examined the relationship between task structure and employee performance, assessed how the level of authority influences employee performance at BMCDA, and evaluated the impact of leader-member relations on employee performance. A cross-sectional research design was utilised, incorporating both quantitative and qualitative methods. The study targeted a population of 120 individuals, with 92 respondents chosen through simple

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random sampling and 12 key informants (leaders/managers) selected via purposive sampling. Data collection was carried out using questionnaires and interviews. The results indicated a correlation coefficient of r = .682, demonstrating a significant relationship between task structure and employee performance. Moreover, findings showed a significant link between the level of authority and employee performance, as evidenced by a correlation coefficient of r = .490. A weak positive relationship between leader-member relations and employee performance was also found, with a correlation coefficient of r = .171. Consequently, the study concluded that task-oriented leadership has a more substantial positive impact on employee performance. Leadership behaviours such as inspiring a shared vision through timely communication, focusing on development, and recognising achievements play a role in determining whether employees meet standards of timeliness, quality, quantity, and cost-effectiveness at BMCDA[16].

While project management is commonly employed across numerous organisations, engineering projects frequently face significant challenges that continue to be a major issue within the domains of engineering and project management. To tackle these issues, a range of leadership competencies and diverse forms of support from senior management are necessary. This study seeks to explore how multi-dimensional senior management support influences the connection between different clusters of leadership competencies (such as task-focused, relationship-focused, and innovation-focused) and the success of public sector projects. Data was gathered through a survey-based questionnaire from 197 project managers and project directors involved in public sector development projects in Pakistan. The results indicate a strong and positive association between task-focused, relationship-focused, and innovation-focused competencies, project success, and all five aspects of senior management support. Additionally, the relationships between these competencies and project success are not enhanced by the presence of resource provision, communication, expertise, and authority,

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whereas structural arrangements significantly affect the link between innovation-focused leadership competencies and project success. The findings suggest that employing validated leadership competencies along with multi-dimensional senior management support can help engineering and project managers improve the chances of project success[180].

This paper studies how clinical leaders perceive their leadership tasks in the context of virtual interactions. We ask whether distant leadership involves a shift from relationship orientation to more task- and control-oriented leaders in hospital settings. The study explored two cases involving 10 clinical leaders in a university hospital in Norway. The study indicates that the leaders were aware that lack of direct communication hampers relationship-oriented leadership, which weakens efforts to develop a common identity in the clinics. The absence of direct communication reduces opportunities for relationship-oriented leadership, which may hamper the development of social and self-controls in professional organizations. However, clinical leaders are dependent on professionals' social and self-controls to perform at high levels. Large distances reduce leaders' ability to build personal relations with their staff. On the other hand, professionals in healthcare are highly educated, and thus they are to a large degree self-governed. The possible effects of distant leadership may consequently not be that harmful in clinical settings[181].

Institutional Capacities

The study sought to empirically explore the influence of institutional capacity on Nigeria's macroeconomic performance over the period from 1961 to 2011. The analysis utilised a multivariate vector error correction model. The empirical findings demonstrate a co-integrated relationship between institutional capacity, the fiscal-monetary policy mix, and macroeconomic performance. The results from the generalised impulse response functions indicate that a one standard deviation shock to institutional capacity negatively affects macroeconomic performance in the short, medium, and long term. Meanwhile, the variance

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decomposition results reveal that notable fluctuations in Nigeria's macroeconomic performance are not significantly linked to changes in institutional capacity, as indicated by the proxy used.

Institutional capacity of local organizations or institutions and its implication for the successful implementation of LED as a viable alternative development strategy in Adama city was investigated. Mixed research method was employed to achieve the objective of the study. Survey questionnaire and interview were used to collect data. Simple random sampling technique was used to administer the questionnaires. Purposive and convenience sampling techniques were used for qualitative data collection. Narrative technique was used to analysis qualitative data. Both descriptive and inferential analysis methods were employed to analyse data obtained through survey questionnaire from 158 respondents with the help of SPSS software applications. The findings of the study reveal that local institutions in Adama city have suffered from serious institutional capacity constraints[182].

2.4 Conceptual Model

This model shows the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. In this study, Presidential Leadership and Institutional Capability is the independent variable while Political Development is the dependent variable. The relationship is presented in Fig. 2.2:

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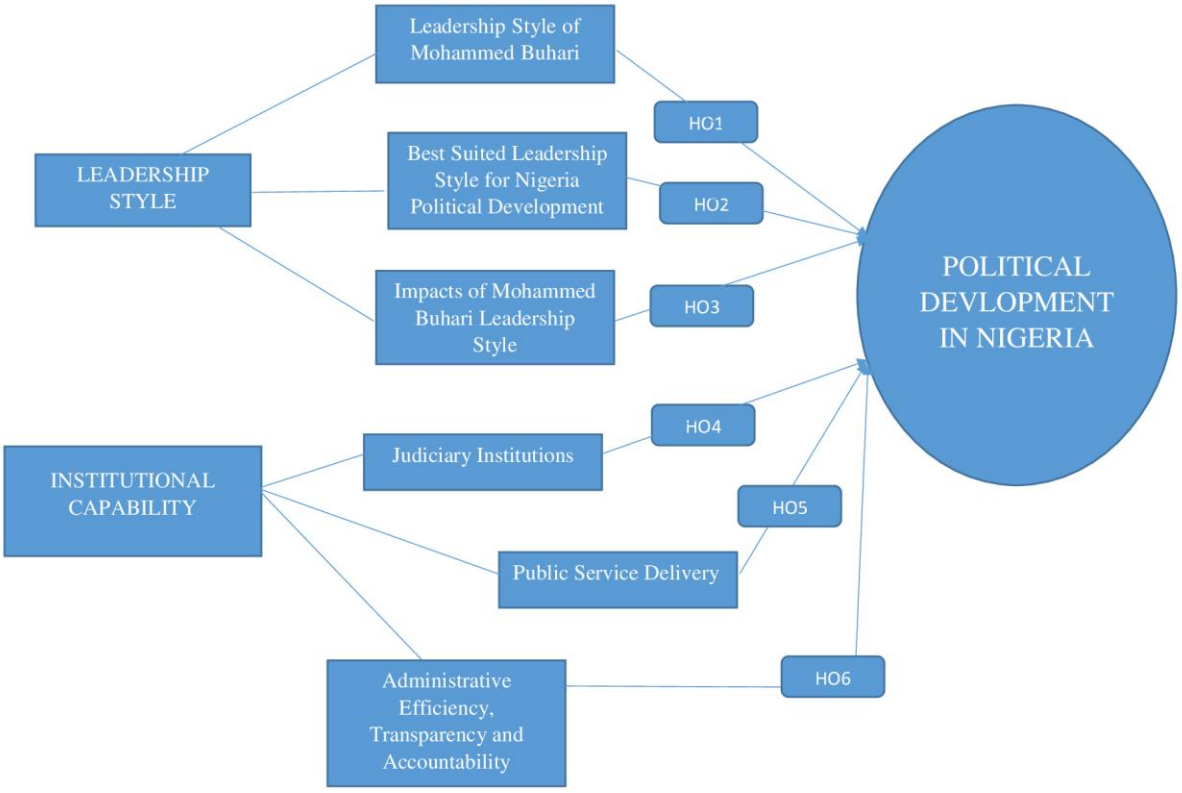


Figure 2.2: Relationship between Presidential Leadership, Institutional Capability and Political Development

Source: The Researcher, 2022

The above figure illustrates the theoretical framework of the present study. It depicts the relationship between the independent variables (presidential leadership style and institutional capability) to the dependent variable (political development). The hypothesis one measures the significant relationship between leadership styles of President Mohammad Buhari to political development in Nigeria using Pearson Product Moment Correlation analysis (PPMC). Hypothesis two measures the leadership style best suits political development in Nigeria using ANOVA. Hypothesis three measure President Mohammed Buhari's leadership style impacts on political development using regression analysis, hypothesis 4 measures the judicial institution capability influence on political development using linear regression analysis, hypothesis 5 measures public service deliver impacts on political development also using linear

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regression analysis while hypothesis 6 measures administrative efficiency, transparency and accountability influence on political development using multiple regression analyses.

2.5 Summary of Gap in Literature Reviewed

This segment delves into the examination of existing literature on the presidential system of governance, its impact on democracy in Nigeria, and the link between this type of leadership and governance institutions. It also reviews the governmental frameworks that shaped the operation of presidential leadership and political evolution in Nigeria from 1999 to 2019. The study is contextualised within a theoretical framework, offering a perspective through which democracy and governance are explored and comprehended. Past research on political development consistently highlights the formal structure of leadership and institutional capacity relationships, while the informal structures have often been overlooked by scholars. Most studies concentrate on the capability of governmental institutions, focusing on the structural setup concerning leadership-institutional capacity relations. However, the extent to which the presidential system of governance influences political development amidst national growth remains unclear. A more thorough investigation into presidential leadership, aiming to understand how institutional capability distinctly correlates to and influences political development, is thus urgently required.

This necessity is compounded by the fact that theories and frameworks of these studies on political development and governance are predominantly based on the political and economic contexts of the Western world. Although many African nations, especially Nigeria, have adopted political systems from the West, environmental factors significantly affect the functioning of these systems, leading to varying experiences despite having similar structural frameworks. These elements create a knowledge gap regarding the complexities and dynamics of democracy-leadership interactions that may arise from the political and socio-cultural settings of other regions, particularly Africa.

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A descriptive and content analytical method was utilised to examine leadership and political corruption in Nigeria. Additionally, the research employed Karl Marx's theory of dialectical materialism to support its observation that the typical Nigerian leader is more focused on pursuing self-serving and personal objectives rather than upholding integrity, which is essential for achieving sustainable development[53]. Similar to other research, the study on leadership, corruption, and nation-building utilised the documentary method for data collection and employed qualitative descriptive analysis for examining the data. The research primarily offered a general overview of the widespread leadership challenges in Nigeria, with a scope that could encourage further investigation into particular administrations, potentially supporting comparative studies in the future. Additionally, the study did not conduct empirical analysis to substantiate its claims.[24].

