

2022

Understanding the Leadership Crisis in Africa Using the Case of Nigeria

Jones Oladehinde Arogbofa
Walden University

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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Jones Arogbofa

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Walden University
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Abstract

Understanding the Leadership Crisis in Africa Using the Case of Nigeria

by

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PhD, University of Ibadan, 2022

MA, University of Ibadan, 2015

MMAS(Strategic), United States Command and General Staff College, 1992

MSc, University of Alabama, 1985

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration – Global Leadership

Walden University

May 2022

Abstract

Leadership effectiveness is instrumental in the socioeconomic and political development of any society. In Africa, ineffective leadership has resulted in crises of varying degrees, with poor development visible in the society. The purpose of this qualitative case study was to understand individual lived experiences of leadership crisis in Nigeria, specifically, and its impact on the relationship between the leaders and their followers, in order to extrapolate to the continent. Using transformational leadership theory, the study sought to understand breakdowns in trust networks between leaders and followers, perceptions of leadership accountability, failure of leaders to align their campaign promises with their various political parties, and detachment of leaders from followers after winning elections into political offices. A phenomenological approach was used to purposively interview 17 political leaders and 18 followers and data were thematically analyzed. Results of the study revealed that corruption, political thuggery, nepotism, and faulty electoral laws have encouraged monetization of the electoral processes, under-aged voting, undemocratic leadership selection processes (at the political party levels), and other electoral malpractices. Furthermore, some participants viewed the problem from the electorates who are mostly poor, uneducated, and illiterate as easily swayed by ethno-religious sentiments. To aptly address these problems, the study proffered immediate, intermediate, and long-term recommendations for Nigeria to engender leadership with minimal crises. The positive social change implication of the study is the implementation of an all-inclusive leadership education policy that will aid in stemming the crises associated with leadership in Nigeria.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to God Almighty, without whom I would never have achieved this great milestone. I further dedicate this work to those few Nigerians whose transformational leadership strides stimulated my interest in this academic journey at Walden University. Indeed, Nigeria of today has a lot to learn from such great leaders.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Background

Leadership ineffectiveness, which sometimes manifests through abuse of power, poor communication, and inexperience, have resulted in socioeconomic and political crises associated with Africa and specifically Nigeria (Toor & Ogunlana, 2009; Itri & Lawson, 2016). As such, what has been obtainable in Nigeria, like in many African countries, is at best *rulership* or *misleadership* characterized by bureaucratic bungling and leadership ineptitude (Folarin, 2013).

In his challenge to researchers, Pienaar (2011) opined that it would make a lot of sense if researchers attempt to better understand whether lack of skills, the personality profiles of leaders, or the relationship between leaders and followers determine the ineffectiveness or effectiveness of leadership. Consistent with Pienaar's suggestion, Leslie (2009) posited that leaders become more effective when they develop essential skills that will enable them to direct the activities of their followers toward the goals of the organization. In view of this, Leslie stressed that a leader working towards achieving the goals and aspirations of their organization should first develop the ability to build interpersonal relationship between themselves and their followers. Also, the leader should develop the ability to understand human needs and more especially the needs of their immediate followers. Furthermore, the leader is expected to develop the ability to remain calm during the period of difficulty, and should develop self-awareness, strategic planning skills, inspiring commitment, and the ability to effectively motivate followers to achieve the objectives of the organization.

Conversely, Ringer (2018) posited that ineffective leaders are those who foster unhealthy competition, by focusing their attention only on what is wrong as against what is working. Ineffective leaders take all the credit for any feat achieved by the organization, they control everything in the organization, and focus exclusively on the organizational goals and while caring less about the motivation of their followers. However, based on Victor Vroom's 1964 expectancy theory, Kuada (2010) as cited by Dartey-Baah (2014, p. 207) opined that leadership success entails paying attention to the welfare and needs of their followers through rewards and incentives.

In his contribution, Chuka (2003) observed that because the responsibility of developing and uniting a country rests on its leadership, the performance of a leader in any society reflects the support such leader receives from his followers. Providing sustainable development in a country consequently also depends on the stability and unity existing in such country. And where the leadership fails to meet the expectations of its followers, the tendency is that the people will gather in solidarity to unleash civil disobedience, otherwise known as revolution, to overthrow the government as was the case in Libya and the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt. Moreover, most Nigerian leaders who performed below expectation rather than evolve better ways of governance, continued to invent ways to remain in power longer than expected. Hence, corruption, assassination, and crisis have become commonplace.

In their contribution to the discussion, Salami and Kehinde (2012) opined that Nigerian leaders, like most African leaders, often come to power at old ages with poor leadership abilities, visionless tendencies, and in most cases low mental capacity and

limited experiences that will enable them to lead their countries on the path of sustainable development. Consequently, most constituted leaders in Nigeria were characterized by political and economic instability and numerous ethnic, communal, and religious crises.

Ebegbulem (2012) shared the views of Salami et al. and argued that Nigeria, since independence, has continued to grapple with poor leadership due to inability of good individuals to occupy the position of leadership. He contended that both military and the civilian rule in Nigeria are interested in self-accumulation of wealth to the detriment of national development. The research findings of Kabashiki (2014) pointedly revealed that there is lack of effective leadership in Nigeria, which also cut across sub-Saharan Africa, thus, hindering meaningful development in the region. He explained that the ineffectiveness of leadership in Nigeria results in lack of effective social policies, thereby encouraging intellectual flight to other countries across the world in pursuit of better opportunities.

Another perspective by Ahmadu and Cheri (2013) affirmed that the mere practice of democracy by a country is not a guarantee that such country will witness tremendous human development. According to them this is evident in Nigeria and most African countries practicing democracy where economic development remains at its lowest level compared to more developed countries. In other words, Ahmadu and Cheri opined that democratic leadership in Nigeria and in some African countries have failed largely to bring about the needed sustainable development. For example, they clarified that leadership crisis has manifested in Nigeria and other African countries in the form of

poor healthcare delivery, infrastructural decay, military coups d'état, ethnic conflicts, religious crises, corruption, poverty, and unemployment.

David (2015) in his input opined that in Nigeria and other countries in Africa, the character of the state rules out the politics of moderation that mandates politics of lawlessness and extremism. Thus, the politicization of sectarian differences, the militarization of the state and political culture, the privatization of violence, and the personalization of state apparatus by those in power are the pointers to the very nature of Nigerian politics and democracy.

Within the Nigerian context, for example, Arowolo and Aluko (2012) further emphasized that after the demise of military dictatorship and a representative democracy was enthroned in 1999 in Nigeria, the citizenry expected the emergence of better governance that would engender transformational change. In contrast, the reality is that the democratic arrangement in Nigeria currently serves the interests of a few rather than the majority of the people.

While many of these studies have spoken eloquently about the various reasons why leadership fails in Nigeria, there is clear evidence to argue that leaders (especially political leaders) in Nigeria are totally detached from those they lead. It has been observed by some political commentators (Egwemi, 2012; Nwagboso & Duke, 2012) that before assuming leadership offices, the leaders in Nigeria bond with their followers with campaign promises that are supportive of the public's needs. However, after taking office, they disconnect from their followers by not keeping their campaign promises. As a result, a leadership gap has grown between the leaders and the followers. To drive home

this point, Mboup (2008) posited that campaign promises when unfulfilled remain the precursors to the failures of leadership which sometimes manifest in “deeply rooted post-electoral constitutional and political impasse; food shortages; sky rocketed inflation; and political and moral degeneration of the elites” (p. 98).

Olalere (2015) further observed that these leadership problems could be borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is possible by their various political parties’ manifestoes or because leaders in most African states are hardly held accountable for the campaign promises. He further posited that although the leaders, especially in Nigeria, often fail to align their campaign promises with their parties’ manifestoes, there is a consensus on what is considered the most important solution to the country’s socioeconomic and political crises: problems of state legitimacy resulting in weak political systems, poor management, and leadership abuse of power (p. 181).

Based on the arguments of these scholars, the genesis of the leadership crisis in Nigeria among others, therefore, may arguably be traced to the campaign promises leaders make before being elected into political offices on what they will do to transform their society and nation. Consequently, it is believed that when elected into public offices, the leaders become aware of the reality of the situation and then realize the difficulties in actualizing the campaign promises that counter political culture in Nigeria. There have also been some schools of thought (Anazodo, 2015; Nwagboso & Duke, 2012) which asserted that the failure to fulfill these promises could also be because they have ulterior motives and personal interests for vying for political leadership positions. They premised

their argument on the assumption that these leaders purposely vie for leadership positions with purely a mindset of coming to power to corruptly enrich themselves and abuse the public trust for their individual gains (Egwemi) rather than delivering on their promises to the electorates.

Other political commentators (Ochulor, 2011; Lawal & Johnson, 2012), further opined that leaders' failure to fulfill their pre-election promises can be arguably premised on the belief that they have some personal agenda such as coming to fulfill some ethnic, religious, or expansionist ambitions. It is also a debate among scholars of politics (Moghalu, 2017; & Okoye, 2013), that these leaders are inadequately equipped professionally, academically, and morally enough to understand the concept and demands of leadership. If not, they wonder why African leaders, particularly those in Nigeria, most often delink themselves from their political followers and also renege on the promises they made to the electorate while campaigning. This may also arguably be the reason why most of the followers get frustrated and subsequently lose confidence in their leaders – given room for social disobedience, and other serious insecurity challenges that most often consume both leaders and the electorate.

In view of the foregoing therefore, this case study was an attempt to explore the nature of African leadership that results in political, ethnic, and socioeconomic developmental crises. In doing this, a brief background of the study will highlight what is often conceived to be the root of leadership crisis in Africa with particular reference to Nigeria. Thereafter, the statement of the problem, which is an attempt to present a case that demonstrates the seriousness of the leadership crisis as a problem in Nigeria that is

worthy of scientific study, will be discussed. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the purpose of the study, the research questions, the conceptual framework at a glance, the nature of the study, and the definitions of the key terms in the research study (such as *leadership, leadership effectiveness, crisis, leadership crisis, democracy and governance*). Also, this chapter examines the assumptions, the scope and delimitations, the limitations, and finally the significance of the study.

Problem Statement

African countries, with few exceptions, have been afflicted by crisis of leadership (Bogert 2010; & Moghalu, 2017) over a long period of time. This problem is multifaceted and has become even more chronic in countries like Congo, Rwanda, Liberia, and Nigeria, among others. Bad leadership, especially with tendencies for corruption, has been identified as the bane of good governance in Nigeria and other African countries (Ebegbulem, 2012). Indeed, there exists enormous scholarly works that attempt to explain the dearth of sound political leadership in Africa (Global Agenda Council in Institutional Governance systems, 2015; Hao & Yazdanifard, 2015; Moghalu, 2017). In concrete terms, the corrupt military and civilian administrations have mismanaged and misdirected the affairs of Nigeria through their ineffective leadership since independence (Ogbeidi, 2012, p.2). With specific reference to the Nigerian state, this research further identifies abject poverty, inadequate health facilities, unemployment, lack of direction, neglect and drift, fraud and insensitivity to the plight of the citizens (Ebegbulem p. 221) as products of leadership crisis.

