LEADERSHIP, GOOD GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
The success or failure of governance in any regime in power is basically determined by the quality of leadership of such administration. The study of the connection between leadership and good governance for national development has become essential with the restoration of democratic governance in Nigeria. In the first ten years of Nigeria Fourth Republic, leadership and good governance has faced a number of problems. Political leadership has been severely hampered by corruption, electoral fraud, resource mismanagement, and underdeveloped infrastructure. This paper examines the failure of governance and the challenges of leadership for national development in Nigeria. It also x-rayed the concepts of leadership, good governance and development. The method of data collection for this work is secondary data. The paper recommended the use of electronic voting systems and the demonstration of material and human security as solutions to problems. Others include removing the immunity provision for those holding political office and reorienting the country. The paper concluded that transparent, committed and transformational leadership is highly required for good governance and sustainable development in Nigeria.

Introduction

The quest for quality leadership and good governance is the aspiration of citizens in most countries of the world. This is because the task of harnessing scarce resources in pursuit of human and national development is related to the quality and output of leadership (Richardson, 2018). The history of the development of great nations suggests that versatile leaders played a vital role in the transformation of their societies through good governance. According to the history of how great nations come to be, adaptable leaders were essential in transforming their communities through effective government. As a result, a country's governance may be seen in the standard of life for its people and its overall progress.

Abraham Lincoln, for instance, stands out in the United States of America (USA) because of the valiant leadership he demonstrated throughout the 1861-1865 American Civil War. As a result, the union was preserved, democracy was upheld, and slavery was abolished. Determination in the quest for a more equitable and perfect union led to the accomplishment of these great feast. In the end, Lincoln left a legacy that is still revered in the United States of America (USA) today as a successful example of democratic government.

Otto Von Bismarck, one of the most important political personalities in German history, is responsible for the unification of East and West Germany. Helmut Kohl, who oversaw the unification of Germany in 1990 and guaranteed the enthronement of a federal system of government, expedited his efforts. This was seen as crucial to the nations stable constitutional democracy and effective leadership.

African Nations have also produced visionary leaders who have helped their nations progress in beneficial ways. With his history of fighting against apartheid, South African Nelson Mandela is viewed as one of the greatest figure of black freedom. Eventually, he was honored as the first democratically elected president of South Africa in 1994. His outstanding leadership serves as a metaphor for the fight of oppressed people all across the world. Through a seamless political transition, he was able to guide South Africa towards the goals of sustainable development and good governance.

Despite Nigeria's rich resource endowment, she has consistently ranked low in various international assessments on human development and good governance. The United Nations Programme, Human Development Index (UNDP-HDI) in its 2007/2008 report ranked Nigeria 158 out of 177 countries (NEPAD, 2008). Nigeria was also ranked 11 out of 16 in West Africa in 2009 Ibrahim index of African Governance (IIAG). It is estimated that about 70 percent of 150 million Nigerians live below poverty level of less than one US Dollar per day. These low economic and development indices have been attributed to poor leadership and absence of good governance in Nigeria.

Nigeria has seen a number of ineffective governments with various leaders disappointing the people. The people have no say over how they are governed and/how accountable their government is to them. For instance, the military rule relegated democratic institutions, culture of accountability and transparency and was characterized by the absence of citizen's participation. Unfortunately, under the democratic government, the imperative of good governance has been scuttled; the imperative of politics and administration of representation, using the ballot box, is being compromised. Onogu (2013), maintained that the former chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) Prof. AttahiruJega went apologetic over the stalemated governorship election in Anambra State on the 16th November, 2013. He further maintained that Jega regretted that the commission ended up shattering the expectations of Nigerians in its conduct of the poll and failed to meet the expectation of Nigerians in its performance. Hence, peoples wish and desires with regard to electing their representatives and consequently revealing their preferences for the character of government, was denied.

Literature Review

The concept of leadership

Leadership is the process of directing, coordinating and influencing the actions of organized groups towards goal-setting, goal-attainment, and problem solving. It entails taking the initiative or starting new structures and procedures, and it is invariably a function of the leader and the situational variable.

According to Eneh (2011), some developing countries have surpassed Nigeria in terms of development, and Nigeria now is significantly more advanced than it was in 1960. This is due to the fact that there are many unfinished projects and policy missteps in the country, which can be attributed to the leadership crisis the country is currently experiencing. Mimiko (2011) opined that many years of political perambulation and poor leadership have hampered Nigeria's progress, accentuate weak governance, and fostered the people's alienation from the political process.