The study draws upon substantial evidence from existing literature to build a robust understanding of governance from a macro perspective, utilising a qualitative approach. It examines available literature on corruption, political systems, and their relationship with governance. Essentially, the research adopted a qualitative approach with a defined timeframe and scope, allowing for thorough and illustrative analysis. This study concentrated on leadership and political corruption in Nigeria during the period 2007-2016.

The research addressing leadership challenges, corruption, and governance in Nigeria relied on descriptive analysis. This theoretical paper bases its arguments primarily on secondary data sources, such as journal articles, newspapers, books, and online resources. Statistical data were also incorporated as empirical evidence where relevant. To enhance the paper's reliability and validity, multiple secondary sources were consulted to reduce the likelihood of errors. Although statistical data were intended for use as empirical evidence, their application was limited due to the paper's reliance solely on secondary sources and the absence of a specific

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timeframe, which could have facilitated focused data collection and avoided overly complex data analysis[97].

The research on a task-focused leadership approach was carried out among small and medium-sized enterprises in Vietnam. The study was based on psychological capital, job satisfaction, and organisational commitment[24]. The research examining the link between task structure and employee performance utilised a cross-sectional research design that incorporated both quantitative and qualitative methods. The study's target population comprised 120 individuals, from which 92 participants were chosen through simple random sampling, while 12 key informants (leaders/managers) were selected via purposive sampling. Data collection was conducted using questionnaires and interviews. Findings indicated that task-oriented leadership had a stronger positive correlation with employee performance. The research concentrated on task structure, levels of authority, and the impact of leader-member relations, and it was carried out at the Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association (BMCDA) in Kanungu, Uganda[16].

The research, which found that a one standard deviation change in institutional capacity negatively impacts macroeconomic performance over the short, medium, and long term, also showed through variance decomposition that significant fluctuations in Nigeria's macroeconomic performance could not be attributed to changes in institutional capacity based on the proxy used. This study utilised a multivariate vector error correction model and covered the period from 1961 to 2011. Although the timeframe of this study is somewhat outdated for modern empirical analysis, it still provides valuable insights for conceptual understanding. Therefore, the recent research serves as an update with an extended timeframe and an improved methodological approach, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods.

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The research examining the institutional capacity of local organisations or institutions and its impact on the effective implementation of LED as a viable alternative development approach in Adama city was explored. It was found that local institutions in Adama city face significant institutional capacity limitations. Although the research utilised both quantitative and qualitative methods, since it was conducted in Adama, Ethiopia, the methodology can only be applied to replicate this specific study. The findings cannot be generalised to represent the current state of existing resources[160].

It was found that all the studies mentioned above primarily used qualitative research methods, lacking in empirical analysis. Often, the sub-variables did not align with those employed in the current research, as illustrated in the conceptual framework diagram. Even when both qualitative and quantitative analyses were used, the research was conducted in a different political context. The present study also noted the prevalence of outdated research on political development, leadership styles, and institutional capabilities. Additionally, there is a lack of clear definitions for institutional capabilities and determinants, given that different countries operate under various systems—some in robust democracies, others in quasi-democracies, monarchies, or military regimes. Consequently, institutional capabilities are understood differently across political environments. This research addresses these gaps by examining the relationship between presidential leadership and institutional capability on political development in Nigeria, from 2015-2023, from a comprehensive perspective, framing the study within a conceptual framework and considering the role of government institutions as shaped by the Nigerian context.

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Chapter Three

Methodology

The various approach employed in solving the research problem in the study and attaining the study objectives were discussed here. This chapter also discussed the instruments and techniques used to seek solutions to the research problem. The purpose of this research was to examine the impact of Presidential Leadership and Institutional Capability on Political Development from 2015 - 2023.

3.1 Research Design

The study adopted a descriptive design of mixed methods for data collection, where quantitative and qualitative methods (close and open ended questionnaire) were used in order to enhance greater validity of the research. Mixed methods data involves collecting data in a reiterative process whereby the data collected in the first phase which was the quantitative phase was augmented by the data collected in the next (qualitative phase).

3.2 Population

The study population consisted of experts, scholars in governance, and employees of the selected MDAs. Since this categorize of populating cannot be ascertained within the period of the study, the study adopted infinite population size to arrive at a sample size for the study. There are 943 MDAs and 541 corporations, as at the time of the study, under the control of the Federal Government[1]. The sample population for this study comprise of employees of seven (7) selected MDAs in at least 4 states of South West Nigeria. The seven (7) selected MDAs for this study were; Federal Ministry of Industry, Trade and Investment (FMITI), Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources (FMANR), Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources (FMPR), Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS), Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Board of Internal Revenue, and Civil Service Commission.

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3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

The sample size drawn from the infinite population was computed using the formula recommended by Cochran for sample size determination for infinite/unknown population. The formula is stated as:

$$\boldsymbol{n_0 = \frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2}}$$

where,

$\boldsymbol{n_0}$	-	Sample size, which was estimated
$\boldsymbol{z^2}$	-	Selected critical value of desired level of confidence or risk
$\boldsymbol{p}$	-	Estimated proportion of an attribute that is present in the population or maximum variability of the population
$\boldsymbol{e}$	-	Desired level of precision or margin of error

The following values was used for estimating the sample size-

$\boldsymbol{n_0}$	-	?
$\boldsymbol{z^2}$	-	95% confidence level (The value of (1-α) in Standard Normal Distribution *z*-table, which is 1.96 for 95%)
$\boldsymbol{p}$	-	50% variability of the population (which is maximum)
$\boldsymbol{e}$	-	5% margin of error

Put the value in given formula- $\boldsymbol{n_0 = \frac{(1.96)^2 \times 0.5(1-0.5)}{(0.05)^2}} = 384.16$

As a result, the sample size for this research was 384. To increase the response rate, 30% of the sample size, or 115 of experts, scholars in governance, employees of the selected MDAs, were added to the estimated sample. This method had been used to improve response rate. As a result, 499 of experts, scholars in governance, and employees of the selected MDAs were the sampling frame. Hence, 499 copies of the survey were distributed to the participants.

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The purposive sampling was employed to select the experts, scholars in governance, employees of the seven (7) selected MDAs as well as the citizens who constituted the consumers of the services of the MDAs. The technique allowed researchers to use relevant criteria when selecting respondents to participate in the study. As a non-probability technique, purposive is appropriate only when few numbers of respondents are considered relevant for the study and its adoption for this study was consistent with extant literature[1,2]. The constituents of the study represented a homogenous group; hence, every accessible expert, scholars in governance, employees of MDAs was considered for this study. Despite the less systematic way of data gathering, a scholar stressed that the purposive sampling saves time, cost, and it does not in any way compromise the intended quality of work under investigation[3].

3.4 Description of the Research Instrument

These were the various tools used for gathering information and data for the study. It helped find out about other people's opinions about the research work. The research instrument used for this project was the questionnaire, which is close and open ended questionnaire.

1. A modified Likert-type questionnaire with four options was constructed to answer the questions raised for the study. The questionnaire had six (6) parts. Section 'A' solicited information on the demographic characteristics of the respondents such as age, gender, marital status, educational qualifications, and years of service on the job, position/status and religion affiliation. Section 'B' comprised five (5) questions tables eliciting information on the objectives of the research. Numeric values were allotted to their responses thus: Strongly Agree '4', Agree '3', Disagree '2', and Strongly Disagree '1'. Most of the questions were adapted from past studies which helped to ensure the validity of the instrument.

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2. Key Informant Interview (KII) will be conducted with at 1 senior staff from each of the selected MDAs in at least 3 states of the South West. As such, 21 senior staff from the placement areas will be interviewed for the study.

3.5 Validation of the Research Instrument

Validity is used to determine if the research actually measures what it is set out to measure or how true the result of the research is. Validity enhances accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences which are based on research results[4]. Draft copies of the questionnaire were made available to the researcher's supervisor for corrections and opinions so as to create validity in terms of contrast, content, criterion and readability in order for it to be suitable for the objectives of the study. Content and face validity was used to know the validity of the research. Content validity is the extent to which research items measure the variables of the study while face validity is face to face check.

3.6 Reliability of the Research Instrument

Reliability is a way of assessing the internal consistency of the measurement instrument. It measures the degree of homogeneity of the measurement items in a given construct. Reliability is the assessment of whether the study instrument would give similar results when applied in different situations or under similar circumstances but a different time such that the results remain consistent over repeated testing[5]. Reliability of an instrument is its measure of consistency, stability, dependability, precision and accuracy. The reliability of the instrument was ascertained using the split-half method. This implied that the entire items of the test were divided into two halves with the sample size remaining the same. The scores on these half-tests were then correlated to obtain the split-half reliability coefficient. A pilot study was conducted before moving on with a larger to forecast the right sample size for the entire project and/or enhance the research design in numerous ways. Therefore, the pilot study was performed to

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test the hypotheses. For pilot testing, 10% of the questionnaires, or 47 copies, were administered to participants outside the research frame. The questionnaires were administered to 47 staffs of three selected MDAs in Oyo State, the data obtained was subjected to statistical analysis using the SPSS. The data obtained revealed coefficients above 0.50 which conforms with Nunally's criterion suggestion for reliability assessment.

3.7 Administration of Research Instrument

The instruments were administered personally with the help of four research assistants. For the purpose of clarification, the researcher explained the study purpose to the respondents. The self-administration ensured high rate of return and also enabled the respondents ask and obtain clarification on the issues that were not clear to them or that needed explanation. To ensure high response rate, the researcher used research assistants who helped in the physical distribution of the questionnaires and also helped supervise the interviews. The time for the distribution and interviews was within four weeks.