While most previous research has largely focused on the causes and effects of leadership failure in Nigeria and elsewhere around the continent, adequate empirical studies have not been devoted to interrogate the breakdown in the trust networks of both the political leaders and their followers. It is on this premise that the study sought to investigate the widening gap between the governed and their governors, as a critical factor for explaining the leadership crisis in Africa.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to understand individual experiences of leadership crisis in Nigeria, as it relates to the relationship between the leaders and their followers, toward transformational change. According to Pienaar (2011), leaders across the world, and Nigeria in particular, are considered ineffective because of their inability to manage their emotion and maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationship with their followers.

Furthermore, the data collection process for this dissertation utilized in-depth interviews in an effort to ascertain the experiences that contributed to the participants' perception of leadership crisis in Nigeria. In developing the interview guide, the participants' inclusion criteria included participants' leadership experiences, political knowledge, leadership philosophies, and the perception of the dominant leadership style in Africa. Consequently, the results from this study shed more light on the nature of the leadership behaviors of Nigerian leaders toward their followers. Therefore, it is expected that this work will further provide resources for policy makers and other scholars to better

understand the nature of leadership crisis in Nigeria with the hope of working toward effective leadership with little crisis.

Research Questions

The following questions have helped to establish the research focus and further the investigation for the study:

Research Question 1: What are the reasons for the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria?

Research Question 2: What are some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?

Research Question 3: How are leadership problems in Nigeria borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is in their various political parties Manifestoes?

Research Question 4: In what ways are political leaders in Nigeria totally detached from those they lead especially after elections, and how has this led to the sociopolitical crises ravaging the country today?

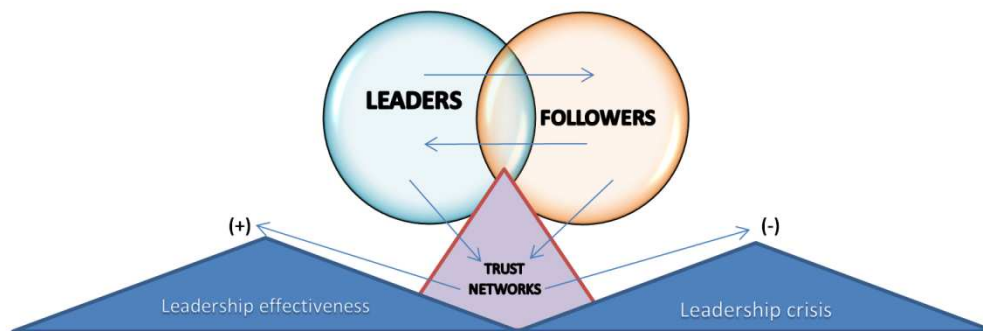
Conceptual Framework

In practice, leadership is one of the most studied social science phenomena, yet it is very difficult in its conceptualization. This is because of its complex nature and the paucity of a consensus in its description by most scholars. From the perspective of humanist thinkers like Mollazadeh et al. (2018), leadership is a purposeful process that involves change which occurs within a group of people referred to as the leaders and the

followers. It is in view of this that this research study investigated the relationship between leaders and followers in Africa with Nigeria in focus. My interest in the research topic was my deep rooted concern about the aspect of trust networks in the relationship between leaders and followers in Nigeria as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Conceptual Framework Denoting the Relationship Between Leaders and Followers



Note. Source: Researcher Generated.

For the purpose of this study, trust networks entail the coming together of both the political leaders and their followers with the aim of building common interests with high level of trust (in each another) so as to undertake activities that will bring about development and peaceful coexistence in the society. Figure 1 shows that leaders and followers interrelate to bring about change in the society. The nature of the change depends on the level of trust networks that exist between them. Consequently, while positive (+) trust network brings about effective leadership, negative (-) trust network results in leadership crisis.

Nature of the Study

The study was a qualitative research investigation into an area of leadership studies – leadership crisis in Africa with a focus on Nigeria, using a descriptive phenomenological lens. To achieve the purpose of the study, the research involved in-depth interviews of some past and present prominent Nigerian leaders and political followers that was consistent with the research approach (Crawford & Lean, 2016), in a bid to understand the lived experiences of the participants (Kafle, 2011). The descriptive phenomenological approach adopted here tends to align with Patton's (2015) suggestion that the research approach should focus on the subjective experiences of participants about a particular phenomenon (p.119). Accordingly, a combination of the researcher's personal experiences and interest in the phenomenon coupled with the intensity of the shared experiences of the research subjects have yielded better understanding of the essence of the phenomenon under study. The rationale behind the selection of this approach was for the study to obtain diverse views from participants on the phenomenon of interest.

Therefore, recruiting participants for the interviews was done purposefully. This sampling technique was apt because it was a more intellectual strategy than the simple demographic stratification of epistemological studies. It was relevant because it is suitable for studying a broad range of subjects, and specifically subjects that have relevant experiences about the phenomenon of study, and those with special expertise (Marshall, 1996). In view of the foregoing therefore, the study purposively selected and interviewed 17 past and present political leaders and 18 of their followers across Nigeria,

with the aim of getting relevant information on the phenomenon of study based on their lived experiences. Furthermore, and consistent with Ravitch and Carl (2016) and Rubin and Rubin's (2012) views, the researcher played the tripartite role of a researcher, a sociopolitical activist, and an interested individual by not interfering with aspects of the study beyond accurately reporting what was seen and heard during data collection without much distortion.

Through the use of an audiotape recorder, primary interview data from the participants' responses were collected. However, prior to the interviews, and in line with the Institutional Review Board (IRB) requirements, letters of invitation were sent to the selected participants. Subsequently, informed consent forms were sent to the participants. Meanwhile, before each interview session, participants' consents were sought by further reiterating the ethical considerations for the interview. The research and interview questions were developed based on a number of factors and criteria, but mainly from the research questions addressed by the study.

Consequently, the study involved the primary standard of data analysis consistent with this phenomenological study. That is, the researcher allowed the method of analysis to flow with the nature of the data itself which may emerge or change in the course of analysis. However, the focus was on a deep understanding of the meaning of the description that was aimed at obtaining the indispensable meaning of the experience of participants. Thus, the common approach here was to code and conceptualize the emerging themes from the data analysis. This was done with the hope of ensuring that meanings are usually understood through thematic analysis (Waters, 2017). Therefore,

the analysis here was conducted primarily by identifying common structures of the particular experience of participants based on the interview, thereby providing the researcher with better understanding of the world or the phenomenon of study (Morse, 1994).

In order to ensure rigor and trustworthiness in the research, I used member checking, triangulation, detailed transcription, systematic planning and coding (Gunawan, 2015). Furthermore, another way the study ensured trustworthiness of emerging themes in the interview during data collection and analysis in consistency with Tracy (2010), as cited by Stewart and Hitchcock (2016), was through observer effects, multiple researches, or the use of member checks. Summarily, doing all these was with the mission of providing Nigerian leaders in particular, with adequate knowledge that will help them to tow the path of leadership that will bring about transformational change and minimize leadership behavior characterized by crises.

Definition of Terms

Definition of terms especially in a research study is an attempt to throw light on the important words, phrases, or terminologies used frequently in a study, so as to give the reader a clearer view on the researcher's perspective of the key words and terms used in the research work. This is often done with the intention to minimize or erase any form of ambiguity the readers may encounter as they come across such words in the study (Eliogu-Anenih, 2018). Therefore, some key words used in this study included:

Crisis: According to Al-Dahash et al. (2016), a crisis is an unusual event which portends great risk for businesses and public trust with the severe tendencies for public

policy changes. However, for this work, crisis is viewed as any event that has the capacity to trigger instability and cause perilous situations which can affect an individual, group, community or whole society. Therefore, Crisis as it is used here is deemed to be a negative change in the safety, financial, governmental, social, or ecological affairs of a country, especially when they occur abruptly, with little or no cautioning.

Leadership Crisis: Leadership crisis as it is used here implies the manifestation of certain negative leadership behaviors by political leaders such as poor character, cluelessness, selfishness, greediness, parochialism, lack of positive vision, illogical thought, uninspiring attitude, unfairness, and high-handedness leading to destabilization in the political and the developmental structure of the society (Bankole and Olaniye, 2014).

Governance: The exercise of power and authority by people who are bestowed with the responsibility of steering the affairs of the state for the purpose of improving the life and the well-being of the citizen through enactment of policies. Therefore, the concept of governance as it is used here deals with public sector, control structure, justice, and ideals of public management (Jhon, 2014).

Trust Networks: In the opinion of Little (2010), Trust Networks is a group of people highly associated or linked by the same ties, ideologies, and interests in which a mistake, betrayal or failure of an individual(s) within the group has the capacity to impede on the achievement of the group's aims and objectives. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, trust networks entail the coming together of both the political leaders and their followers with the aim of building common interests with high level of trust (in one

another) so as to undertake activities that will bring about development and peaceful coexistence in the society.

Followers: The term ‘followers’ as it is used in this study contextually refers to those people who key-in or share the visions, ideologies, manifestoes, and agenda of the political leaders.

Electorates: The term ‘electorates’ contextually in the study means those citizens who willingly surrender their electoral mandates through their votes to the political leaders during elections.

Voters: In this study, the term ‘voters’ are used interchangeably with ‘electorates’. However, ‘voters’ are those who actually exercise their electoral franchises during elections by voting the political leaders of their choices.

Electoral Law: The ‘electoral law’ as it is used in this study contextually refers to those rules and guidelines that regulate the conduct of elections in Nigeria.

Electoral Act: The ‘electoral act’ as it is used in this study, is the enabling Act of Parliament that stipulates the provisions of the electoral law beyond even the conduct of elections.

Assumptions

Wargo (2015) observed that assumption is a critical part of qualitative research method, because the methodology relied heavily on experiences of participants in addressing the research problem. Therefore, assumption in qualitative research according to Wargo is a statement made by a researcher believing it is likely to be true, which is for the purpose of building theory. In the views of Simon (2011), in qualitative research like

this, it is an assumption that social meaning is best derived through the experience of people who are directly involved in the phenomenon of social concern, which further reinforces through the researcher's own observation. More specifically, Simon observed that a qualitative research of this nature assumes that there is a distinction between the research and the reality of the singular experience about a phenomenon. Also, that qualitative research assumption is also rooted in the fact that the study of this nature can be simulated thereby making generalization possible. In view of the foregoing therefore, this study is based on the following assumptions:

1. The participants are in position to provide appropriate information needed for this research, because of their level of experience, literacy, and awareness of the nature of leadership in Nigeria.
2. Because of the pedigree and the integrity of the people that will be interviewed for this research work, I will receive honest and candid responses which will help add value to my research.
3. All the participants selected for this research have sincere interest and willingness to give their best responses for the success of the study.
4. Furthermore, I also assumed that I will have appropriate samples, detailed knowledge of the literature, good quality data, and good field notes that will help enhance the overall quality of the study.

Scope and Delimitations of the Study

The scope of a study refers to the parameters under which the study will operate. In other words, it clarifies the domain or area of coverage by research (Simon & Goes, 2012). On the other hand, delimitation implies the choices made by a researcher on a particular study. That is, delimitation gives the researcher the leverage to set the boundaries for a particular study. In view of this, the researcher has to spell out what he or she will avoid in the course of the research. This include issues like the literature the researcher intends not to review, the population the researcher have no intention of studying, and the methodology the researcher intends not to use (Simon, 2011).