According to Teller (2012), leadership plays a critical role in economic development, but the leadership that should engineer progress should enhance the average living standard of the population by carefully developing both human and non-human resources for useful purposes.

Dike (2009) distinguished between institutional and societal leadership. Since its independence, Nigeria has been led by institutional leaders who utilize their position of authority and influence to advance their own personal agendas.

Achebe (1998) reiterates that, none of these can be remedied without competent leadership in place. Tribalism, corruption, indiscipline, social injustice, and preference for mediocrity over greatness are only a few examples. Achebe sees that leadership is a sacred trust, no one gets into

it highly because it demands qualities of mind and discipline of the body and far beyond the needs of ordinary citizens (Achebe, 2010).

Leadership is the capacity to inspire people to work effectively and enthusiastically towards predetermined goals. The act of leading is done by someone who has been appointed to or elected to do so. Because the masses cannot lead, leadership evolved as a result of every nation and society being organized or attempting to be organized. Influencing a group of individuals to achieve their shared goals is what leadership is all about. Optionally, that group may even be the entire world or a Nation (Ojo,2012).

Good Governance

Good governance is the process and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised. The process by which governments are selected, held accountable, monitored and replaced; the capacity of governments to manage resources efficiently, and to formulate, implement and enforce sound policies and regulations; and the respect for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them (Onigbide,2007). According to UNDP (1997), Good governance refers to the exercise of authority in the management of a country's affairs, comprising the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and mediate their differences. It encompasses the political, economic, legal, judicial, social and administrative authority and therefore includes government, the private sector and the civil society. It also includes both a broad strategy and a particular set of initiatives to strengthen the institutions of civil society with the objective of making government more accountable, open, transparent and more democratic (Abe,2010).

Good governance can be linked to the extent to which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order, deliver public services, able to create an enabling public environment for productive activities and equitable in its conduct. Adamolekun (2002) views governance as the exercise of political power to manage nation affairs. He listed the main elements of governance as rule of law, freedom of expression and association, electoral legitimacy, accountability, transparency and development oriented leadership. Governance means making and managing public policy, organizing people, controlling subordinates to exercise skills and commitment to achieve excellence in a given set of assignments. It is concerned with ensuring that constituents follow established process while instruments of governance provide means to maintain accountability. In the realm of public affairs, governance refers to the range of policies public officials enact and the actions they take to manage the affairs of society (Ukaegbu, 2010). The need for good governance has been emphasized as a precondition for development because it can yield positive incremental changes.

Development

Development is a process of societal advancement in which improvements in peoples wellbeing are produced by solid alliances between all sectors, cooperative bodies, and other social groups.

Gboyega (2003) see development as an idea that encompasses all efforts to enhance the circumstances of human existence. It contributes to a sustainable improvement in the material well-being of all citizens, not just the most influential and wealthy, so that present spending does not jeopardize the future. It also demands the eradication or significantly lessening of poverty and access disparities to life's pleasant goods. It seeks to improve personal physical security and livelihood and expansion of life chances. Development is typically understood to include not only economic growth but also some idea of equitable distribution, provision of healthcare, education, housing, and other essential services, all with the goal of improving the quality of life for both the individual and the community. Development is defined as social, cultural, economic, and political change that must actually be accompanied by the ability of the people to control their destiny and relate to the outside world on an equal footing with their ability to conquer and control their environment without the aid of external assistance.

According to Rodney (1976), all cultures experience development as a natural phenomenon. Development refers to growth, adjustments, or deliberate change. Development is the process of introducing a certain kind of social change into a system in order to develop a better production method

and a better social structure. It might entail structural changes to a nations politics, society, economics and culture. Development in human society is not a one side process rather a multi-sided issue. It is an increase in skill and ability. However, sustainable development does not only involve capital accumulation and economic growth only but the conditions in which people in a country have adequate food, job and income inequality. It is a process of bringing fundamental and sustainable changes in the society.

As an example, Todaro (1980) defines development as a multi- dimensional process involving changes in structures, attitudes, and institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the decrease of inequality, and the eradication of absolute poverty. The ability to meet basic requirements, or the capacity to obtain appropriate food, shelter, health care, and protection, is one of the three key principles of development. Along with freedom in the sense that individuals and society as a whole have a say in how values are distributed in society, this also includes the perception of an individuals or groups self-worth and regard as a respected part of society.

Theoretical Framework

The theory adopted for this paper is the Social Contract Theory. The essential kernel of this theory is that governance is a contract between the citizens and the state. It is however, important to highlight that the various intellectual precursors of the theory held divergent perceptions on the nature of the contract between the citizens and the state. The relevance of this theory to this work cannot be overemphasized. This is because it captures the interplay between leadership and good governance which is the hallmark of the social contract between the citizens and the state. It is on this basis that it is adopted for this work.