3.8 Method of Data Collection

The administration of the research instrument involves a dual approach using both primary and secondary data collection methods. Primary data was collected through a structured questionnaire distributed directly to academic staff, students, and administrators across selected higher institutions in Southwest Nigeria. The questionnaires were administered in Ministries, Departments and Agencies relevant to the study as stated earlier; ICPC, NCC, NBC, DPR and EFCC.

3.9 Method of Data Analysis

For the analysis of data, the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) and AMOS was used. The data collected were gathered, sorted, and analysed with the use of Statistical Package for Social Sciences. The statistical tools used to analyse the data include the following: descriptive

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analysis of frequency counts and percentages presented in charts and graphs. Also, For the inferential statistics, hypothesis one was analysed using correlation, ANOVA was used to measure hypothesis, linear regression analysis was used for hypothesis 3, hypothesis 4 also will be measured using linear regression analysis, hypothesis 5 was also measured using linear regression analysis while hypothesis 6 was measured using multiple regression analyses. Also, the responses generated from the interview will be analysed thematically and employed to corroborate the claims from the field survey.

3.10 Ethical Consideration

Ethics are a crucial aspect of any qualitative research, especially when the study involves engagement with beachgoers and stakeholders. Ethical measures were put in place to safeguard the dignity, rights, and welfare of all research participants. During the administration of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, this research adhered to two fundamental principles of social research ethics: (1) obtaining informed consent and ensuring voluntary participation, and (2) maintaining anonymity and confidentiality.

Informed Consent and Voluntary Participation

For the questionnaires, individuals were randomly selected and verbally asked if they wished to take part in the study. It was made explicit that participation was entirely voluntary and that they could withdraw at any stage while completing the questionnaire without having to provide a reason. The act of completing and submitting the questionnaire was taken as a sign of consent.

For the interviews, potential stakeholders were initially approached in person and invited to take part in the research. Each participant's informed consent was sought, allowing them to decide whether or not to participate. Consent to audio-record the interview and permission to use their names in the analysis (or not) were also requested.

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Before each interview, the researcher provided a brief overview of the research and the purpose of conducting the interviews. The Consent Form explained that participants could withdraw from the study at any time, detailed the procedures for ensuring anonymity, and asked participants whether they preferred to remain anonymous. It also inquired about any objections to the interview being recorded. Audio recording was useful for allowing the researcher to focus on asking questions and observing the participant's behaviour and attitude, rather than taking detailed notes during the interview.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Ensuring confidentiality and anonymity is a key ethical practice to protect participants' identities and the information they provide. Participants in the questionnaires were given a verbal explanation of the research and informed that the data would be analysed in an aggregated form, making it impossible to link responses back to individual participants. Paper-based questionnaires were later transcribed into digital format for analysis.

Regarding the interviews, participants were informed about the anonymity procedures and given the option to consent to being named. Those who opted not to be named were identified by their role instead. Interviewees were also assured that their responses would be presented anonymously unless they agreed otherwise. All interview transcripts were emailed to participants, allowing them to review and make any necessary amendments.

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Chapter Four

Results and Discussion of Findings

This chapter focuses on analysing questionnaire data to provide valuable insights for research. It is divided into three sections: Demographic Data Analysis, Presentation of Data, and Discussion of Findings. The demographic data analysis provides a detailed overview of respondents' characteristics, including age, gender, education level, and occupation. The presentation of data uses various visual methods, such as tables, graphs, and charts, to provide a clear understanding of the responses. The questionnaire is thoroughly analysed, and the results are presented. The discussion of findings connects the results to the objectives, identifying themes and ideas, and evaluating their alignment with existing literature and theoretical frameworks. This rigorous analysis offers valuable insights and recommendations for further research.

4.1 Distributed Questionnaires

Total	Number of Returned Questionnaires	Response Rate (%)
499	463	92.79

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The data presented in the table shows that out of a total of 499 questionnaires that were issued, 466 were returned and filled out. This implies a significant response rate of 92.79%. The substantial response rate indicates a significant level of participant. High response rates are advantageous in research because they mitigate the potential for response bias and improve the dependability and accuracy of the gathered data.

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4.1 Demographic Data Analysis

Table 4.2: Gender Distribution

Gender Distribution	Frequency	%
Male	111	24
Female	352	76.0
Total	463	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The gender distribution shows a significant majority of females (76.0%) compared to males (24.0%). This indicates a gender imbalance in the population or sample studied, with females being more than three times as many as males.

Table 4.3: Age Distribution

	Frequency	%
20-30 years	64	13.8
31-40 years	240	51.8
41 years and above	159	34.3
Total	463	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The largest age group is 31-40 years (51.8%), followed by 41 years and above (34.3%), and 20-30 years (13.8%). This suggests that the population is primarily composed of middle-aged individuals, with fewer young adults and a moderate number of older individuals.

Table 4.4: Marital Distribution

	Frequency	%
Single	47	10.2
Married	416	89.8
Total	463	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

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The overwhelming majority of the population is married (89.8%), with only a small portion being single (10.2%). This indicates a high prevalence of marriage among the individuals surveyed.

Table 4.5: Educational Qualification Distribution

	Frequency	**%**
OND/HND	47	10.2
HND/BSC	272	58.7
MSc.	144	31.1
Total	463	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Most individuals have an HND/BSC degree (58.7%), followed by MSc holders (31.1%) and those with OND/HND (10.2%). This suggests a highly educated population with a majority having at least a bachelor's degree or higher.

Table 4.6: Years of Service Distribution

	Frequency	%
1-10 years	96	20.7
11-20 years	239	51.6
21-35 years	128	27.6
Total	463	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The largest group has 11-20 years of service (51.6%), followed by 21-35 years (27.6%) and 1-10 years (20.7%). This indicates that the workforce is experienced, with more than half having over a decade of service and a significant portion having over two decades.

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Table 4.7: Position Held Distribution

	Frequency	%
Senior Level Management	128	27.6
Middle Level Management	160	34.6
Low Level Management	175	37.8
Total	43	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The majority of individuals hold low-level management positions (37.8%), followed by middle-level (34.6%) and senior-level management (27.6%). This suggests a more significant number of employees in lower management roles, with fewer in senior management.

Table 4.8: Religion Affiliation Distribution

	Frequency	%
Muslim	304	65.7
Middle Level Management	159	34.6

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The majority of the population identifies as Muslim (65.7%), while a smaller portion identifies as Christian (34.3%). This indicates a predominance of Muslims in the population studied.

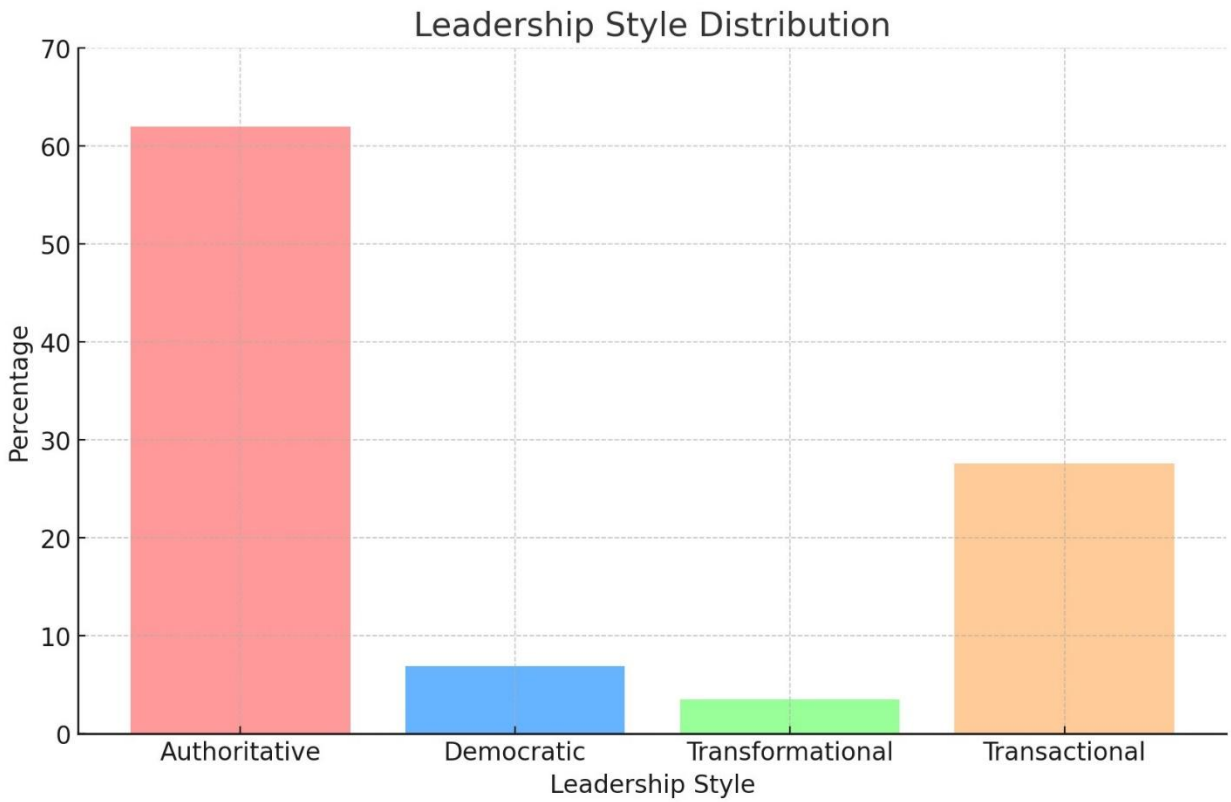
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4.2 Presentation of Data

Research Question One

President Muhammad Buhari leadership style from 2015-2023 was analysed using Descriptive Statistics

Figure 4.1 Bar Chart of President Muhammad Buhari Leadership Style from 2015-2023



Majority of the respondents perceive the leadership style of President Muhammad Buhari as authoritative (62.0%), followed by transactional (27.6%), with small portions viewing it as democratic (6.9%) or transformational (3.5%). This indicates that the predominant perception is of a strong, directive leadership style, with less emphasis on participatory or change-oriented approaches.