From the foregoing therefore, it is expedient to note that the subject of leadership crisis especially in Africa is a broad and complex one. Hence, the present study focused majorly on the leadership crisis in Nigeria as a case study. The research attempted to answer the question on why there are break down in trust networks between political leaders and the governed especially after elections. This helped to better understand the failure of leadership in Nigeria and why leaders often fail to fulfil their election campaign promises after been elected into political offices. This also enabled the researcher to understand whether the inability of political leaders in Nigeria to run an inclusive government by coming closer to the people is responsible for the leadership crisis in the country.

Furthermore, the target population or participants that were sampled purposively comprised of individuals who have had the opportunity to hold political leadership positions in Nigeria in the past, those presently with the mandate of controlling the affairs

of the state from the federal to the local government levels and their followers. The Participants for the study were drawn from the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria – North Central, North West, North East, South West, South East, and South South. Doing this provided better insight on the nature of leadership crisis in Africa with the view to providing recommendations to ameliorate leadership related crisis in Nigeria and Africa at large. However, the researcher only reviewed literatures that discussed leadership crisis in Africa generally and Nigeria in particular. In other words, the researcher did not review literatures that discussed leadership issues beyond the African Continent. Also, because this work was strictly qualitative in its methodology (phenomenological study), primary data were not generated through the use of questionnaire or survey, rather they were sourced through in-depth interviews to better understand the phenomenon of the study (leadership crisis) through the lived experiences of the leaders and their followers.

Limitations

Wargo (2015) opined that the limitation of a study revolves around areas in research work where the researcher have little or no control over. These areas include sample size, time for the completion of the study, issues relating to methodological constraints, and the rate of response. Therefore, the limitations of this research study in my view gyrate around issues relating to the researcher and the participants' bias.

Also, as a person who was part of a government administration in Nigeria in the past coupled with the fact that some of the participants were my close associates, there was the tendency for free communication. However, it is possible that some of the participants might give superficial or over exaggerated responses only to appeal to what I

will like to hear about them and their leadership experiences, hence, affecting the quality of data to be collected. Furthermore, because some of the participants were elderly, there was the tendency that their recollection of events, feelings, and situations of the past would have been distorted thereby constituting a great limitation to this research work.

Another limiting factor that was encountered during the conduct of this research study was time constraint especially during data collection stage. It is worth noting that the research participants for this work were individuals who are political leaders or have occupied political leadership positions in Nigeria in time past. Therefore, besides the advantage of getting concrete information from the participants' (present and former leaders in Nigeria and their followers) experience of the phenomenon of study (leadership crisis), it was also a limiting factor because of the pedigree and profile of these people.

The Significance of the Study

Many researchers observed that in Africa and Nigeria in particular, leadership failure is at the root of all the problems associated with underdevelopment of any country. For example, Nwora (2008) posited that leadership crisis is a serious problem plaguing the public sector governance in Nigeria since 1960 when the country gained her independence. And since then, all successive administrations have failed in their attempts to engender effective leadership that will bring about cordial relationship and transformational change. Thus, the resultant effects are reflected in political instability and economic recession.

The study was developed from my research interest in understanding how leadership in Nigeria can be improved upon so as to reduce leadership crisis significantly.

Hence, this research was an attempt to assess the role and implications of leaders-followers relationship on Nigerian leadership. Therefore, the study examined how the relationship between leaders and followers during pre- and post-election processes can help to bring about transformational change, and also reduce to the barest minimum, the leadership crisis in Nigeria.

The study has contributed to the policy process by reevaluating the policies of government in Nigeria and how the policies engender cordial relationship between leaders and the led. Also, it will reevaluate the leadership styles of most African leaders with specific reference to Nigeria, and how such leadership styles contribute to leadership crisis. Thus, by bringing out the elements contributing to poor leadership and leadership crisis within the Nigerian context, this study has offered meaningful suggestions that could help significantly in improving leadership and also engendering transformational change. Furthermore, the study has reviewed the previous leadership crises in Nigeria with the view to presenting data that will benefit decision-makers in designing policies that will bring about a reduction in leadership related crisis in the country. Meanwhile, the major significance of the study was to establish how leaders can relate with followers through transformational leadership behavior to reduce the crisis associated with leadership in Nigeria. Also, this research has contributed in the area of formulating leadership approaches relating to leaders-followers interaction, to bring about leadership behavior associated with minimal crisis.

It was also envisaged that the study will contribute to social change in several ways. For example, the research findings might be able to provide an enlightened view

about leadership crisis in Nigeria, thereby equipping the future leaders with the knowledge needed to make informed decisions about engaging in leadership styles or behavior capable of reducing crisis and engendering transformational change in the country. Transformational Leadership Theory (TLT) emphasizes the need for leaders to satisfy followers' basic needs (Ghasabeh et al, 2015). Therefore, transformational leaders (TL) who are *full of energy, enthusiasm, and passion* can further inspire positive changes amongst the followers (Rawat, 2015). TL communicates a clear vision to the followers through the idealized influence and inspirational motivation. Therefore, a key factor of TL effectiveness is its transforming nature and the encouragement of followers to produce a relatively strong situation (Seitz et al, 2021).

Furthermore, the study has potentially created an avenue to understand the kind of relationship that leaders must establish with their followers in Nigeria, to effect the needed change. Moreover, the findings of this study have revealed that the engagement of leadership that inspire and empower followers might lead to a significant level of development, and the decline of chaos associated with leadership in Africa and Nigeria in particular. Therefore, understanding between the leaders and their followers by way of fulfillment of political promises to the followers might potentially address the insecurity, underdevelopment, economic recession, and other challenges of leadership faced by Nigeria.

Summary

This chapter which was the introductory section of the study established that Nigeria and Africa as a whole are bedeviled with leadership ineffectiveness resulting in

so many socio-economic and political problems which continue to impede on the development of the continent as a whole. The background section made a succinct observation that Nigeria as a case study for Africa, may be experiencing leadership crisis due to the inability of the political leaders to improve the social welfare of the citizens in accordance to their campaign promises. Furthermore, the nature of the study relied heavily on qualitative phenomenology, while the study purposefully selected the research participants. Also, as a way of ensuring rigor and trustworthiness, the researcher engaged in the process of member checking, detailed transcription, systemic planning and coding during the data analysis. Finally, this study is significant to the body of existing knowledge and the research has the potential of contributing to social change by providing relevant information to leaders thereby equipping them to contribute positively to the development of the society.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter begins with the discussion of the discourse on leadership crisis in Africa that relate to my research problem and purpose. Using the case of Nigeria, I sought to investigate individuals' experiences of leadership crisis in Africa with specific reference to Nigeria. This was with the aim of obtaining data that will help in better understanding of the nature of leadership behavior in Africa that propels crisis or brings about failure of governance. Evidence abounds that most African countries, with few exceptions, have been afflicted by the crisis of leadership (Bogert, 2010; Moghalu, 2017) over a long period of time. This problem is multifaceted and has become even more chronic in countries like Congo, Rwanda, Liberia, among others. Ineffective leadership, especially with negative tendencies for corruption, has been identified as the bane of good governance in Africa (Ebegbulem, 2012). Indeed, there exists enormous scholarly works that attempts to explain the dearth of sound political leadership in Africa (Global Agenda Council in Institutional Governance systems, 2015; Hao & Yazdanifard, 2015; Moghalu, 2017). In concrete terms, both the corrupt military and civilian administrations share the blame for the poor leadership, mismanagement, and misdirecting of the nation's affairs since independence (Ogbeidi, 2012, p. 2). With specific reference to the Nigerian state, many of these literatures further identified abject poverty, inadequate health facilities, unemployment, lack of direction, neglect and drift, fraud and insensitivity to the plights of the citizens (Ebegbulem, 2012) as products of leadership crisis.

The Literature Sources

During the selection process of the literature sources, both relevance and quality of the literatures were measured. These two criteria – relevance and quality – were determined by the inclusion and exclusion criteria used in determining which literature sources were relevant or irrelevant to the study. To aptly address the phenomenon under study, I purposively sourced literature through Walden University Library databases, Google Scholar, Google, books, publications (online and offline), with particular attention to the following databases:

- Walden University ScholarWorks
- ProQuest Central
- Sage Publications
- Routledge Publications
- Cengage Learning Publications
- Laureate Education Publications
- Elsevier
- Taylor and Francis
- Political Science Complete
- Wiley & Co.
- EBSCO Open Access Journals
- Leadership Quarterly

Meanwhile, the inclusion criteria for selecting the literature sources above were done based on what has already been written on the phenomenon of interest, particularly

those literature whose results and findings align with the research questions for this study. I also decided to restrict the literature search to scholarly resources published from 2012 to date, except for a few relevant studies that predate this period. Also included in this literature review were some recently published dissertations to complement the study.

Literature Key Search Terms

A literature search strategy defines how academic journals, books, publications, libraries, and databases are searched for research purposes (Lavellée et al., 2014). Therefore, the literature review in this chapter was done using google-type search, google scholar search, and Walden University Library databases search. Specifically, the term impact analysis string validation method as suggested by Lavelle et al. was utilized while using the Walden University Library databases search. This method consists of testing each search string with or without each search term, to evaluate how it affects the results. Consequently, only those search items relevant to the research effort were retained or refined.

Furthermore, through the term impact analysis, both relevant and irrelevant key words not included in the initial search were aptly recognized accordingly. To this effect, the literature search strategy adopted by this study included selection of articles based on their relevance in addressing the research questions, using a literature review matrix. The selection of articles for review was also done based on the keywords: *leadership, effective leadership, leadership crisis, leadership crisis in Africa, and leadership crisis in Nigeria*. Another criterion for inclusion of articles was the strength of the article's abstract and the strength of evidence in the literature.

The Iterative Process

The literature review in this study is consistent with the qualitative literature review. Accordingly, the back-and-forth processes of the literature search is what Ravitch and Carl (2016) refer to as the *iterative process*. Consequently, these back-and-forth processes ultimately led to the refinement of the research's conceptual, theoretical, and methodological frameworks.

In conjunction with the literature review matrix, iterative systematic review (iSR) was used in the literature review in this chapter. The iSR, approach according to Lavellee et al. (2014), entails “review planning, question formulation, search strategy, selection process, strength of the evidence, analysis, synthesis, and process monitoring” (p.176).

As proposed by Ravitch and Carl (2016), the following questions further guided the literature review process in this chapter:

- What are the key bodies of literature, specific works, and theorists on the areas/topics that relate to my research topic and research questions?
- What are the major theoretical debates and conversations already happening in the field around this topic?
- How has this topic been studied before in terms of research design and methods?
- What methodological and theoretical assumptions have informed the way the topic has been defined and studied?
- How are these different studies and fields of study related, and do they intersect? If so, how?

- Have assumptions about the issue or context changed over time? If so, how?
- Is my topic framed or studied differently within and across fields and, if so, in what ways and how?

While most of the literature reviewed largely focused on the causes and effects of leadership failure in Nigeria and elsewhere around the continent, enough empirical research have not been devoted to interrogate the inherent cracks or breakdown in the trust networks of both the political leaders and their followers. It was on this premise that this study sought to investigate the widening gap between the governed and their governors, as a critical factor for explaining leadership crisis in Africa. Hereafter, a thorough literature review on the current state of the phenomenon of leadership crisis in Africa is presented, followed by a critical evaluation of the reviewed literature in an attempt to demystify the phenomenon of interest.