Thomas Hobbes Social Contract Theory appeared for the first time in Leviathan published in the year 1651 during the Civil War in Britain. Thomas Hobbes legal theory is based on social contract. According to him, prior to social contract, man lived in the state of nature. Man's life in the state of nature was one of fear and selfishness. Man lived in chaotic condition of constant fear. Life in the state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. Man has a natural desire for security and order. In order to secure self-protection and self-preservation, and to avoid misery and pain, man entered into a contract. This idea of self-preservation and protection are inherent in man's nature and in order to achieve this, they voluntarily surrendered all their rights and freedoms to some authority by this contract who must command obedience. As a result of this contract, the mightiest authority is to protect and preserve their lives and property. This led to the emergence of the institution of the ruler or monarch, who shall be the absolute head. Subjects had no rights against the absolute authority or the sovereign and he is to be obeyed in all situations however bad or unworthy he might be. However, Hobbes placed moral obligations on the sovereign who shall be bound by natural law. Hence, it can be deduced that, Hobbes was a supporter of absolutism. In the opinion of Hobbes, law is dependent upon the sanction of the sovereign and the government without sword are but words and of no strength to secure a man at all.

John Locke's social contract theory is different from that of Thomas Hobbes. According to him, man lived in the state of nature, but his concept of the state of nature is different as contemplated by Hobbesian theory. Locke's view about the state of nature is not as miserable as that of Hobbes. It was reasonably good and enjoyable, but the property was not secure. He considered state of nature as a golden age. It was a state of peace, goodwill, mutual assistance, and preservation. In that state of nature, men had all the rights which nature could give them. Locke justifies this by saying that in the state of nature, the natural condition of mankind was a state of perfect and complete liberty to conduct one's life as one best see fit. It was free from the interference of others. In the state of nature, all were equal and independent. This does not mean, however, that it was a state of license. It was one not free to do anything at all that one pleases, or even anything that one judges to be in one's interest.

Challenges posed by Leadership on Good Governance for National Development in Nigeria

Nigeria, a nation endowed with abundant national and human resources has good democratic institutions, plural society, vibrant civil society organizations and critical mass media among others. These ingredients have the structure and capacity to make leadership and good governance thrive well in Nigeria.

However, it is important to note that, Nigeria's leadership and governance have remained incapable in the improvement of the socio-economic and political development of the country since independence in 1960, particularly after the first republic. The political terrain has been unstable with lots of challenges militating against the genuine realization of the system. These challenges are:

1. **Ethno-Religious Factor:** This is one of the forces that have contributed greatly to socio-political instability in Nigeria. The latest sectarian turbulence in the country and the clamour for the presidency by the varied ethnic groups indicate that the society is still balkanized by tribal and religious sentiments (Victor, 2013). For instance, one of the powerful politicians in the North was quoted as saying that the Northern States will make the polity very ungovernable for Jonathan if he did not relinquish power to the North. Each ethnic nationality in Nigeria has its own faith, interest, culture, language and level of aspiration and these forces seem to affect the economic fate of each group. In addition, they make the creation of a common identity difficult thereby exacerbating the difficulty in attaining a true democracy in the society. Indeed, this is a serious challenge to the leadership of this society.

2. **Absence of True Federalism or Defined Governmental System:** Lack of true federal structure in Nigeria is a stumbling block to the nation's socio-economic and political development. The federal government is overbearing as it controls about 80% of the country's resources leaving state and local government at its mercy. Where states have the power to control their resources and to have access to the necessary funds for development programs, development is achieved. In fact, it is only true federation that can guarantee fairness and justice in the society. More importantly, it enables each locality to progress according to the aspirations of the people. A durable and enforceable people's constitution protects the people and determines socio-political activities in the society.

3. **Abject Poverty:** Continued poverty through mass unemployment is a barrier to Nigeria's economic development. A society of beggars, prostitutes, parasites and bandits cannot develop. A hungry man can never rational. He cannot know peace or stability (Ake, 1996). This shows that any individual deprived of the basic necessities of life cannot participate effectively in the democratic process. A poor person is therefore not full-fledged social individual as he or she lacks the basic freedom to engage in the life activities. One can safely argue that poverty is a hindrance to development. In order to eradicate poverty, the leadership of this country has formulated one policy or another such as National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS), is aimed at poverty alleviation.