4.2.2 Hypotheses

$H_0$1: There is no significant difference between accountability under President Muhammadu Buhari and promotion of sustainable political development in Nigeria

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Table 4.9a.c: Accountability and Sustainable Political Development in Nigeria

Table 4.9a: Model Summary

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. Error Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R^2 Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.272[a]	.074	.072	.666	.074	36.927	1	461	.000

a. Predictors: (Constant), Accountability

Table 4.9b: ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	16.384	1	16.384	36.927	.000[b]
	Residual	204.540	461	.444		
	Total	220.924	462			

a. Dependent Variable: Sustainability

b. Predictors: (Constant), Accountability

Table 4.9c: Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.410	.084		28.562	.000
	RQ1	-.083	.014	-.272	-6.077	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Sustainability

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The Model Summary section presents essential metrics for assessing the regression model's adequacy. The R value of 0.272 suggests a moderate positive association between the independent variable (accountability) and the dependent variable (sustainability). The R Square value of 0.074 indicates that the model explains 7.4% of the variation in the dependent variable, suggesting a low level of explanatory ability. The Adjusted R Square value of 0.072 suggests that the independent variable has a small but statistically significant effect on the dependent variable. The Standard Error of the Estimate (0.666) is the mean deviation in expected ratings.

The ANOVA table evaluates the overall significance of the regression model by testing for variance. The F-value of 36.927, with a significance level (Sig.) of .000, demonstrates that the regression model is statistically significant. This indicates that the observed association is highly unlikely to be a result of random chance. The regression's Sum of Squares (16.384) contrasted to the residual's Sum of Squares (204.540) and emphasizes that the model, although significant, only accounts for a small proportion of the overall variability in the dependent variable. The Total Sum of Squares is 220.924.

The Coefficients table presents comprehensive data regarding the correlation between the independent variable (accountability) and the dependent variable. The unstandardized coefficient (B) for the constant is 2.410, which means that if accountability had a value of zero, the projected rating would be 2.410. The unstandardized coefficient for accountability is -.083, indicating that a one-unit increase in accountability is associated with a decline of .083 units in the rating of the impact of accountability measures. The standardised coefficient (Beta) of -.272 indicates the magnitude and direction of this relationship on a standardised scale, further emphasising the negative association. The t-value of -6.077 and the matching significance level (Sig. = .000) provide strong evidence that this link is statistically significant.

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The regression analysis reveals a statistically significant, if minor, inverse correlation between accountability and sustainability. This implies that as the value of accountability increases, there is a minor decline in the perceived effectiveness of Buhari's accountability measures. Nevertheless, the model only accounts for a limited portion of the variability in the dependent variable, suggesting that there may be other influential elements not accounted for in the model that contribute to creating these beliefs.

H_o2: Rule of Law under President Muhammadu Buhari does not significantly enhances political stability

Table 4.10a-c: Rule of Law and Political Stability under President Muhammadu Buhari.

Table 4.10a: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.126[a]	.016	.014	.720	.016	7.457	1	461	.007

a. Predictors: (Constant), Rule of Law

Table 4.10b: ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	3.866	1	3.866	7.457	.007[b]
	Residual	238.985	461	.518		
	Total	242.851	462			

a. Dependent Variable: Stability

b. Predictors: (Constant), Rule of Law

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Table 4.10c: Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.395	.166		8.425	.000
	H02	.067	.024	.126	2.731	.007

a. Dependent Variable: Stability

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The ANOVA table indicates the overall significance of the model, with a Regression Sum of Squares (SS Regression) of 3.866 explaining the variability, a residual of 238.985 reflecting unexplained variability, and a total of 242.851 representing the entire variability in the dependent variable. The F statistic, with a p-value of 0.007, verifies the statistical significance of the model.

The correlation coefficient (R) indicates a low positive association between the predictor (rule of law) and the dependent variable (political stability). The coefficient of determination (R Square) is 0.016, signifying that rule of law can account for 1.6% of the variability in political stability. The corrected R square is 0.014, suggesting a little improvement in the model's ability to explain the data. The standard error of the estimate is 0.720, which is the mean deviation from the regression line.

The coefficients table indicates that the intercept is 1.395, which suggests that there is political stability when rule of law has a value of zero. The regression analysis shows that the coefficient for rule of law is 0.067, with a standard error of 0.024. The standardized coefficient is 0.126, and the t-value is 2.731, with a corresponding p-value of 0.007. These results indicate that rule of law is a statistically significant predictor of political stability.

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H_o3: Functionality of formal institutions under President Muhammadu Buhari does not significantly enhance good governance in Nigeria.

Table 4.11a.c: Functionality of Formal Institutions under President Muhammadu Buhari.

Table 4.11a: Model Summary

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. Error Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R^2 Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.017[a]	.000	-.002	.608	.000	.127	1	461	.721

a. Predictors: (Constant), Functionality of Formal Institutions

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 4.11b: ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.047	1	.047	.127	.721[b]
	Residual	170.182	461	.369		
	Total	170.229	462			

a. Dependent Variable: Good Governance:

b. Predictors: (Constant), Functionality of Formal Institutions

Source: Field Survey, 2024

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Table 4.11c: Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.057	.129		15.911	.000
	H03	.003	.010	.017	.357	.721

a. Dependent Variable: Good Governance

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Hypothesis 3, analysed in table 4.11a-c, sought to examine the influence of the formal institutions during President Muhammadu Buhari's tenure on the quality of governance in Nigeria. A regression analysis was performed to examine the limited linear association between the predictor variable (functionality of formal institutions) and the outcome variable (excellent governance). The correlation coefficient (R) is 0.017, showing a negligible linear link between the predictor and the outcome. The coefficient of determination (R^2) is 0.000, indicating that none of the variability in good governance can be accounted for by the effectiveness of formal institutions during President Buhari's tenure.

The modified R^2 score is -0.002, indicating that the model does not provide any improvement over the mean model. The standard error of the estimate is 0.608, which is the average deviation of the observed values from the regression line. The ANOVA table presents the statistical significance of the regression model, indicating that the F-value is 0.127 and the significance (Sig.) is 0.721, which exceeds the typical alpha threshold of 0.05. The coefficients table provides insight into the specific impact of each predictor variable on the model. The constant term, often known as the intercept, has a value of 2.057. The unstandardized coefficient for formal institutions, which represents the functionality of formal institutions, is 0.003. This

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means that for every one-unit rise in the functioning of formal institutions, the good governance score increases by 0.003 units.

The analysis suggests that there is no substantial correlation between the functionality of formal institutions during President Muhammadu Buhari's tenure and the quality of governance in Nigeria. The independent variable does not have a statistically significant impact on the dependent variable, indicating that other factors may have a more substantial influence on good governance. Additional variables should be investigated in further research to have a more comprehensive understanding of the governance dynamics throughout this age.

H_o4: Internal and external pressures under President Muhammadu Buhari does not significantly influence institutional reforms

Table 4.12a.c: Internal and External Pressures under President Muhammadu Buhari

Table 4.12a: Model Summary

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R^2 Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.424[a]	.180	.176	.772	.180	50.405	2	460	.000

a. Predictors: (Constant), Internal Influence, External Influence

Source: Field Survey, 2024

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Table 4.12b: ANOVAa

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	60.132	2	30.066	50.405	.000[b]
	Residual	274.382	460	.596		
	Total	334.514	462			

a. Dependent Variable: Institutional reforms

b. Predictors: (Constant), Internal Influence, External Influence

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 4.12c: Coefficientsa

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.588	.144		4.088	.000
	Internal	.020	.016	.077	1.243	.215
	External	.120	.020	.365	5.910	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Institutional reforms

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The regression model demonstrates that institutional improvements, motivated by both internal and external factors, have a substantial and favourable effect on political growth in Nigeria during Muhammad Buhari's tenure. The main factor influencing this effect is the variable external factors, which has a statistically significant positive coefficient. Nevertheless, the variable internal factors, despite having a positive coefficient, lacks statistical significance, suggesting that it does not make a major contribution to the model.

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The model accounts for 18% of the variability in the dependent variable, indicating that although the predictors have a considerable effect, there are other factors not considered in the model that also have a major influence on political evolution. The adjusted R Square value for the number of predictors in the model is 0.176, which means that 17.6% of the variance is accounted for by the number of predictors. The ANOVA table displays the following values: the sum of squares (regression) is 60.132, the residual sum of squares is 274.382, the total sum of squares is 334.514, the mean square is 30.066, and the F-value is 50.405. A high F-value signifies that the model effectively accounts for a substantial amount of the variability in the dependent variable.

Additionally, a significance (Sig.) value of .000 implies an extremely low likelihood that the observed association is due to chance. The coefficients table indicates that the intercept of the regression equation corresponds to the estimated value of the dependent variable when all predictors have a value of zero. The unstandardized coefficients for internal and external factors provide information about the relative significance of each predictor in the model. The t-values reflect the importance of each predictor, with external factors being statistically significant, whereas internal factors are not statistically significant.

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H_o5: The effectiveness of institutional complementarities does not significantly influence Political Development in Nigeria.