Theoretical Foundation

Leadership theory has its origin in the works of earliest American scholars of the *Situational School* and *the Personalistic School* that emerged during the first two decades of the 20th century and in the late 1920s respectively (Stogdill, 1975). The Great Man Theory and Trait Theory were developed during the *Personality Era* (Hunt and Fedynich, 2018; King, 1990) while the *situational leadership theory*, *path-goal leadership theory*, *contingency theory*, and *normative theory* were developed during the *Situational Era* (King, 1990). The 21st century or the modern era witnessed a transition in leadership studies that gave birth to *transformational leadership*, *authentic leadership*, and *servant leadership*.

Transformational Leadership Theory (TLT)

TLT that was originally coined by Burns (1978; Niphadkar & Kuhl, 2017) is basically a universal theory whose focus is on how leaders developed followers (Andersen, 2014). TLT involves idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration (Matthews, 2016, p.6). Furthermore, in a crisis situation, transformational leaders often motivate their followers through any of the four aforementioned dimensions. Consequently, it is expected that even in the face of a crisis, transformational leadership would bolster trust, garner respect, and inspire confidence among followers (Jaques, 2012). Therefore, in the context of this study, the breakdown in trust networks between leaders and their followers can be ameliorated through the character-based, trust-based, and relationship-based perspectives of transformational leadership (Mustafa et al, 2018). However, one of the greatest strengths of TLT is how leaders can aptly apply this particular leadership skill in a crisis situation, and for this reason, the theory provides the theoretical framework that will help me to better understand and explain the leadership crisis in Africa with a focus on Nigeria.

Literature Review

What is Leadership?

It is unarguable that the subject of leadership has attracted so much interest by most scholars, thereby leading to what Eliogu-Anenih (2018) called stages of metamorphosis, reinvention, and amalgamations (p. 38) in the leadership discourse. In response to the questions on who a leader *is* and what is leadership Hunt et al. (2018) argued that leadership is an elusive concept because of ambiguities surrounding when

someone can be called a leader and what traits make an individual a leader (p.2). For instance, some schools of thought posit that *a leader is born to lead*. Others suggest that *a leader becomes one through experience* (Stewart, 2006, p.22). Still others suggest that a leader is a fictitious construct as no such thing exists. The concept of leadership has become increasingly complex over the years as it is a universal phenomenon with multiple perspectives in its conceptualization (Stewart, 2006, p.2). It is not surprising therefore that interest in leadership discourse will continue for years to come. Questions such as these will continue to resonate among leadership scholars and practitioners thus: (a) what image of leadership is required globally in these uncertain times that the world is facing?; and (b) what kind of leadership is needed at all levels of governance to effectively lead governments the world over through change in a post COVID-19 world order?

To underscore the importance of leadership in global affairs, Stewart (2006) observed that “rarely does a day pass without newspapers reporting stories about both effective and ineffective leadership” (p.3), despite the lack of consensus on an agreed upon definition of leadership. This is because of the subjective nature of the concept of leadership, aside from certain ambiguities surrounding its definition (Stewart, 2006). Day and Antonakis (2012) also observed that leadership is a complex and diverse topic (p.3) that is difficult to define. Fortunately, as more and more scholars develop interest in the subject, the concept of leadership becomes clearer and less ambiguous. This is further influenced by the new directions in the field and the re-emergence of research efforts in hitherto ambiguous areas of leadership research (p.4). Also corroborating the foregoing

views on leadership, Afegbua and Salami (2012), argued that some scholars view leadership in terms of personality and physical traits, while others believe that personality is represented by a set of prescribed behaviours.

Leaders are carefully selected from within organizations because of their unique leadership qualities, the circumstances of their selection or for both reasons with a view towards influencing or attracting followers who trust their leadership (Khan et al, 2017). Citing Hakala (2008), Khan et al. (2017) defined leadership as “an individual’s ability to get others to willingly follow” (p.250). As can be seen from the above definition of leadership, the emphasis is on *willing* followership. Therefore, as a multifaceted concept, it has several descriptions and many circumstances under which it manifests. Citing De Jong et al. (2007), Salehzadeh (2017) defined leadership as a social interaction process where leaders exert *influence* over followers so as to achieve some desired results (p.865). The process of *influencing* people to achieve the desired organizational goals in a most efficient and effective manner is also referred to as leadership (Rawat, 2015). Citing House (1995), Ammeter et al. (2002) defined leadership as a *behaviour* of an individual that gives purpose, meaning, and guidance to the followers (p.753). Mujani et al. further described leadership as an influencing behaviour of the leaders in relation to the tasks of followers towards achieving organizational goals (p.1405).

From the foregoing conceptualizations of leadership, Ghasabeh et al. (2015) observed that leadership lacks an all-encompassing comprehensive definition. The definitions of leadership reviewed so far have revealed various positive perspectives on leadership that could lead to a general definition of the concept. Amanchukwu et al

(2015) posited that the difficulty in defining leadership is because of the different views on the subject. However, from the definitions of leadership reviewed, there seems to be a tacit consensus among most leadership scholars to the effect that leadership is *an influencing process that is understood from the leaders' dispositional characteristics and behaviours as perceived by followers* (Amanchukwu et al, p.5). Although Day and Antonakis' definition of leadership is broad, yet it describes the leader as a person (*dispositional characteristics and behaviours*) and the interaction process between a leader and follower(s) (p.5). In view of this, Obasanjo in his keynote address on *The Quest for Effective Leadership Towards Sustainable Development in Africa*, Obasanjo (n.d.) simply described leadership as a leader's ability to provide direction for followers so as to achieve stated goals. Accordingly, he further elucidated that leaders are expected to develop competencies with the capacity to provide well-informed and enlightened citizens with the abilities to key into the policies of the leader.

However, Seligman (1950) as cited by Omale and Damian (2014) described the leadership style of the greater part of the African continent as that of personal politics, personality politics, and politics by leadership (p. 3). Consequently, Obasanjo observed that the political leadership in most post-independence African countries has been challenged due to their inability to provide visionary and effective direction for better future. Hence, lack of vision and foresight on the part of most African leaders serve as the precursor for the perpetual conflicts amongst leaders at the national and regional levels. This in his view is also reflected in the constant clashes between tribal and ethnic groups for political power. He further believed that the inability of African states to bring

individuals with foresight and appropriate leadership competencies into leadership positions is partly responsible for the political crises of the continent. With specific reference to the Nigerian state, Obasanjo observed that the country is currently grappling with series of challenges ranging from insecurity, economic recession, environmental degradation, and other social vices due to leadership failure or ineffectiveness.

From another perspective, Adeline (2014) referred to leadership as position of impact that serve as guidance to a group of individuals in the path of moving from a stage of lower living to that of a higher standard of living. However, she conceived political leadership as a form of illumination that provides directions to both leaders and followers to work for the betterment of the society. This implies that the efforts put in place by politicians toward making the society what it is, constitute political leadership. In the views of Fineface (2012), leadership is:

an instrumentality provided by a leader or group of leaders by which all other elements of national power-geography, economy, population, technology, ideology and morale can be mobilized and used most purposefully and effectively for the achievement of the goals of a nation in a given context (p.150).

Corroborating this view, Burimaso (2013) affirmed that leadership is an important driver for positive social change in any society because the nature of leadership determines the nature of the national politics, since the leaders have the responsibility of directing and guiding the affairs of the state and also setting examples for others to follow. Therefore, leaders are the trailblazers and the drivers of their societies. Thus, leaders have the responsibility to formulate and carve out policies and plans (long- and

short-term plans) as well as inculcate their visions into their followers and make it a shared culture of national development. Leadership also brings together and motivates citizens toward the achievement of the organizational goals. In addition, the unity and peace of any society strongly depends on its leadership. However, Burimaso further posited that leadership crisis arises when the above-mentioned leadership functions are not sufficiently fulfilled, as is the case in many African countries.

Gumede (2017) in his view opined that the idea of leadership by many intellectuals revolves around the notion that leadership has to do with the exhibition of those skills either born or acquired that enables one to effectively manage, harmonize, facilitate, and trigger effective positive change. This entails that a leader is the channel through which people within a society can effectively advance themselves. Within the African context therefore, Gumede observed that the development challenges of the region hinges on the fact that the continent is still grappling with issues of peace building due to the many avoidable civil wars that were fought owing to leadership negligence. Gumede believed that external influences largely worsen the leadership crisis in Africa. For example, the crises in Libya where external forces instead of stemming the problem ignite and further trigger the crisis situation. However, the external influence can be linked to the weak leadership posture of most African states.

In the views of Hackman (2006) as cited by Salami and Kehinde (2012), leadership is all about what you are, how you act, what you do, and how you work with others. Therefore, leadership can also be categorized into task and relationship behavior. Furthermore, in their view, effective leaders are individuals who inculcate both task and

relationship behaviors into their leadership style. However, due to lack of leadership effectiveness in Africa, they posit that the continent remains entangled in political, economic, ethnic, religious, and social crises. Furthermore, the economic sphere of the continent continue to suffer as a result of *external debt overhang, net capital flight, disinvestments, collapse social infrastructure, food crisis and insecurity, over-devalued national currency, pervasive poverty, unpopular, repressive and alienating economic policies* (p. 143). They further opined that because of poor leadership in Africa, the leaders consistently and deliberately continue to distance themselves from the people they govern. This is so because most of them came into power without adequate preparation for the business of true leadership and some of them snowballed themselves to powers with little or no experience.

Likewise, Salami et al. (2012) added that the concentration of political power in one party and in the hand of one leader contributes greatly to leadership failure in Africa. A case study of some African countries showed that in Nigeria, the people suffered under the reign of military tyrants, autocrats, and dictators for about thirty years. The situation is not much different in Ghana as the country was under military rule for almost twenty years. In Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo), for a long period of time, they did not experience political stability as a result of the reign of despotic leaders. In Malawi (one of the smallest countries in Africa), the head of state Kamuzu Banda declared himself a life president and the life chairman of his political party. Furthermore, in Zambia president Kenneth Kaunda ruled the country for 27 years, while in Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi also ruled the country autocratically for many years. Also, Central Africa under

the regime of David Bedal who ousted the regime of David Dacko in 1966, further refused democracy to operate in the country. Also worthy of note is Liberia where for many years the country was associated with political instability and crisis because it was tyrannically and despotically ruled by Charles Taylor.

Ogheneochuko (2016) further remarked that African states are characterized by *identity crisis, maladministration, leadership problem, economic woes, ethno-religious crisis, lack of political will, ideological structure and political instability* (p. 333). In view of this, he opined that Africa transformational leadership agenda and its dynamics is that of systemic failure. However, Ogheneochuko believed that for Africa to establish leadership structures capable of engendering stability and progress, the effort of the leadership must be tilted toward building political value and commitment, the advancement of African freedom, creativity through technological revolution, stimulation of social order, building of common conception of the good in African society, radical openness and the need for effective communication between and among communities.

Furthermore, Carda (2006) as cited by Ogheneochuko (2016) observed that for transformational change to occur in Africa, the leadership in the continent must learn to empower her citizens through all sort of positive social reforms. This is because social restructuring in his views will largely serve as the remedy for the problems of multi-diversity in sub-Sahara Africa. Thus, leadership in Africa *requires thought and action, enthusiasm, purity of intention, honesty of purpose, and the collective goal of all in the society* (p. 335). Furthermore, Ogheneochuko (2016) reiterated that for African state to shy away from leadership characterized by crisis toward transformational leadership,

African states must learn to engage in healthy political competition. That is, the leaders must practice leadership with the purpose of bringing about maximum development in the social, political, cultural, intellectual, scientific, technological, historical, and all other important institutions of the state.