4. **Negative Approach to Leadership:** Nigeria's fundamental approach to leadership is troublesome. According to Adeyemi (2012), in Nigeria the primary goal of assuming leadership position is self-enrichment. Whereas Nigerian leaders have the power to educate, inspire and provide the people with the resources to advocate for the causes they believe in, they have failed in their responsibilities to lead by good examples. According to Achebe (1998) in his work the problem with Nigeria, concludes that Nigeria's problem is bad leadership and evidence on ground has consistently shown that he is correct. Certainly, it is leaders and not the poor rural dwellers that are responsible for Nigeria's underdevelopment. In every country, it is the responsibility of the leadership to protect the political, social and economic interest of the citizens.

5. **Lack of Vision and Mission:** Leading a country involves making policies and finding solutions to problems, ensuring stability of the polity, and guiding the society to prosperity. But a large number of the political leaders of Nigeria lack the vision, mission, the passion and the character to effectively govern the state and deal with the crumbling economy. They do not have a clear understanding of their responsibilities, as some of them are insensitive to the people's sufferings. Nigerians are tired of complaining to those who are leading without listing to them. As Bell and Smith, (2002), opined "leaders can point to many reasons why they are not good listeners, but none of these reasons excuses them from the obligation to listen". Leaders who listen are however, known to respond well to criticisms and crisis, build more loyalty, and increase the morale of the followers.

Listening is a way of showing that a leader cares about others. Due to the fact that "power belongs to the people", no political leader in the advanced countries would function effectively without the support of the people. Thus they constantly have their ears on ground for information that often guides them in policy formulations and implementations. The world's leading democracies are what they are today because their leaders are innovative and always searching for solutions to their social, political and economic problems. This is not the case with Nigeria, where evidence of bad leadership is all over the landscape as the leaders have not gone beyond a promise for change. They are only good at drumming the country's problems without finding the solutions. The institutions and infrastructure that are the bed rock of the economy are allowed to rot away leading to weak economy, rising unemployment, inflation, poverty and crimes.

6. **Electoral Malpractice:** This problem has become a popular phenomenon in Nigerian politics. As a matter of fact, an average Nigerian believes that election cannot be won except it is rigged. Yes, this is the extent to which our electoral system has deteriorated. The Anambra November 16, 2013 Gubernatorial election is a fresh case where the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)'s chairman AttahiruJega publicly regrets shoddy conduct of the election as stated earlier. Electoral malpractice is not a recent phenomenon. In fact, it has existed for long. Our leaders are the archects of electoral fraud. For instance, in the first republic, the leadership of various political parties were accused of election rigging. The same happened in the second republic. The fourth republic was also, not different. If by now, our leaders, the so called politicians are not ready to face free and fair election, it is doubtful if good governance can be entrenched by these same set of people who are so desperate in their bid to clinch to power by all means.

7. **Corruption:** According to John Campbell, U.S.A. Ambassador to Nigeria, corruption is a clog in the wheel of any nation struggling for the enthronement and consolidation of democracy and good governance (Punch July 7th 2005). This shows that development in Nigeria cannot be predicted on a fragile and unstable political base. Corruption is a devastator that has greatly eroded the fundamental values of democracy and its essential principles.

In his view, he maintained that corruption is a practical problem involving the outright theft, embezzlement of funds or other appropriation of state property, nepotism and granting of favours to personal acquaintance. It has been argued that corruption involves behavior's which deviate from the morale and constitutional requirements.

Corruption in its popular concept is defined as the exploitation of public position, resources and power for private or selfish gain. For instance, Muhammad (2013) defined corruption as "the betrayal of public trust for individual or group gain". In the same vein, Obayelu (2007) identifies it as "efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means for private gain at public expense or a misuse of public power for private benefits".

According to Ogundiya (2010), events in Nigeria since 1999 have shown that the waves of reversal have been contending with Nigeria's democratic project. Consequently, democracy remains grossly unstable and the future seems to be very bleak because of rampant bureaucratic and political difficulties. Corruption has reached a level such that an average Nigerian now possibly associates democracy with it. The consequences of political corruption are potently manifest: cyclical crisis of legitimacy, fragile party structure, institutional decay, chronic economic problem and unemployment, and above all general democratic volatility.

Corruption in this country is generally characterized by looting of funds and wealth which are kept secretly, i.e capital flight, misappropriation and mismanagement of public funds. Others are money laundering, drug and child trafficking, illegal arms deal; gratification which involves monetary, material or physical favor as a condition or reward for performing official duty. It further includes official abuse of office in which an official suppresses and violates an oath of office and nepotism which is granting underserved favors to one's relations. The corruption scandal in the oil sector totaling ₦1.7 trillion from 1999-2011, police pension

fund of N18 billion as well as the James Ibori₦450 billion case of money laundering in London and most recently the ₦255 million two BMW bullet proof cars are some of the celebrated corruption cases in Nigeria.