Table 4.13a-c: Institutional Complementarities and Political Development

Table 4.13a: Model Summary

Model	R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R^2 Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.193[a]	.037	.035	1.667	.037	17.758	1	461	.000

a. Predictors: (Constant), Institutional Complementarities

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 4.13b: ANOVAa

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	49.338	1	49.338	17.758	.000[b]
	Residual	1280.835	461	2.778		
	Total	1330.173	462			

a. Dependent Variable: Political Development

b. Predictors: (Constant), Institutional Complementarities

Source: Field Survey, 2024

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Table 4.13c: Coefficientsa

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	7.007	.212		32.982	.000
	Institutional Complementarities	.398	.095	.193	4.214	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Political Development

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The model summary starts by emphasising the correlation coefficient (R), which quantifies the intensity and direction of the linear association between institutional complementarities and political growth. The analysis shows a weak positive correlation with a R value of 0.193. This suggests that when the effectiveness of institutional complementarities grows, there is a tendency for political development to improve, but the improvement is slight. The R Square value, 0.037, suggests that just 3.7% of the variation in political development can be accounted for by the effectiveness of institutional complementarities. The corrected R Square, with a marginal decrease to 0.035, validates the limited explanatory capability of the model, considering the number of factors. The standard error of the estimate, 1.667, is the average deviation of the observed values from the regression line, reflecting the extent of variability in political development that is not accounted for by the model.

The ANOVA table offers further insights by dissecting the origins of variance in political growth. The regression sum of squares is 49.338, which represents the amount of variation that is explained by the model. On the other hand, the residual sum of squares is 1280.835, indicating the amount of variation that remains unexplained. The cumulative sum of squares is

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1330.173. The regression model has 1 degree of freedom (df), whereas the residuals have 461 degrees of freedom, resulting in a total of 462. The mean squares, obtained by dividing the sum of squares by the corresponding degrees of freedom, are 49.338 for the regression and 2.778 for the residuals. The F-statistic of 17.758, with a significance level (p-value) of 0.000, indicating that the regression model is statistically significant and has a stronger fit compared to a model without predictors.

The coefficients table provides comprehensive data on the influence of the independent variable on political growth. The constant (intercept) is 7.007, indicating that when the effectiveness of institutional complementarities is zero, the expected level of political development is 7.007 units. The unstandardized coefficient for the independent variable (Institutional Complementarities) is 0.398. This indicates that a one-unit increase in the effectiveness of institutional complementarities is associated with a 0.398-unit rise in political development. The standard error of this coefficient is 0.095, which indicates the degree of variability in the coefficient estimate. The standardised coefficient (Beta) is 0.193, which signifies the magnitude of the association in standardised units. The t-statistic for institutional complementarities is 4.214, with a significance level of 0.000, indicating that the coefficient is statistically significant and significantly different from zero.

The research indicates that the presence of institutional complementarities has a statistically significant, but weak, positive impact on political growth in Nigeria. The model accounts for 3.7% of the variation in political development, indicating that while institutional complementarities do have an impact, there are other influential elements that are not accounted for in this model. The presence of a statistically significant association (p=0.000p = 0.000p=0.000) indicates that as the effectiveness of institutional complementarities improves, there is a proportional increase in political development. In particular, an increase of one unit in the effectiveness of institutional complementarities is predicted to result in a 0.398 unit rise

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in political development. Nevertheless, the low R-squared value suggests that additional investigation is required to discover and integrate alternative variables that could more effectively elucidate the fluctuations in political development in Nigeria.

H_o6: President Muhammadu Buhari's Leadership Style does not significantly influence political development in Nigeria

Table 4.14a-d: Muhammadu Buhari's Leadership Style influence on Political Development

Table 13a: Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices[a]

Box's M	137.735
F	13.543
df1	10
df2	262602.067
Sig.	.000

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Tests the null hypothesis that the observed covariance matrices of the dependent variables are equal across groups

a. Design: Intercept + Leadership Style

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Table 4.14b: Multivariate Tests[a]

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.941	1825.209[b]	4.000	456.000	.000	.941
	Wilks' Lambda	.059	1825.209[b]	4.000	456.000	.000	.941
	Hotelling's Trace	16.011	1825.209[b]	4.000	456.000	.000	.941
	Roy's Largest Root	16.011	1825.209[b]	4.000	456.000	.000	.941
Leadership Style	Pillai's Trace	.357	15.488	12.000	1374.000	.000	.119
	Wilks' Lambda	.672	16.316	12.000	1206.754	.000	.124
	Hotelling's Trace	.445	16.865	12.000	1364.000	.000	.129
	Roy's Largest Root	.303	34.698[c]	4.000	458.000	.000	.233

a. Design: Intercept + Leadership Style

b. Exact statistic

c. The statistic is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 4.14c: Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

		Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Stability	Based on Mean	15.900	3	459	.000
	Based on Median	11.156	3	459	.000
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	11.156	3	425.953	.000
	Based on trimmed mean	18.173	3	459	.000
Institutional reforms	Based on Mean	27.702	3	459	.000
	Based on Median	27.191	3	459	.000
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	27.191	3	321.522	.000
	Based on trimmed mean	30.827	3	459	.000
Good Governance	Based on Mean	215.381	3	459	.000
	Based on Median	45.471	3	459	.000
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	45.471	3	248.873	.000
	Based on trimmed mean	212.919	3	459	.000
Sustainable	Based on Mean	77.207	3	459	.000
	Based on Median	69.372	3	459	.000
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	69.372	3	377.211	.000
	Based on trimmed mean	86.093	3	459	.000

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups

a. Design: Intercept + Leadership Style

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 4.14d: Tests of between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	Stability	9.816[a]	3	3.272	6.433	.000	.040
	Institutional reforms	22.817[b]	3	7.606	12.502	.000	.076
	Good Governance	17.872[c]	3	5.957	42.611	.000	.218
	Sustainable	1.043[d]	3	.348	.871	.456	.006
Intercept	Stability	662.797	1	662.797	1303.119	.000	.740
	Institutional reforms	696.958	1	696.958	1145.680	.000	.714
	Good Governance	732.069	1	732.069	5236.283	.000	.919
	Sustainable	703.230	1	703.230	1762.051	.000	.793
B_3	Stability	9.816	3	3.272	6.433	.000	.040
	Institutional reforms	22.817	3	7.606	12.502	.000	.076
	Good Governance	17.872	3	5.957	42.611	.000	.218
	Sustainable	1.043	3	.348	.871	.456	.006
Error	Stability	233.458	459	.509			

	Institutional reforms	279.226	459	.608
	Good Governance	64.171	459	.140
	Sustainable	183.186	459	.399
Total	Stability	1760.000	463	
	Institutional reforms	2009.000	463	
	Good Governance	1789.000	463	
	Sustainable	1853.000	463	
Corrected Total	Stability	243.274	462	
	Institutional reforms	302.043	462	
	Good Governance	82.043	462	
	Sustainable	184.229	462	

a. R Squared = .040 (Adjusted R Squared = .034)

b. R Squared = .076 (Adjusted R Squared = .070)

c. R Squared = .218 (Adjusted R Squared = .213)

d. R Squared = .006 (Adjusted R Squared = -.001

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 4.14a-d ascertain the impact of Muhammadu Buhari's leadership style (2015-2023) on various dependent variables, such as stability, institutional changes, good governance, and sustainability. The Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices evaluates the hypothesis that

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the observed covariance matrices of the dependent variables are identical across different groups. The highly significant finding (Sig. = 0.000) suggests that this assumption has been broken, demonstrating that there are disparities in the covariance structures between the groups. The multivariate tests conducted for both the intercept and leadership style yield highly significant findings (Sig. = 0.000), suggesting that the predictors included in the model account for a large amount of the variation observed in the dependent variables. More precisely, the partial eta squared values for the intercept are exceptionally significant, indicating a substantial overall impact. However, the partial eta squared values for leadership style, albeit reduced, still imply a small to medium effect size. This suggests that leadership style has a considerable contribution to the variance in the dependent variables.

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances is employed to verify the assumption of homogeneity of variances. The results of Levene's tests indicate that the variances of the dependent variables are not equal across groups, as evidenced by their significant values (Sig. = .000). Caution should be exercised when interpreting the results due to this violation of the assumption, since the unequal variances can impact the reliability of the statistical tests employed.

The between-subjects effects tests offer comprehensive analysis of the precise effects of the leadership style on each individual dependent variable. The revised model demonstrates that leadership style has a considerable impact on stability, institutional changes, and good governance, but it does not have an effect on sustainability. The effect sizes, as measured by partial eta squared, are characterised as small for stability and institutional reforms, medium for good governance, and negligible for sustainability. The results suggest that leadership style significantly affects certain outcomes, such as good governance, but does not have a statistically significant impact on sustainability.

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To summarise, the data demonstrates that leadership style has a substantial influence on stability, institutional reforms, and good governance, with various levels of impact. Nevertheless, the assumptions of identical covariance matrices and uniform variances are not met, indicating that the findings should be evaluated cautiously. The significant impact identified for the intercept across all dependent variables emphasises the crucial role of baseline measures in the model, while the distinct influence of leadership style highlights its significance in developing certain aspects of organisational performance.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

Hypothesis one revealed the influence of Muhammadu Buhari's accountability policies on sustainability. The results indicate a statistically significant, albeit small, inverse correlation between accountability (the independent variable) and sustainability (the dependent variable). The negative correlation between the values of sustainability and the ratings for the effectiveness of Buhari's accountability measures is indicated by a Beta value of -0.272 and a significant t-value of -6.077. this shows that accountability measures adopted by president Mohammed Buhari was not effective so also, a low ebb in the political process which is deemed unsustainably. These findings are consistent with empirical evidence from a study conducted in Nigerian among public officials revealing that public officers in Nigeria willingly receive bribes, gratuities, illicit commissions, and dubious presents, resulting in corruption within public administration. The study underscores the necessity of fostering a culture that upholds honesty, transparency, and accountability in order to facilitate sustained growth and development within the nation[1].