Leadership in Africa

African Democracy and Effective Leadership

Carborne and Pellegata (2017) opined that in Africa, the culture of peaceful transfer of power as well as leadership with the ability to improve the welfare needs of the people is still lacking due to the nature of democracy and leadership practices in the continent. Govea and Holm's (1998) work which attempts to answer some pertinent questions bordering on how crisis, violence, and political succession affect leadership in Africa, established that leadership succession (which is an essential element of democracy) in Africa comes with some levels of crisis. This can be associated with the issues revolving around social and economic development within the political system, and whether heterogeneous ethnic polities (like Nigeria, Kenya, Rwanda, among others) produce different succession patterns than relatively homogeneous nation-states (like Saudi Arabia, and Japan). According to Govea and Holm (1998), political succession is a leadership selection process which is an integral part of leadership change which varies depending on the governance system of the respective country. They further identify two leadership succession types thus: *institutionalized system, and non-institutionalized system* (p. 130)

Govea and Holm further suggested that in the institutionalized system of succession, leadership selection is peaceful, seamless, and based on prearranged and widely stated rules often through compromise, consensus, or legitimate means. On the contrary, they argued that in the non-institutionalized system, the lack of institutionalization makes political succession absolutely self-justifiable and the leader self-selectable. Consequently, the non-institutionalized political succession type according to them breed leadership crisis in Africa. Moreover, 'legitimacy' to them is mostly claimed through possession of superior force and possibly justified by a set of policies but not through a process of compromise, bargaining, or accommodation with opposition groups (Govea & Holm, 1998). Therefore, Nigeria's fourth attempt at democratic rule is an example of an institutionalized political succession since the country first successfully transitioned from military rule to civil rule in 1999 (about 19 years ago), and subsequently transitioned from one civil rule to another since then. This consequently calls for the celebration of institutionalized democracy to watch Nigeria witness the first ever political succession from the then ruling party (PDP) to the then main opposition party (APC) in 2015. This democratic-political setting achieved in Nigeria trigger Orugu and Kalama (2014) to assert that president Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, who peacefully relinquished power after his defeat in the 2015 election stands out as a sterling example of an institutionalized leader in Africa. This sterling quality he adopted sets a high standard of democratic administrative principles that is uncommon in Nigeria and by extension most African countries. However, despite the Nigerian case highlighted above, Govea and Holm (1998) reiterated that in most African states,

institutionalization has limited utility due to the nature of the continent's electoral system, which is largely at variance with institutionalized arrangement.

Huntington's formulation (n.d.) as cited by Govea and Holm (1998), suggested that logical and peaceful transition of power has to do with flexibility, which serves as one of the three principles of *institutionalization* (p. 130). Again, this aptly described the political succession in Nigeria in 2015. As observed by Govea and Holm, successions that result from conspiracy or *self-justificatory* often end up in leadership crisis. Meanwhile, during such successions, the opposition often challenges the new arrangements through legal or other means. As things stand today in Nigeria's political climate, Govea and Holm posit that absence of force should not be conceived as an outcome of a regulated succession, rather it may be seen as lack of organized leadership from an opposition.

Brubaker (2013) in his study on an exploration of the relationship between leadership behaviours and perceived leadership effectiveness in Rwanda, argued that the African concept of *ubuntu* is related to the perceived leadership effectiveness, especially the servant-leader behaviours. Therefore, he suggests that although it is not practised in its true sense, yet the philosophy of *ubuntu* holds promise for progressive democratic features and ethical change for Africa. Citing LeGrange (2011) and Munithi (2009), Brubaker (2013) described *ubuntu* as "a cultural worldview common among the Bantu tribes of Africa that emphasizes the interconnectedness of self within society and the extension of humanness within shared community" (p. 115). Hence, he believed that *ubuntu* which is held as an African worldview, has the capacity to counteract the belief

that the continent of Africa is only plagued with *genocide, patriarchy, autocratic leadership, corruption, and human suffering* (p. 115).

Therefore, in as much as there is concrete evidence that explains why the African continent is associated with negative tendencies toward democratic sustainability, Carbone (2006) observed that the post-apartheid South Africa was believed to set the country toward the direction of sociopolitical and economic development. However, the country after the post-apartheid era has continued to battle with all sorts of socio-economic and political crisis of varying degrees with social uncertainty and tension as its byproducts. During Mandela's leadership there was conflict that requires resolution and this gave birth to peace negotiation. In his opinion, Carbone (2006) posited further that after the transformative regime of Nelson Mandela, a remarkable precedence of self-confidence, tolerance, forgiveness, and inclusive policy making practices toward nation building, and selfless service was set for Africa.

Kwak, Okombo, Muluka, and Sungura-Nyabuto (2011) also observed that Kenya is often seen as one of the countries in Africa with great potential for setting a pace for effective leadership through democratic consolidation in the continent. This is because of the well-developed tourism infrastructure as seen in the numerous wildlife parks across the country. The country over time has continued to demonstrate its prowess in athletic tournaments. The country is categorized as one of the biggest economy in Africa and highly rated in terms of infrastructural development in East Africa. Consistently, the country continues to witness relative political stability and peaceful coexistence in comparison to its neighboring countries such as Somalia, Zambia, Ethiopia, Eritrea,

Sudan, Uganda, Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi. Therefore, it serves as a good place for refugees from some of its neighbouring war-torn countries. Although these developmental endeavors can be attributed to the relative leadership effectiveness in the country, yet Kenya is still far away as compared to countries with effective leadership in developed climes like Germany, United States of America, France, and Russia among others.

Also, Kwak et al. (2011) believed that in spite of the fact that Kenya's 2007 election sparked a near civil war in the country where more than 100 people lost their lives and over 400,000 people displaced, yet the country was able to survive the conflict. This was done through focus and proactive leadership which led to the formation of a coalition government and subsequent power sharing arrangement between the incumbent president Mwai Kibaki, and Raila Odinga his main challenger who eventually became the prime minister. The prime minister position was simply created for the convenience of the coalition. Although Kenya had high potential, because of her relative leadership effectiveness, yet there is the challenge of translating this potential into concrete reality. Thus, despite the fact that it is a country to be reckoned with democratically in Africa, it still continues to face challenges of underdevelopment. Consequently, the diversity in Kenya that ought to be the basis for her strength has continued to impede on her socio-economic development because of the ethnic tension that tends to scare away investors in its tourism industry.

Kwak et al. (2011) further observed that the inability of the country (Kenya) to improve on its railway services many years after its independence does not speak well of

the developmental strides of the leaders. Nevertheless, there are evidences to show that the leadership of the country like most African states is preoccupied with self-accumulation of wealth at the detriment of the country's development. For example, Jomo Kenyatta a capitalist minded leader of the country was referred to as the most wealth-accumulating leader of his time. Although, the regime of Kibaki was modeled toward transformational change, corruption and ethnicity resulting in giving preferential treatment to people from his ethnic community derailed his administration. Consequently, today as a result of leadership deficit in Kenya, the country faces challenges ranging from, social injustices and inequality, corruption, favoritism, poverty, leadership of impunity, struggle for resource control, lack of empowerment, and the challenge of implementing the constitution (Kwak et al., 2011).

Corroborating the views of Kwak et al., Sithole (2012) also reinforced that Ghana is one country in Africa that is adjudged to have some levels of hygiene in its political and leadership system. This is due to its records of human rights and good governance, which are fundamental elements in any democratic setting. As such, Ghana continues to be a democratic model for Africa through her political and economic reforms. In view of the forgoing therefore, it is worth noting that through the effort of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana became a forerunner of national development geared toward the emancipation of African states. Sithole (2012) also observed that it was the end of military regime in 1992 that ushered in the fourth republic in Ghana. However, he posited that Ghana since then continues to be a pacesetter for good governance with high tenets of democratic values despite the country's challenges in the past.

Sithole further attributed Ghana's political success to the proper application of the framework of constitutionalism, which creates a suitable environment for democracy and good governance to flourish. Therefore, unlike the electoral processes in most African countries often connected with high levels of irregularities, the electoral processes in Ghana since 1992 continue to serve as role models for many African countries because of their peaceful nature. In terms of peaceful transitions, Sithole (2012) asserted that Ghana has achieved a rare feat in Africa through its dual and seamless peaceful civilian to civilian transition of political power. This according to him earned the country some level of pride in the eyes of the international community. This is evident because the country (Ghana) distinguished itself, while her counterparts enmeshed themselves in political crises of different degrees. A specific case according to Sithole (2012) is Cote d'Ivoire where Laurent Gbagbo refused to relinquish power to Alassane Ouattara after been overwhelmed in the 2010 election - a situation that resulted in post-election violence in Cote D'Ivoire with many casualties.

Although Ghana is not completely free from political crisis, Sithole opined that the country is a leadership model in Africa due to its consistent peaceful transition of political power. The scenario in Ethiopia in 2012, Malawi in 2012, and Nigeria in 2010 demonstrates that when a leader dies while occupying political office (especially in Africa), the news of such death is often kept a secret from public domain. Also, when it comes to the issues of succession, the politicians always attempt to undermine the constitution for their selfish interests (Sithole, 2012). However, the situation in Ghana was different following the death of John Atta Mills - the president in 2012. In the case

of Ghana, his death was announced immediately and the deputy was also sworn in as the president in line with the provision of the constitution. Also, in most African countries because of poor leadership, ethnicity becomes a common issue. For example, Sithole (2012) observed that immediately after its independence in 1980, Zimbabwe experienced many years of deadly clashes between the Ndebele and Shona ethnic groups. Sithole further observed that the 2010 post-election crisis in Cote D'Ivoire and the 2007 post-election chaos in Kenya are clear examples of the negative impact of ethnicity on African democracy. In his view, these two cases till date continue to undermine the political system of the two countries. Conversely, and although Ghana also have some issues of ethnicity and ethnic misunderstanding connected with its democracy, chaos has never in any way caused a major socio-political problem in the country (Sithole, 2012).

The Perceived Causes, Nature, and the Manifestation of Leadership Crisis in Africa

The root of Africa leadership crises revolves around the continent's historical, cultural, sociological, and philosophical contexts of leadership (Moghalu, 2017). Historically, what constitutes leadership in Africa may be different from what the followers expect from their leaders. Thus, some African states still have monarchs instead of political leaders. For this reason, some of the major factors that stimulate most politicians in Africa to vie for leadership positions are the need for political power and primitive accumulation of wealth. Culturally, Moghalu (2017) opined that several countries in Africa continue to be divided internally as a result of ethnic and religious differences. This in the views of Moghalu gives the leaders the opportunity to successfully manipulate the people and have their ways. Furthermore, Moghalu believed

that the cultural reality in Africa where the power of the king is regarded as absolute has continued to influence the concept of modern statehood, democracy, and legislative power. In Moghalu's view, because leadership in Africa is largely based on the authority syndrome than on the concept of accountability in public service, often time the leaders are insecure because of fear of unconstitutional changes of government. Therefore, African leaders put more emphasis on the loyalty of individuals (rather than credibility) before been appointed or supported into political offices. Sociologically, the cultural factors such as ethnicity and religion end up weakening the political institutions in Africa thereby resulting in high levels of corruption.