8. **Security Question:** From 1999-date, the country has been home to lots of ethnoreligious crises, sectarian Mayhem, electoral violence etc. questioning and shaking the survival of our democracy. Notable among them are, the Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani disturbance in Shagamu, Lagos State (1999-2000), the Urhobo/Itsekiri, Ife/Modakeke crisis (2000-2001) the Jukun/TIV conflict (2000), incessant turbulence in Jos, the erstwhile home of peace and tourism, the post-election violence in the Northern parts of Nigeria (2011) and constant sectarian turmoil exemplified by the activities of Boko Haram. The high level of kidnapping in the Niger Delta zone, particularly in Aba, the commercial Centre of the East. The x-ray of the above upheavals will indicate that, our country is surely under great challenge making Dauda and Avidime (2007) to argue that the security situation in the country is a major obstacle to our socio-economic and political development. According to them, "the tense security situation in all parts of the country makes nonsense of whatever effort that has been made to justify the sustenance of human and economic development.

   Other areas of challenge to the leadership and good governance of this country include, the incumbency factor, the politics of god fatherism, disjointed information, lack of rule of law and absence of accountability and transparency, (Muhammad, 2013).

9. **Absence of development-oriented leadership:** Poor leadership was widely acknowledged as a significant contributor to Nigeria's development and governance crisis since independence. The majority of Nigerians were not dedicated to the advancement of their country. The development literatures research on transformational leaders who have dramatically decreased poverty in their individual nations over the past 25 yearsdoes not consistently come to any conclusions about the causes of the successes. The successful leaders in Chile, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan all had a strong commitment to growth as well as a clear vision and set of objectives (Adamolekun, 2002).

10. **Absence of Accountability and Transparency:** A government is responsible when its officials (both elected and appointed) are responsive to the requests of the governed. This is to a large extent missing in Nigeria. Key measures for implementing accountability include adherence to the rule of law and independent judiciary.

However, Nigeria has not performed well in this region; corruption is uncontrolled at all levels, counting Municipal, State, and Federal. Also, there's a solid relationship between corruption and a generalized lack of accountability and openness. The authorities misuse their positions of control for individual benefit. Despite the reality that corruption is a worldwide plague, Nigeria seems to endure the foremost from it. Everybody appears to think that this nation encompasses a culture of corruption.

Conclusion

In all honesty, overcoming the difficulties of leadership and governance in Nigeria today is possible and attainable, but it depends on the leader's readiness to apply the values of equity, justice, and fairness to theirpublic conduct as well as the prudent use of public funds, while putting the needs of the average person and the necessity of creating a society that accommodates all at the center of our development goals. The followers must play a significant part in ensuring that the required excellent governance through effective leadership is accomplished by displaying morality and courage rather than sycophancy and praise singing, all of which calls for commitment.

Recommendation

Corruption leads to poor governance and low growth and hampers development. The government should therefore improve on their efforts toward tackling corruption by straightening the anti-crime agencies it has established. The war against corruption should be made clear. Such rules must not be personalized and selectively applied against

opposition, but rather should be applicable to all and sundry, irrespective of position, ethnic nationalities or religious affiliation.

The two anti-corruption commissions set up i.e Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), must be totally independent of the executive and must be given the necessary powers devoid of any external influence.

Poverty and hunger are national problems. The government should focus on providing good economic environment and invest in human development, including health care, education, skill training and acquisition of advanced technology. Skills acquisition would enable the poor to learn both various skills with which to find employment and improve their lives. An effective government is therefore the root of achieving economic growth and development in any society.

There is need for nation-building. Nigeria could become an economic powerhouse and command the attention of the international community only if it can give proper attention to education and technology.

Again, the government at all levels should evolve policies of inclusion rather than exclusion, that is, policies that will carry everybody along rather than policies that will protect the interest of a few. These will enable people to have a sense of belonging and by extension, enable them to participate actively in the political process.

Moreso, a true federalism should be entrenched and sustained in our constitution. This is to give the federating units and the minority groups equal opportunities in the sharing of the nation's resources. More importantly, the government should downsize their control and allow the private sector to come into play as to industrialize the country and create employment for our teaming population. The security apparatus of the state should be intensified. The security agencies of the state should be well equipped and their welfare should as well be improved.

Finally, our leaders should be good listeners and be able to re-orientate our moral values for the better participation of the citizenry.

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