This finding is also consistent with that of a study that revealed that the low level of public service delivery in Nigeria which has manifested in high level of unemployment, poverty and insecurity is as a result of lack of strict adherence to ethics and accountability by those saddled

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with the responsibility of delivering public services in Nigeria was also revealed[2]. To buttress the findings of this study, it was also revealed that since Nigeria gained independence, public officials' responsibility has decreased, leading to reduced economic growth and worsening public service delivery. Corruption, a significant hindrance to development, is linked to the shift from a cash crop-based economy to an oil-based one. The new democratic leadership's reliance on political power has led to unethical practices like bribery, patronage, and abuse of public property[3].

As pointed out in the interview conducted on the implementation of accountability measures during President Buhari's term. It was stressed that the importance of a strong legislative structure to guarantee transparent governance and strict punishments for corrupt activities. This is consistent with the findings of the regression analysis, indicating that although attempts were made to address corruption, the irregular implementation of these efforts may have had a role in the relatively little unfavourable perception of their effectiveness. These observations emphasise the significance of a thorough legal structure to enhance the efficacy of measures aimed at ensuring accountability[4]. It was also contended that although economic measures targeting diversity were praiseworthy, their effectiveness was impeded by a lack of accountability. The cause of enhancing openness in government expenditures and empowering independent audit organisations to promote both political and economic progress was made[4]. Though President Buhari's courageous actions in combating corruption was applauded however, it was pointed out that there are still pending cases involving prominent individuals[5]. Also, the importance of bolstering institutions such as the EFCC and guaranteeing their autonomy from political interference was reinstated[5].

In addition, while acknowledging the whistle blower rules, the necessity for improved safeguarding and motivation of whistle blowers stressed[6]. While expressing disapproval of the discriminatory nature of Buhari's anti-corruption actions; an impartial approach to guarantee

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equitable punishment of all wrongdoers was advocated for[4]. Both viewpoints emphasise the need of establishing a secure atmosphere for individuals who expose wrongdoing and upholding fairness in the fight against corruption. These factors are crucial for bolstering public confidence and the perceived efficacy of measures aimed at ensuring accountability.

Hypothesis two indicates a tenuous positive correlation between rule of law and political stability in Nigeria during Muhammadu Buhari's government. The R square value of 0.016 indicates that rule of law only accounts for a small proportion of the variability in political stability, implying that other factors have a more significant influence. This is consistent with previous research, which revealed various barriers to effective rule of law practice in Nigeria. These include, lack of constitutionalism and constitutional supremacy, human rights violations, interference with judicial process, disregard for court orders, delayed justice system, weak institutions, lack of access to justice, and corruption[7]. The statistical significance of rule of law ($p = 0.007$) indicates that it has a negative influence on political stability, which aligns with findings from previous research conducted on 'Corruption and Governance: Examining the Impact on Political Stability in Nigeria'[8].

Key informant interviews conducted also offer valuable insights into the significance of rule of law to political stability. The statistical significance of $H0_2$ ($p = 0.007$) indicates that political characteristics, however slight, have a significant impact in predicting political stability. The importance of maintaining a balance between security and civil liberties in order to prevent the misuse of authority was emphasised[9]; so also, emphases on of press freedom in ensuring accountability and transparency[4].

In addition, global apprehensions regarding human rights violations under Buhari's leadership was also emphasized on while stressing the significance of adhering to international human rights norms to promote stability[9]. Furthermore, the various interventions of the executive

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branch in the judiciary during the Buhari's era was criticized with the proposition to making changes to the constitution to safeguard the independence of the judiciary and enable it to effectively operate as a check on the other parts of government[9].

Hypothesis three revealed that the effectiveness of government institutions under President Muhammadu Buhari has a negligible influence on the quality of governance in Nigeria. The regression analysis results suggest that the model fails to account for any variation in the dependent variable, which represents good governance. This implies that the observed performance of these institutions does not have a substantial impact on the efficacy of government during Buhari's tenure. The ANOVA results support this conclusion, as seen by an F-value of 0.127 and a significance level of 0.721, showing that there is no significant correlation between the functionality of institutions and good governance over the analysed time.

The results are consistent with prior studies institutions in Nigeria are plagued by bureaucratic inefficiencies, redundant responsibilities, and a failure to adequately deliver necessary services to the public population. The majority of services have undergone privatisation, whereby the enterprises are sold to the highest bidder. This study also indicate that these institutions and firms are ineffective because they functioned as mere openings or gateways instead of being authentic representations of institutions that truly require privatisation through public/private partnerships. Such partnerships are essential for boosting a developing economy by attracting investments and establishing legislative frameworks that safeguard the interests of investors[10].

In addition, the above findings were further elaborated with qualitative analyses gathered through KII. The effectiveness of official organisations throughout President Buhari's tenure had both positive and negative results as asserted. Although several sectors saw advancements in anti-corruption measures and openness, the judiciary and law enforcement authorities

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frequently encountered obstacles pertaining to autonomy and political influence, therefore compromising their efficacy[11]. It was also argued that the Buhari administration achieved substantial progress in judicial reform. However, these efforts were hindered by the inconsistent implementation of justice and excessive interference by the executive branch[9]. Formal institutions under President Buhari's leadership, was also observed to have been generally ineffective, especially in terms of economic management[11].

Hypothesis four revealed that political development in Nigeria during the Muhammad Buhari era is highly influenced by institutional reforms, which are motivated by both internal and external factors. The model's R value of 0.424 and R Square value of 0.180 indicate that 18% of the variation in political development can be explained by the independent variables, suggesting a moderate level of explanatory power. This is consistent with prior empirical studies that highlight the significance of institutional quality in promoting political development. The results of the statistical analysis (external factors, $B = 0.120$, $p < 0.001$) indicate that certain institutional reforms have a significant and positive impact on political development.

Based on the findings in the table, the impacts of internal and external influences on institutional reforms can be effectively analysed using Institutional Theory[12]. The theory, provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how institutions evolve and respond to various pressures. The findings of the model summary reveal a modest positive correlation ($R = 0.424$) between the predictors (internal and external factors) and the dependent variable (institutional reforms). This association implies that there is a connection between the influences and the reforms, albeit it is not very robust. The ANOVA findings confirm the statistical significance of the model, as evidenced by the regression sum of squares (60.132) in comparison to the residual sum of squares (274.382). This indicates that both internal and external factors are significant predictors of institutional improvements. Nevertheless, the

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coefficients offer a more intricate comprehension of the effects of these influences. Internal elements, such as organisational culture, leadership, and internal rules, have a restricted influence on institutional reforms, potentially because of internal limitations or inefficiencies that hinder the efficient utilisation of resources. In addition, the political culture and governance structures may lack the necessary strength to implement substantial changes without external influences.

However, external factors such as regulations, legal frameworks, economic constraints, societal and cultural norms, and technical progress have a substantial impact on institutional improvements. The substantial beneficial effect of external influences is consistent with Institutional Theory, indicating that institutions frequently adjust their practices to conform to external laws and legal obligations. For instance, alterations in regulatory regulations can necessitate organisations to revamp their structures and processes to guarantee adherence. Likewise, institutional changes are influenced by economic factors such as external funding, economic recessions, and market rivalry, as institutions must adjust in order to endure and prosper in evolving economic environments. Organisations are influenced by social and cultural norms, which create pressure for them to conform. This leads to substantial transformations inside these organisations. Institutions are subject to the effect of public expectations and cultural norms, which in turn determine their practices and behaviours. For example, the changes in society towards sustainability and social responsibility have prompted numerous institutions to implement reforms that are in line with these principles. Technological improvements are essential for promoting institutional reforms.

The mechanisms of institutional change, such as coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism, offer additional understanding of how external forces influence reforms. Coercive isomorphism arises when institutions are subjected to direct demands from regulatory authorities or other authoritative forces, compelling them to conform to particular standards.

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Mimetic isomorphism refers to the phenomenon when institutions imitate the methods and structures of successful organisations, typically as a response to uncertainty. Normative isomorphism refers to the process of change that is influenced by professional norms and standards, typically facilitated through professional networks and educational institutions. These processes emphasise the significance of external influences in propelling institutional transformations and the methods through which institutions adjust to conform to external expectations and standards. Ultimately, the results affirm the notion of Institutional Theory, which posits that external forces have a substantial influence on institutional improvements, whilst internal causes have a comparatively minor impact. Institutions exhibit greater adaptability to external stimuli, including regulatory modifications, economic circumstances, and societal conventions, underscoring the significance of including external contexts when evaluating and executing institutional improvements. Institutions can achieve durable and impactful transformations by prioritising these areas and effectively managing the complexities of internal and external forces.

Furthermore, responses from the KII revealed that regulatory changes, such as the implementation of TSA and IPPIS, demanded substantial adjustments within the institution. Economic challenges, including fluctuating oil prices and recession, necessitated more efficient use of resources and prioritization of cost-cutting measures[11]. Despite the administration's anti-corruption stance, political interference often created obstacles, slowing down the reform process. Compliance with international standards, such as anti-money laundering, required significant effort and posed implementation challenges[12].

Hypothesis five revealed that there is a statistically significant, albeit weak, positive impact of institutional complementarities on political growth in Nigeria. The correlation coefficient (R = 0.193) suggests a moderate positive link between the effectiveness of institutional complementarities and political growth. This discovery is consistent with the theoretical

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paradigm that proposes that strong institutional structures might improve governance and political results (North, 1990). Nevertheless, the R-squared value of 0.037 indicates that only 3.7% of the variability in political growth can be accounted for by institutional complementarities. This implies that although institutional complementarities play a significant role, they are not the only factors that determine political development in Nigeria.