Ayittey (2007) also opined that essentially in Africa, weakness of the economy, poor political structures, and inappropriate application of democratic principles constitute the largest trunk of the factors that engender leadership crisis. He further postulated that the politics of the international mass media also has negative implications on leadership stability of most African states. This is besides the attitudes of most African leaders which include; outright refusal to surrender power when defeated in an election. Also, their greed which is reflected in lack of the desire to share political power with others as evident in African countries like Ethiopia, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote D'Ivoire, among others. In his views, Lumumba (2011) unequivocally observed that Africa is one of the most blessed continents in the world in terms of human and natural resources as well as conducive climate. However, he further opined that the African continent continues to lag behind economically and developmentally, which is as a result of bad governance and exploitation of the masses

by the leaders. Although all continents of the world in his view still grapple with socio-economic, political, and environmental challenges, according to him, African problems of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, corruption, and poor leadership are unique because they all call for effective leadership (Lumumba, 2011).

Furthermore as Lumumba (2011) has argued, the consequence of endemic corruption in Africa is evident in economic losses of more than 148 billion dollars every year. Also, as a result of corruption in Africa, there is persistent increase in the cost of goods by 20% on yearly bases, thus, discouraging investments and hampering development. Because of bad leadership in Africa, he continued, only few (if there are) states create an enabling environment where businesses can effectively thrive leading to economic development. Thus, majority of the African states become involved in parasitic dependency on other countries in the name of engendering economic development. This in his opinion only amounts to exposing their states to severe indebtedness, economic hardship, and poor distribution of justice due to institutional decay and failure. In view of the forgoing therefore, Lumumba identified some root causes of corruption in Africa to include:

The negative colonial legacy, poor leadership, politics of the belly (politics of stomach infrastructure), omnipotent state, greed and selfishness, clientelism and nepotism, absence of popular participation of the public in government, weak institutions of governance, lack of accountability and transparency, lack of political will, weak ethical values, centralist nature of the state and concentration of state power, weak judicial systems, constant insecurity, and conflicts (p. 5).

Despite the demise of Nelson Mandela of South Africa as the popular transformational leader of the 20th and 21st centuries, Africa still grapples in its quest for transformational leaders that can march Mandela's standard (Adeline, 2014). Thus, leadership crisis has taken over the entire African continent because the leadership continues to perpetrate the negative heritage from the colonial masters, whose behaviours were rooted in perpetual exploitation of the locales. As a result, many years after the colonial masters left the shores of Africa, African leaders particularly those without focus continue to blame their leadership failure on neocolonialism. However, for Africa as a whole and Nigeria in particular to make democracy more effective, the political leaders must stop the blame game and focus on becoming phenomenal political leaders (Adeline, 2014). In view of the foregoing therefore, Adeline further posited that for Africa and Nigeria in particular to achieve transformational leadership that is free from all forms of crisis, there is need to develop leaders with exemplary characters like those of Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King Junior who struggled to liberate their people (p. 100). This has to do with the belief that both Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King Jr. are the crop of leaders who struggled to *personify collective dreams and aspirations* of all irrespective of affiliations.

Similarly, Omale and Damian (2014) observed that the failure of leadership across African states is evident due to the many crises that engulf the entire continent in recent time. These series of leadership crisis according to them stem from poor innovation from the political leaders and lack of critical thinking that would bring about the needed positive changes. Thus, in their view, the leaders lack the ability to win the

confidence and render their stewardship to the people they govern. Also, Masango (2002) in his analysis of African leadership and its impact, used the African religious period, the Christian era, and the recent period of globalization to succinctly posit that other developed countries of the world always view Africa as a society awash with leadership incompetence, greed, and malpractices. He further observed that the leadership incompetence in Africa has only succeeded in throwing the continent into socioeconomic and political underdevelopment. Masango (2002) also opined that although the developed countries of the west contributed largely to the leadership crisis in Africa, failure of leadership (on the side of African leaders) is the root cause of the problem. Masango believed that the leadership in Africa spends a reasonable amount of their time reacting and blaming the western world for their misfortune instead of taking proactive measures to salvage the continent.

Burimaso (2013) also opined that most African leaders lack cross cultural competencies that will help them effectively manage the multi-diversity in their respective countries hence the crisis associated with their leadership styles. Using Nigeria as an example, Burimaso argued that due to its population, landmass, and the huge natural resources deposits, the country is considered the giant of Africa. However, he believed that Nigeria's large population comes with multi-diversity thereby leading to the nature of the country's political crisis. In his view, the political crisis is a product of poor leadership across cross-cultural competency that will help govern a diverse state like Nigeria. For this reason, public policies by a leader from a particular ethnic group are often viewed with ethnic coloration, which makes them unacceptable to people of other

ethnic lineages – particularly if these policies are viewed from nepotistic perspective and perceived to benefit some immediate geopolitical constituency of these policy makers. Consequently, in most African societies, this makes it difficult for a leader to bring any developmental project to his immediate community, bearing in mind that doing so will be interpreted with ethnic perception, with tendencies to escalate into misunderstanding. Accordingly, Burimaso (2013) further observed that leadership crisis in Nigeria like in most African states is largely caused by *ethnicity, tribalism, religious extremism, political instability, and the military incursions into the polity* (p. 161). These further bring about the social challenges like “underdevelopment, bribery, corruption, favoritism, nepotism, feudalism, social injustice, and ineffectiveness of leadership” (p. 161).

In his contribution to the discourse, Nganje (2015) reinforced that there are evidences and clear indicators that the political institutions in Africa constitute the foundation for poor leadership and ineffective socio-political practices which are products of colonial regimes that subsequently birthed most post-colonial African states. This entails that the weak leadership institutions in Africa can better be understood from the historical perspective of the current African states. Consequently, and because of the nature of the patrimonial colonial regimes in Africa, the political institutions capable of driving the sociopolitical and economic advancement of the continent became weak and unable to function as expected. For example, even Ghana that is often viewed as a relatively better democratic state in comparison to most African states, it has been observed that the performance of its political institutions such as the legislature is

ineffective in steering the socioeconomic and political development of the country (Nganje, 2015).

Nganje (2015) again believed that the poor performance of Ghana's legislature is as a result of the ability of the executive arm of the government to effectively win over the loyalty of the legislature, thereby undermining the tenet of checks and balances. This demonstrates that the institutional feebleness of most African countries can be attributed to the effort by political elites to reward illegitimacy through neo-patrimonial politics as a way of holding on to power (Nganje, 2015). Also, Zimbabwe is another country in Africa where the authoritarian nature of the colonial era is highly entrenched in the political system, thereby leading the country into decades of democratic insufficiency resulting in the establishment of a neo-patrimonial institutional design (Nganje, 2015). In his view, the poor and ineffective institutions of most African states as observed in Cameroon where the institutions of government are only public in theory, while in reality they are personal properties managed by selfish individuals.

One of the greatest challenges confronting most African states immediately after independence has been that of engendering governance capable of bringing about sustainable development through effective socio-political institutions (Yimer, 2015). For this reason, the continent continues to suffer the consequences of ineffective leadership with social disunity, and political instability as the outcome. For example, in South Sudan, poor leadership is the cornerstone of the country's lack of social cohesion and political instability, which continues to call for international intervention in the country (Yimer, 2015). Yimer (2015) further established that the perpetual anxiety in Cote'

d'Ivoire between the northern and the southern regions, the constant unrest in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria as a result of deprivation, the war in northern Uganda, the unending piracy and land struggles in Somalia, the unconstitutional removal of a legitimate president in Egypt in 2014, and the escalation of terrorist activities across some African countries are some of the repercussions and manifestations of leadership failure in the continent.

Explaining how leaders and leadership in recent time have failed African states, Poncian and Mgaya (2015) citing the works of Walter Rodney (1973), Kwame Nkrumah (1963), Patric Bond (2006), and Samir Amin (2014; 2011; 1977), argued that African underdevelopment can best be explained and understood through the instrumentality of economic marginalization and exploitation during colonial and post-colonial regimes (p. 107). However, he believed that all strategies that must be employed by African leaders to tackle some of the continent's challenges to leadership must not disconnect itself from the continent's pre-colonial history. This is because there is a clear indication that much emphasis has been put on developing good leadership and governance institutions in Africa along western concepts. This situation tends to give less consideration on how the post-colonial leadership in Africa can be the role model for leadership success in the 21st century Africa. Thus, Pocian and Mgaya believed that the western models of leadership adopted by Africans explain the reasons for the neglect of African oriented leadership. This in many instances in the views of Pocian and Mgaya contributed largely to the failure of leadership in most African countries to positively deliver on the developmental needs of the people.

Similarly, Otieno (2008) opined that although Africa can be said to be haunted by historical and oppressive structures inherited from the colonial masters, yet the instability in Africa has much to do with internal factors. However, despite the presence of institutional frameworks that are supposed to guide the delivery of basic services, the continent continues to witness perpetual weak institutions due to the predatory political nature of the elites. Thus, the leadership predicament and the numerous administrative related malpractices in Africa can also be attributed to the internal awareness of the political system by the citizens. This is because common citizens now begin to realize the implication of bad leadership and consequences of inappropriate political arrangements. Consequently, citizens' awareness further paves way for the emergence of participatory democracy and the emergence of new political challenges.

Sharing a similar view, Moghalu (2017) asserted that the crisis of leadership affecting African countries became more pronounced immediately after many African countries secured independence from their colonial masters (1950s and 60s). Thus, the struggle for political power amongst the local political elites, and the eventual breakaway from the oppression by the Western colonial masters, produced another sets of indigenous oppressors that threw up the continent into another round of exploitation. Moghalu further pointed out that effective leadership is absent in Africa despite the unquestionable leadership talent that abounds on the continent especially in the areas of business, professional engagements, and other social or civil society organization activities. He further identified the lack of transformational leadership ability in Africa's political leadership as the root cause of the leadership crisis across the continent. In his

view, the leadership crisis stems from African leaders' understanding of leadership – which he believed can be viewed from the *historical, sociological, and philosophical dimensions* (p. 172). From a historical perspective, Moghalu reaffirmed that many African countries today still have 'rulers' rather than 'leaders' despite the fact that most of them claim to be democratic. However, when viewed from the cultural perspective Moghalu submits that the leadership crisis manifests in three dimensions – *Us versus Them, Authority versus Service, and Loyalty versus Competence* (pp. 173-174).

Therefore, *Us versus Them* dimension is built on the issues surrounded by the cultural and geographical differences between and among people in African countries where ethnicity rather than ideology becomes the regulating factors of leadership. In terms of *Authority versus Service*, Moghalu posited that leaders in Africa are mostly driven by the desire to accumulate more authority for their selfish interests against collective interests. Furthermore, the dimension of *Loyalty versus Competency* in his opinion revolves around the fact that leadership in Africa focuses more on the individual loyalty toward a particular group as against the experience and the skills the individual possess. These series of mentalities of both the leaders and the followers according to Moghalu are responsible for Africa's lack of exceptional or transformational leadership. Thus, he clearly stated that the ethnic and religious (ethnoreligious) divisions in many African countries mainly affect leadership selections. Consequently, what seems to be a contest for political power in the continent of Africa is a mere effort at engendering ethnic and religious ideologies and not based on any holistic development of the society.

In the end therefore, Moghalu believed that political power obtained through such means can hardly ever be considered transformational in nature.

In their view, Ngara, Esebonu, and Ayabam (2014), upheld that the crisis associated with democratic leadership across most African states remain the important cause of military incursion in the continent's politics. Consequently, within the first twenty years of Africa's independence, the military forcefully took over the control of leadership of the first set of post-colonial political leaders with only South Africa been an exception. However, empirical evidence illustrates that the military rulers and dictators who hijacked power with a claim of salvaging the state from total collapse end up becoming worse off in their leadership approach. This according to Ngara et al. further leads most African countries into vicious circle of leadership crisis. Therefore, with the recent democratic transition (with few exceptions across Africa), they affirm that most African states still remain under siege by the reign of democratic authoritarian rulers. Thus, Ngala et al. believed that *poverty, conflict, and underdevelopment* (p. 29) stand out as the reality which continues to build doubt in the minds of many on whether Africans are capable of governing themselves.

Moreover, Ngara et al. also observed that African leadership is characterized by selfishness and desire to stay longer than necessary in political offices. In view of this therefore, they opined that some leaders use their power to stay longer than expected through all forms of political malpractices and manipulations. For example, Ngara et al. noted that from 2000-2010, out of the 13 African states whose leaders initiated the controversial third term agenda, only three (Bakili Muluzi of Malawi, Olusegun Obasanjo

of Nigeria, and Frederick Chiluba of Zambia) failed to pass through. Ten that were successful include AbdelAziz Bouteflika of Algeria, Paul Biya of Cameroon, Idriss Deby of Chad, Ismail Omar Guelleh of Djibouti and Omar Bongo of Gabon. Others are Lansana Conte of Guinea, Samuel Nujoma of Namibia, Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, Zemi El-Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia, and Yoweri Musaveni of Uganda.

Consistent with the above view, Bouka and Nyabola (2016) observed that in Africa, one of the major causes of leadership crisis is the desire of the political leaders to stay in power longer than expected. For example, in Burundi, Bouka and Nyabola observed that although other factors such as *tension within the ruling party, the government's persistent measure to close off the political space since the end of the transition, a failure to consolidate democracy, rampant corruption by government officials, and the slow rate of development* (p. 4) bring about the political crisis in the country, yet the decision of the Burundian president (Nkrumziza) to run for a third term serves as the major cause of the country's political crisis. Bouka and Nyabola further observed that there was an unusual political atmosphere immediately the president declared his intention to run for the third term. Consequently, in May 2015, there was an attempted coup d'état against the president Nkrumziza. This coup attempt further changed the tone of the political crisis in the country leading to the government of Nkrumziza targeting individuals both civilian and military that were considered to be against the government. However, this situation eventually led to the closure of all private radio stations in the country. Likewise, there was an emergence of special organization units cut across the conflict divide, consequently leading to the escalation of

violence in form of political assassinations of both the government loyalists and the opposition.

Kamau (2017) further posited that the history of Africa is replete with politicians who attempt to declare themselves leaders of their respective countries. For example, Kamau argued that Moshood Abiola of Nigeria, Etieme Tshisekedi of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Bsigye Kiza of Uganda, Jean Ping of Gabon, all attempted to declare themselves president despite the fact that there was a sitting president in their respective countries. Raila Odinga of Kenya also joined the league of individuals who have attempted to declare themselves as presidents. In his submission, Burimaso observed that the leadership in DRC from the mid -1960s until early 1990s was dominated by the dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko, who was elevated to power by Patrice Lumumba's assassins. The reign of Mobutu Sese Seko was a patrimonial type of rule. Meanwhile, Bond (2006) as cited by Burimaso, described the theory of African patrimonialism as ruling "through personal patronage rather than ideology or law, based upon relationships of loyalty and dependence with blurred distinction between private and public interests" (p. 31). Burimaso further observed that the neo-colonial system poses a serious challenge to African leadership. He asserted that because of love for money and ignorance, most African leaders continue to serve as *imperialist lackeys, stooges, puppets, and/or comfortable slaves* (p. 37). Burimaso further described the neocolonialist system that operates globally and specifically in Africa as "an unfavourable international environment that protects the interests of the core and prevents

the periphery from advancing on one hand, and the patrimonial system that prevailed locally on the other” (p. 37).

In his study, Burimaso described neo-patrimonialism as the root cause of leadership ineffectiveness in most post-colonial African states (p. 37). According to him, *the neo-patrimonial trap* means that local elites usurp state power for selfish reasons such as fragmenting the political and geographical entities, followed by the formation of rent-seeking networks (p. 37). These elites in his view later establish their private securities and militias to protect these networks and to further maintain and extend their sphere of influence. Without mincing words, Burimaso considers the DRC as constituting an essential case of leadership ineffectiveness in post-colonial African continent (p. 37). Thus, he further viewed the patrimonial system as the internal challenge to leadership in the DRC which manifests in the form of corrupt elites who are more engrossed with capturing power without the interest on the welfare of the citizens (p. 39).

Using ethnicity and politics as major sources of leadership crisis in Africa, Amulabi (2009) clearly observed that it is expedient to consider the nature of ethnic and party politics for one to better understand and appreciate the presidential politics in Africa. Using Kenya as a case study, he observed that the history of Kenyan politics is tainted with ethnicity, which perpetually determines who occupies the position of leadership. In other words, the population of the ethnic groups determines their ability to occupy political positions in Kenya. For example, beside the fact that President Jomo Kenyatta was an old man (thus considered a man of wisdom within the African context), and had travelled widely, the significant factor that brought him to power is the fact that

he hailed from one of the biggest ethnic groups (Kikuyu) in Kenya. Therefore, while in office, he was nepotistic in his conduct by rewarding people from his ethnic group to the detriment of those from other ethnic groups who equally supported him.

This in the views of Amulabi shows the fact that during the dominance of Kenya African National Union (KANU), the Kikuyu ethnic group (where the president comes from) often dominates the government of the day. Consequently, the only easy way for one to gain access to the national cake in Kenya is largely through one's ethnic alignment with the leadership of the day. This is because individuals who were politically empowered by Kenyatta like Kenneth Maliba (permanent secretary), Tom Mboya (party secretary general and later Minister), and Mwai Kibaki (Party executive officer and cabinet member), were all young people who owed their allegiances to him on the bases of either ethnic or political party affiliation (Amulabi, 2009). This was made possible due to the political structure in Kenya where the president exercises extreme powers with little checks and balances. Consequently, because of the huge power exercise by Kenyatta, the Vice president Odinga Odinga who was from Luo ethnic group was isolated by the president. Therefore, the Luo people continued to see the Kikuyu community as enemies not to be forgiven. Also, during the regime of Daniel Arap Moi like the regime of Kenyatta where the important segments of the economy was dominated by the Kikuyu, the Kalenjin (the ethnic group of Moi the president) dominated the agriculture, education, health, and other important ministries (Amulabi, 2009). Correspondingly, during the 1992 elections Moi regime was blamed for using the opportunity of the tribal clans of 1991 to attack people from the Kikuyu ethnic

organization, and other ethnic groups like Lugia, Luo, and Kisii (p. 62). Given the above situation, the ethnic arithmetic in the 1992, 1997, 2002, and 2007 elections in Kenya showed that politicians within the society relied heavily on ethnicity as the bases for politics (Amulabi, 2009).

In his perspective, Jana (2014) observed that lack of legitimacy especially in Africa is another cause of crisis associated with leadership. This is because the states institutions are more likely to become fragile and vulnerable as a result of legitimacy crisis. However, Jana argued that multiparty democracy in sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1990s is responsible for governments' deliberate improvement of its citizens' socio-economic status. Conversely, he also opined that the multiparty system ultimately, contributes to the low and volatile nature of legitimacy of states institutions in Africa. Thus, fuelling the consistent destabilization of the democratic structures of African states. Looking at the case of Malawi, Jana explained that in 1994, the multiparty system in the country's democracy was instituted as a means of separating of the government power and participation of the citizens in the governance of the country. Consequently, the legitimacy crisis in Malawi leading to its political leadership crisis according to Jana, was as a result of poor and ineffective local government institutions like the district councils. Also, Jana believed that when the government fails to add value to citizen's socioeconomic needs as a result of poor institutions, the people tend to blame the members of the parliament, which they recognize as an institution charged with engendering accountability.

The dissatisfaction of the people toward the services provided also creates an effect where the spread of legitimacy crisis is extended to the other representatives and establishments of government at all levels. From his research findings, Jana pointed out that the Malawian populace expect their elected leaders to embark upon concrete developmental projects. However, they frown at the political class for using development issues as mere campaign strategies, rather than genuine promises that will translate into better life for all. Therefore, Jana reinforced that development within the African states should be seen as precursors of more developmental initiatives to come when politicians are eventually elected into public offices. Jana further drew attention to a possible reason for the unfulfilled campaign promises by stating that those seeking elections especially in Malawi capitalize on the poor socio-economic and low educational status of the citizens by giving promises that cannot be fulfilled after elections. While in some instances, he observes that leaders (especially members of the parliament - MPs) often make campaign promises to the people out of sheer ignorance of their roles as Parliamentarians.

Consequently, when eventually elected into office, as they grapple with the reality, confusion sets in and the resultant effect is the ineffective representation, and the inability to fulfil their campaign promises. According to Jana, the implications for understanding state legitimacy in Africa and Malawi in particular reveal that poor and ineffective local governments are the precursors for the legitimacy crisis in the parliament and other such representative institutions. However, one way of strengthening the legitimacy of representative institutions and the state is by engendering an effective and efficient local development system (Jana, 2014).

Poor Leadership Indicators in Africa

There are many indicators to poor leadership in Africa that are responsible for Africa's underdevelopment in economic and socio political life of the continent. For this reason economically and socio-politically, Nigeria and the entire continent of Africa is characterized by poverty, poor infrastructural development, financial dependency on the nations of the West, exploitation of the workers, and stagnated or poor gross national and domestic product, resulting in poor per capita income (Folarin, 2013).

Table 1 demonstrates that low GDP is a major contributor to the socio-economic and political challenges that are faced in Nigeria and other African countries. A good comparative analysis between and among the countries occupying the top five positions in terms of GDP in Africa, and those in the first five positions in Asia and Europe as contained in the Tables 1 and 2, describe the level of poverty in Africa, as compared to the wealth of Asia and Europe. As shown also by the Table 1, Nigeria is sitting at the top of African countries with a GDP of 496.12 Billion USD and inflation rate of 12.56%. On the other hand, Germany in Europe, and China in Asia tied for the first positions in their respective continents, with the GDP of 4160 (Billion USD) and 0.90% inflation rate (Germany) and 15470 (Billion USD) with inflation rate of 2.5% (China). In contrast, the country with the highest GDP in Africa (Nigeria) does not compare favorably with the country occupying position 12 in Europe (Belgium with a GDP of 553.73 Billion USD and inflation rate of 0.60%; World Population Review, 2020).