The ANOVA findings provide additional evidence for the statistical significance of the regression model, as indicated by an F-statistic of 17.758 and a p-value of 0.000. The statistical analysis shows that there is a strong association between institutional complementarities and political growth. This supports the concept that when institutions work together effectively, they can have a favourable impact on political outcomes[14]. The p-value, which is statistically significant, indicates that the observed effect is highly unlikely to be a result of chance. This highlights the significance of institutional complementarities in promoting political development. Nevertheless, the modest F-value indicates that the effect size is quite tiny, which requires additional investigation into other factors that may be contributing.

The coefficients table offers a more profound understanding of the nature of the relationship. The unstandardized coefficient (B = 0.398) for the independent variable suggests that a one-unit improvement in the effectiveness of institutional complementarities is linked to a 0.398-unit rise in political development. This discovery is consistent with previous research that emphasises the significance of institutions in improving governance and political stability[13, 14]. The association is further confirmed to be robust by the statistically significant t-statistic of 4.214 and the p-value of 0.000. These findings highlight the capacity of institutional complementarities to contribute to political growth, but to a limited extent.

The findings are additionally supported by expert opinions obtained through key informant interviews (KII). The crucial influence of institutional complementarities on the formation of

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political progress in Nigeria was highlighted[15]. It was contended that the harmonious interaction of institutions such as the judiciary, legislature, and executive is crucial in establishing a stable and efficient political atmosphere, promoting transparency and accountability[13]. This perspective reinforces the regression findings by emphasising the crucial role of institutional interplay in improving political results.

It was also stated that strong economic institutions contribute to political stability by promoting economic growth and alleviating poverty, which in turn fosters a favourable climate for democratic processes to flourish. This supports the notion that economic conditions play a crucial role in shaping political evolution, as indicated by the limited explanatory ability of the regression model[16]. In addendum, to economic institutions is the robustness of a country's' civil society. A robust civil society serves as a valuable addition to government initiatives by ensuring its responsibility and promoting necessary changes. This evidence reinforces the idea that social capital and active citizen engagement are crucial for political development, in line with the wider body of literature on the subject.

The significance of legal institutions in the process of political development was also underscored. A court that is independent and works in harmony with other parts of government is essential for upholding the rule of law and ensuring the protection of citizens' rights. This viewpoint is consistent with the regression analysis results, highlighting the need of robust legal institutions in improving governance and political stability[17]. The media also serves as a supplementary force in political advancement by offering a venue for public deliberation and examination of governmental activities. This supports the notion that the freedom of media and openness are essential for holding democratic systems accountable, hence emphasising the significance of multiple institutions in the progress of politics. Ultimately, although institutional complementarities have a notable effect on political growth in Nigeria, their influence is very limited. This finding aligns with the existing literature that emphasises the

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significance of a comprehensive approach to political evolution, taking into account the numerous components involved. Subsequent studies should investigate supplementary factors and utilise more extensive frameworks to have a deeper understanding of the factors that influence political progress in Nigeria.

Hypothesis six evaluated the impact of different leadership styles on several dependent variables, including stability, institutional reforms, good governance, and sustainability. The results indicate significant differences in the dependent variables based on leadership style, with varying effect sizes. The findings provide important insights into how leadership styles can influence organizational outcomes, aligning with and extending existing literature on the subject.

The Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices indicated a violation of the assumption of equal covariance matrices (Sig. = 0.000). This result suggests that the patterns of variances and covariances among the dependent variables differ across leadership styles. This finding is consistent with previous studies that highlight the diverse impacts of leadership styles on political development[18]. The distinct covariance structures imply that the influence of leadership on one variable may not be uniformly experienced across others, necessitating a nuanced approach to leadership interventions.

Multivariate tests revealed that both the intercept and leadership style significantly affect the dependent variables, with the intercept demonstrating very large effect sizes (Partial Eta Squared = 0.941). This result underscores the importance of baseline conditions in organizational studies, reflecting those inherent organizational factors have substantial impacts on outcomes. Leadership style also showed significant, though smaller, effect sizes, particularly on good governance (Partial Eta Squared = .129). This aligns with the findings that

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argues that leadership style plays a crucial role in shaping governance practices within organizations[18].

Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances further showed significant differences in variances across groups (Sig. = .000), indicating a violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variances. This result suggests that the variability in dependent variables is not consistent across different leadership styles. Such variability has been documented in leadership research, where different styles result in varied levels of stability and reform efficacy within a system[19]. The significant variances highlight the need for tailored leadership approaches to address specific organizational contexts and challenges.

The tests of between-subjects effects demonstrated that leadership style significantly affects stability, institutional reforms, and good governance but not sustainability. The partial eta squared values suggest small to medium effects for the former variables and negligible effects for sustainability. These findings corroborate the work that identified that leadership impacts are more pronounced in areas requiring active governance and reform initiatives[20]. However, the lack of significant impact on sustainability may indicate that factors beyond leadership style.

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Chapter Five

Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Findings

This study investigates the influence of presidential leadership and institutional capacities on political advancement in Nigeria from 2015 to 2023, with a specific focus on the tenure of President Muhammadu Buhari. The research findings indicate that the prevailing perception of Buhari's leadership style is authoritative, with a significant majority of 62.0%. The study indicates a modest inverse relationship between accountability and sustainability, implying that the implementation of more stringent accountability measures under Buhari's administration had a slight adverse influence on the perceived efficacy of these policies in fostering long-term political progress.

The study also reveals a little positive correlation between the rule of law and political stability, indicating that while it contributes to sustaining political stability, its impact is rather negligible compared to other factors. The efficacy of formal institutions during Buhari's tenure had negligible influence on good governance, indicating that their performance had minimal impact on the quality of governance during this period.

Both internal and external pressures exerted a substantial influence on institutional reforms, with external variables such as legislative changes and international standards carrying more weight than internal factors like company culture and leadership. The study also discovered a slight positive correlation between institutional complementarities and political growth, indicating that effective collaboration among different institutions has a tiny beneficial effect on political outcomes. The study emphasizes the significance of tailored leadership approaches in addressing specific organizational challenges and enhancing stability, institutional changes, and effective governance in Nigeria.

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5.2 Conclusion

This study investigates the influence of presidential leadership and institutional capacity on political progress in Nigeria, specifically analysing the tenure of President Muhammadu Buhari from 2015 to 2023. The analysis indicates that Buhari's leadership approach was mostly characterized by an authoritative style, while transactional, democratic, and transformational styles were also seen to a significant extent. This style had a profound impact on the governance and political stability throughout his tenure. Accountability measures had a marginal although statistically significant influence on sustainable political growth, while enhanced accountability marginally diminished their efficacy. This emphasizes the necessity for a more rigorous execution of measures to ensure responsibility in order to make significant advancements in sustainable political growth.

The relationship between the rule of law and political stability was moderately positive, however hindered by factors such as human rights breaches and judicial involvement. The efficacy of formal institutions under Buhari's tenure demonstrated negligible influence on good governance, indicating administrative inefficiency and political meddling. Institutional reforms were considerably influenced by both internal and external pressures, but the impact of external factors was more substantial compared to internal ones such as organizational culture and leadership. The presence of institutional complementarities had a statistically significant, if modest, positive effect on political growth. Effective collaboration among various institutions marginally enhanced the outcomes. Various leadership styles had a notable impact on various outcomes, but, Buhari's leadership style did not have a substantial effect on sustainability. This indicates the necessity for adaptive leadership methods that are customized to the particular circumstances and difficulties of organizations in order to improve governance and political development.

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Overall, the study offers unique insights into the intricate relationship between presidential leadership, institutional capacity, and political progress in Nigeria. It emphasizes the subtle effects of various leadership approaches and institutional dynamics on governance and stability. Further investigations should delve into additional variables that impact political development in order to optimize governance and institutional effectiveness.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations were proffered from the study findings as ways to improve political development in Nigeria

1. Improving Accountability: Enhance the legislative frameworks and ensure the consistent implementation of measures to hold individuals and organizations responsible for their actions. Enable autonomous audit institutions to augment transparency and mitigate corruption.
2. To enhance the rule of law, it is important to overcome obstacles that hinder its effectiveness. This can be achieved by safeguarding the autonomy of the judiciary, upholding internationally recognized human rights norms, and preventing any undue influence from the executive branch on the judicial system.
3. Reforming Institutions: Enact extensive reforms to tackle bureaucratic inefficiencies and improve the effectiveness of formal institutions. Encourage the establishment of collaborations between the public and private sectors to attract investments and enhance the provision of services.
4. Harnessing External Influences: Employ external forces like as global standards and regulatory shifts to stimulate institutional improvements. Promote economic stability in order to establish a favourable climate for political advancement.

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5. Advancing Institutional Complementarities: Foster cooperation among distinct branches of government and their corresponding agencies to amplify political results. Promote collaboration and cooperation among economic, legal, and civil entities.
6. Embrace Adaptive Leadership: Cultivate leadership approaches that effectively address unique organizational circumstances and difficulties. Encourage a harmonious combination of authoritarian and participative leadership approaches in order to attain long-lasting political progress.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

This study enhances comprehension of the intricate interaction of presidential leadership, institutional capacity, and political advancement in Nigeria. This study emphasizes the subtle influence of various leadership styles and institutional dynamics on the effectiveness of governance and the maintenance of stability. The results emphasize the significance of external factors and institutional interactions in shaping political results. The study offers useful insights for policymakers, scholars, and practitioners who aim to better political development in Nigeria by highlighting crucial areas for reform and future research.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

Future research should investigate supplementary variables that impact political growth in Nigeria, such as:

1. Analyse the influence of civil society organizations in fostering accountability and transparency.
2. Analyse the correlation between economic policy, economic growth, and political stability.

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3. Technological Advancements: Evaluate the impact of technological advancements on improving governance and institutional efficiency.
4. Study the influence of cultural norms and values on the progress of politics and the implementation of institutional changes.
5. Perform a comparative analysis by examining other countries to determine the most effective techniques and successful strategies in political growth and governance.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire

Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria

Presidential Leadership and Institutional Capability on Political Development, 2015-2023

Dear Respondents,

These questionnaires were designed for the above topic to elicit information on the impact of Presidential Leadership, Institutional Capability on Political Development between 2015 and 2023. It is purely designed for academic research study. Please feel free to attend to this feat as all information supplied shall be treated with total and utmost confidentiality.

Thanks.

Section A

Demographic Information of Respondents

Instruction: Kindly indicated your response by ticking (√)

1. Age: 20-30 ( ) 31-40 ( ) 41years and above ( )

2. Gender: Male ( ) Female ( )

3. Marital Status: Single ( ) Married ( ) Divorced ( ) Widowed ( )

4. Educational Qualification: SSCE ( ) OND/NCE ( ) HND/BSC ( ) MSC ( ) PhD ( )

5. Years of Service on the Job: 1 – 2 years ( ) 3 – 4 years ( ) 5 – 10 years

6. Position/ Status: Senior Level Management ( ) Middle Level Management ( ) Lower Level Management ( )

7. Religious affiliation: Muslim ( ) Christianity ( ) Traditional ( ) others ( )

8. Name of Agency (Ministry)……..

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Section B

Section B: How would you describe the leadership style of Nigeria President from 2015-2023 in relation to political development in Nigeria?

Instruction: Please read each statement and tick (√) the box in the column which corresponds to the way you feel about the statements

Strongly Disagree (SD), Disagree (D), Neutral (N), Agree (A), Strongly Agree (SA)

Section Bi: Transformational Leadership

SN	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
1	The president articulated a clear vision for the future of the nation.					
2	The president inspired and motivated citizens to achieve common goals.					
3	The president encouraged innovation and new ideas.					
4	The president showed a genuine concern for the well-being of the citizens.					
5	The president challenged the status quo to bring about necessary changes.					

Section Bii: Transactional Leadership

SN	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
6	The president set clear goals and expectations for government performance.					
7	The president rewarded individuals and groups for achieving desired outcomes.					
8	The president addressed issues and deviations from standards promptly.					
9	The president provided clear instructions and closely monitors progress.					
10	The president intervened only when problems arise or performance declines.					

Section Biii: Autocratic Leadership

SN	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
11	The president set clear goals and expectations for government performance.					
12	The president rewarded individuals and groups for achieving desired outcomes.					
13	The president addressed issues and deviations from standards promptly.					

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14	The president provided clear instructions and closely monitors progress.					
15	The president intervened only when problems arise or performance declined.					

Section Biv: Laissez-Faire Leadership

SN	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
16	The president allowed government officials to make decisions independently.					
17	The president provided minimal supervision and intervention.					
18	The president trusted government officials to manage their responsibilities.					
19	The president encouraged a high degree of autonomy among government officials.					
20	The president refrained from micromanaging government activities.					

Section C: Which leadership style best suits political development in Nigeria?

SN	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
1	Transformational Leadership					
2	Transactional Leadership					
3	Autocratic Leadership					
4	Laissez-Faire Leadership					

Section D: How would you rate the leadership style of President Mohammed Buhari to the enablers of political development?

VD = Very Dissatisfied, D= Dissatisfied, MD= Moderately Dissatisfied, S= Satisfied, VS = Very Satisfied

S/N	Items	VS	MS	D	MD	VD
1	Rule of law					
2	Security					
3	Institutional Integrity					
4	Democratic Process					
5	Governance					

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Section E: Institutional Capability

Please rate the following statements based on your perception of the president's leadership style. Use the scale below:

Strongly Disagree (SD), Disagree (D), Neutral (N), Agree (A), Strongly Agree (SA)

Ei: Legal and Regulatory Framework

S/N	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
1	The legal and regulatory framework in Nigeria effectively supported political development.					
2	Laws and regulations in Nigeria were consistently enforced without bias.					
3	The judiciary in Nigeria operated independently and impartially.					

Eii: Administrative Efficiency

S/N	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
4	Nigerian governmental institutions were efficient in implementing policies.					
5	Bureaucratic processes in Nigeria did not hinder political development.					
6	Government agencies in Nigeria were adequately resourced and staffed.					

Eiii: Transparency and Accountability

S/N	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
7	There was high level of transparency in governmental operations in Nigeria.					
8	Government officials in Nigeria were held accountable for their actions.					
9	Anti-corruption measures in Nigeria were effective.					

Eiv: Public Service Delivery

S/N	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
10	Public services in Nigeria met the needs of the citizens.					
11	The quality of public services in Nigeria improved.					
12	There were equitable access to public services across different regions of Nigeria.					

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Section F: Level of Political Development

Fi: Democratic Processes

S/N	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
1	Elections in Nigeria was free and fair.					
2	There was a high level of political participation among Nigerian citizens.					
3	Political parties in Nigeria operated freely and without undue restrictions.					

Fii: Governance Quality

S/N	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
4	The Nigerian government effectively addressed the needs and concerns of its citizens.					
5	There was high level of public trust in the Nigerian government.					
6	The Nigerian government was responsive to public opinion and feedback.					

Fiii: Political Stability

S/N	Items	SD	D	N	A	SA
7	Nigeria experienced political stability during Buhari regime.					
8	Conflicts and political unrest in Nigeria decreased during Buhari regime					
10	Buhari regime effectively managed and resolved political conflicts					

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Presidential Leadership, Institutional Capability and Political Development (2014-2024)

Dear Respondents,

These questionnaires were designed for the above topic to elicit information on the impact of Presidential Leadership, Institutional Capability on Political Development between 2014 and 2024. It is purely designed for academic research study. Please feel free to attend to this feat as all information supplied shall be treated with total and utmost confidentiality.

Thanks

Name of Participant (optional) ……

Named of Agency (Ministry) ……

Title of Office Held ----------

1. How can you describe the leadership style of President Mohammed Buhari from 2015 to 2019 and from 2019 to 2023?

2. Do you see the leadership style of Mohammed Buhari suitable to political development in Nigeria?

3. How would you rate the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari in:

i. Rule of Law with an instance (s):

ii. Fight against Corruption with an instance (s):

iii. Security with an instance (s):

iv. Economy:

4. In spite of the people's perception on the Buhari ant-corruption stance, the country witnessed the lowest score in international corruption rating index in 2022 since 2012. What reason(s) could you adduce for this in view of the acclaimed integrity of President Mohammed Buhari?

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5. What is your perception on independence and integrity of the MDAs under President Mohammed Buhari?

6. Do you see MDAs as means of political development? If yes, How and Why.

7. How can MDAs be strengthened for political development.

9. in this part of the world, it is becoming more confusing to operationalize strong institution in isolation to political will of every elected office holder, under this context; which should be more prioritized, political will of leaders to do the just thing or institutional capability to foster a strong will?

10. What are the challenges faced by MDAs under the president Mohammed Buhari administration?

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Appendix 2: Respondents for Interviews

1. Key Informant Interview. Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), 2024.
2. Key Informant Interview. Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR), 2024.
3. Key Informant Interview. Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), 2024.
4. Key Informant Interview. Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS), 2024.
5. Key Informant Interview. Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC), 2024.
6. Key Informant Interview. National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), 2024.
7. Key Informant Interview. Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC), 2024.

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Bio-data

A. Personal Data

Full Name:	Julius Fola OLALEKAN
Address:	Plot 5, Block 1, Estate 10, Redemption City of God, Mowe, Ogun State.
E-mail:	folalekan07@yahoo.com
Phone No:	+2348033935662
Date of Birth:	November 12, 1967
Place of Birth:	Iseyin, Oyo State
Nationality:	Nigeria
Next of Kin:	Mrs Oluwatoyin Olufunke Olalekan Plot 5, Block 1, Estate 10, Redemption City of God, Mowe, Ogun State

B. Educational Background

Educational Institutions Attended with Dates and Qualifications

- PhD in Public Administration - Lead City University, Ibadan. 2025
- Master's in Public Administration (MPA), Delta State University 2012 – 2014
- Centre For Management Development 2003
- Redeemed Christian Bible College, Diploma in Theology 1998
- B.Tech in Forestry & Wood Technology, FUTA. 1988 – 1994
- Baptist Grammar School, Koro, Iseyin. WAEC 1981-1986
- Baptist Primary School, Ilado, Iseyin 1975 – 1981

B. Working Experience with Dates

- Special Assistant to the General Overseer, RCCG 1995 – Date
- Consultant with Nigerian Bottling Company 1995-1999

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● College of Forestry, Jos, NYSC 1994-1995

D. Awards and Fellowships (if any)

Nil

E. Membership

Nil

F. Publications

Julius Fola Olalekan, & Modupe Albert. (2025). *Impact of Institutional Capability on Political Development in Nigeria from 2015 to 2023*. **Journal of African Resilience and Advancement Research,** *8*(2). https://doi.org/10.70382/hujarar.v8i2.006

Julius Olalekan & Modupe Albert, (2025), *Impact of Presidential Leadership on National Development in Nigeria from 2015 to 2023,* **AJIAD**, (Upcoming)

G. Major Conferences Attended with Dates

Nil

H. References

Dr Adebola Alade
Department of Politics & International Relations
Lead City University, Ibadan
+2348033987163
alade.adebola@lcu.edu.ng

Dr Modupe Albert
Department of Politics & International Relations
Lead City University, Ibadan.
+2348132552540
albert.modupe@lcu.edu.ng

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Signature **Date**

The University Compliance Certification

This is to certify that the thesis written by **Julius Fola OLALEKAN** with matriculation number. **LCU/PG/002346** in the Department of Politics and International Relations, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences, Lead City University, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria, Lead City University Ibadan is in full compliance with the approved University format and style.

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Signature **Date**

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