Table 1*GDP and the Inflation Rates of the Top Five African Countries*

Country	GDP (Billion USD)	Inflation Rate
Nigeria	496.12	12.56%
South Africa	386.73	2.10%
Egypt	331.36	5.60%
Algeria	193.06	1.60%
Morocco	129.06	-0.7%

Note. Adapted from *World Population Review*, 2020

(<https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/countries-by-gdp>)

Table 2*GDP and the Inflation Rates of the Top Five European and Asian Countries*

GDP and the Inflation Rate of the Top Five Asian Countries			GDP and the Inflation Rate of the Top Five European Countries		
Country	GDP (Billion USD)	Inflation Rate	Country	GDP (Billion USD)	Inflation Rate
China	15470	2.50%	Germany	4160	0.90%
Japan	5500	0.10%	United Kingdom	2930	0.60%
India	3260	6.09%	France	2880	0.20%
South Korea	1740	0.00%	Italy	2090	-0.20%
Indonesia	1210	1.96%	Russia	1670	3.20%

Note. Adapted from *Trading Economics*, 2020 (<https://tradingeconomics.com/>)

World Population Review, 2020 (<https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/countries-by-gdp>)

World Population Review (WPR) (2020) asserted that in 2019, the GDP of West Africa dropped from growth rate of 3.2 % to 0.5%. However, a slight improvement in the GDP of Africa with the regional growth rate of 2.5% was observed in 2017 and a projected increase to 3.6% by the end of 2018. This growth according to WPR does not in

any way reflect on the continent's socioeconomic development. In terms of per capita income, Table 2 below shows that African countries have the lowest per capita income in comparison to Asian and European countries. Careful observation of the Table 1a shows that Nigeria with the best GDP (in Africa), with its resources, population, and size did not even feature in Table 2 among the best ten African countries in terms of per capita income output.

Table 3

Comparison of Per Capita Income among European, Asian and African Countries in 2019

African countries		Asian countries		European Countries	
Countries	Per Capita Income (USD)	Country	Per Capita Income (USD)	Country	Per Capita Income (USD)
Seychelles	17,682	Macau	95,726	Monaco	164,823
Mauritius	12,390	Qatar	70,810	Liechtenstein	162,444
Botswana	8,876	Singapore	66,983	Luxemburg	117,725
Equatorial Guinea	8,741	Hong Kong	53,626	Switzerland	85,585
Gabon	8,039	Israel	46,671	Ireland	82,058
Libya	7,338	United Arab Emirates	45,411	Norway	80,90
South Africa	6,521	Japan	43,450	Iceland	78,598
Namibia	5,757	South Korea	34,024	Denmark	62,937
Algeria	4,403	Kuwait	33,485	Sweden	57,105
Morocco	3,496	Brunei	32,644	Netherlands	55,730

Note. Adapted from *World Population Review*, 2020.

<http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/countries-by-gdp>

From Table 2, World Population Review (WPR; 2020) argued that whereas in Europe, Monaco has the highest per capita income of 164,823 USD, Seychelles is the country in Africa with the highest per capita income of only 17,682 USD. Consequently,

WPR noted that 43% of the population of Africa lives below 1.9 USD per day. Also, that the inflation rate in most African countries (as illustrated in Table 1a above) contribute largely to the poor economic structure of the continent. For example, WPR posited that from 2014-2016, inflation in Africa rose from 8.2% to 12.7%. Similarly, WPR posited that in 2019, the inflation rate in Nigeria was approximately 12.56 %; in Ghana, it was 17.5%; and in Sierra Leone it was 19.3%. This according to the WPR was caused largely by the exchange rate fluctuations. Consequently, because the debt-to-GDP ratio measures a country's or region's ability to repay its debt, WPR projects that the ratio of African debt is likely to increase from 39.1% to 40.1% in 2019.

In addition to the GDP, another measure of the country's socioeconomic development is the human development index (HDI) according to UNDP HDR (n.d.). The HDI summarized and assessed long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development thus: a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living. Based on this index, in 2019 Nigeria's HDI value was 0.534— which UNDP HDR puts the country in the low human development category— positioning it at 158 out of 189 countries and territories as illustrated by table 3.

Table 4

Nigeria's HDI and Component Indicators for 2019 relative to Selected Countries and Groups

S/N	Country	HDI Value	HDI Rank	Life Expectancy at Birth (SDG3)	Expected years of schooling (SDG4.3)	Mean years of schooling (SDG4.6)	GNI per capita (US \$) (SDG8.5)
1	Nigeria	0.534	158	54.3	9.7	6.5	5,086
2	Central African Republic (CAR)	0.381	188	52.8	7.6	4.3	777
3	Niger	0.377	189	62.0	6.5	2.0	912
4	Sub-Saharan Africa	0.541	—	61.2	10.0	5.7	3,443
5	Low HDI	0.507	—	61.3	9.3	4.8	2,581

Note. Adapted from “Human Development Indices and Indicators: 2019 Statistical

Update”, UNDP HDR, n.d., hdr.undp.org/en/content/table-1-human-development-index-and-its-components-1

Socially, Nigeria and the other African countries have indeed become fertile grounds for ethno-religious crises resulting in genocides of different degrees and intensity. For example in the Central Africa Republic, Bukarti (2017) observed that the ethno-religious crisis in the region is often between the Muslim dominated Seleka insurgents and Christian dominated anti Balaka Mercenaries. The activities of these groups significantly affect the growth and the development of Central African Republic through constant break down of peace in the region. Furthermore, Bukarti noted that the regular violent conflicts in Sudan are usually viewed and described as *the conflict*

between the North versus South, Arab versus African, or Muslims versus Christians like we have in Nigeria (p. 25).

Similarly, in Nigeria according to Osaghae and Suberu (2005) as cited by Canci and Dukoya (2016), some of the ethno-religious crises were the Kafanchan-Kaduna crises of 1980s and 1990s, the Kaduna Sharia riots of 2000, and the Jos crisis of 2001 where so many lives and properties were lost on both sides (Muslims and Christians, and Hausa/Fulani and other ethnic groups). In view of this therefore, Table 10 clearly shows that after politically related crisis, religious related crisis is the second with the highest fatality rate in Nigeria. Table 4 shows the examples of ethno-religious crises in Central African Republic, Sudan, and Nigeria as stated by Bukarti in 2017 and Canci and Dukoya in 2016 as explained above.

Table 5

Examples of Ethno-Religious crises in Central Africa Republic, Sudan, and Nigeria

Country	Ethnoreligious Crisis
Central African Republic	Crisis between the Muslim dominated Seleka insurgents and Christian dominated anti Balaka Mercenaries
Sudan	Crisis between the North versus South, Arab Versus African, or Muslims Versus Christians
Nigeria	Kafanchan-Kaduna crises of 1980s and 1990s, the Kaduna Sharia riots of 2000, and the Jos crisis of 2001

Note. Adapted from *Ethno-religious violence in the Central Africa Republic*, by

A.B.Bukarti, 2017, <https://institute.global/insight/co-existence/ethno-religious-violence-central-african-republic>; *Ethnic and religious crisis in Nigeria: A*

specific analysis upon identities (1999-2013) by H. Canci, & O.A. Odukoya, 2016, <https://accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/ethnic-religious-crises-nigeria/>

The nepotistic and corrupt nature of the Nigerian state makes most Nigerians to feel marginalized. Indeed, such marginalization is along economic, political, and ethnoreligious lines. It has been observed that insecurity during elections is the bane of leadership crisis in Nigeria. Consequently, the leadership crisis manifests because of the rifts among the ruling elites who control state apparatus for their private/sectional interests. (Orji & Uzodi, 2012, p. 4) Corroborating Orji and Uzodi, HRW (2011) believed that the 2011 post-election violence in Nigeria claimed over 1000 lives from the three days of rioting in the 12 northern states as reflected in Table 5 below. The table is an exposé of a bigger picture of the high estimated number of deaths from Nigeria's 2011 Post-Election Violence.

Table 6

Estimated Number of Deaths from Nigeria's 2011 Post Election Violence

S/N	STATE	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF DEATHS
1	Adamawa	5
2	Bauchi	79
3	Borno	3
4	Gombe	20
5	Jigawa	6
6	Kaduna	1303
7	Kano	16
8	Katsina	7
9	Niger	4
10	Plateau	2
11	Taraba	5
12	Yobe	13

Note. Adapted from *The 2011 Post Election Violence in Nigeria*, by N. Orji & N. Uzodi, 2012, Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC)..

Also, civil wars, religious violence, youth unemployment, poor educational structure, high rate of insecurity, terrorism, and negative inter/intra group relations have become the dilemma of the African Continent. In their view, SOS Children's Villages (n.d.) opined that out of 20 war conflicts in 2013, 11 of such wars were fought in the African countries like *Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria, Mali, and Democratic Republic of Congo* (para. 7). In terms of poor unemployment rates across African countries, Trading Economics (2020a) pointed out in Table 6 that Angola for example had an unemployment rate of 32.0% in March 2020, South Africa had 30.10% in March 2020, Nigeria had 27.10% in June 2020, Lesotho - 23.50% in December 2019, Swaziland had 22.90% in December 2019, Gabon - 19.60% in December 2019, and Senegal had 19.0% in March 2019.

Table 7

Global Unemployment Rate of Some Selected African Countries

S/N	Country	Latest Statistics/Year	Previous Statistics	Highest rate	Lowest rate	Measurement Parameter
1	Namibia	33.4 Dec/18	34 .0	37.6	19.5	% Quarterly
2	Angola	32.0 Mar/20	31.8	35.0	19.9	% Quarterly
3	South Africa	30.1 Mar/20	29.1	30.4	21.5	% Quarterly
4	Nigeria	27.1 Jun/20	23.1	27.1	5.1	% Quarterly
5	Mozambique	25.04 Dec/17	24.37	25.3	22.55	% Yearly
6	Lesotho	23.50 Dec/19	23.6	44.16	22.96	% Yearly
7	Swaziland	22.90 Dec/19	22.5	28.6	21.6	% Yearly
8	Gabon	19.60 Dec/19	19.5	20.4	16.9	% Yearly
9	Ethiopia	19.10 Dec/18	16.29	26.4	16.8	% Yearly

10	Senegal	19.0	Mar/19	15.1	25.7	5.6	% Quarterly
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Note. Adapted from *Global Unemployment Rate*, by Trading Economics, 2020,

(<https://tradingeconomics.com/country-list/unemployment-rate>)

With respect to the Global Terrorism Index, Institute for Economics and Peace (2019) further observed that most African countries are highly and negatively rated. For example, in 2019 after Afghanistan and Iraq (with 9.603% and 9.241% respectively), Nigeria came third with 8.597% on the Global Terrorism Index. Consequently, this placed Nigeria as the most terrorist prone country in Africa. Other African countries include Somalia with 7.8%, Democratic Republic of Congo 7.039%, Egypt 6.794%, and Libya 6.766%. Consistently, Table 7 below further represent some African countries, their rankings in Africa and the world as well as their scores in the terrorism index for the year 2019 as observed by Global Terrorism Index (2019).

Table 8

Terrorism Index of Top 10 African Countries

African Country	Rank in Africa	Rank in the World	Score
Nigeria	1	3	8.597
Somalia	2	6	7.8
Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	3	10	7.039
Egypt	4	11	6.794
Libya	5	12	6.766
Mali	6	13	6.653
Central African Republic (CAR)	7	14	6.622
Cameroon	8	15	6.62
South Sudan	9	17	6.316
Sudan	10	20	5.807

Note. Adapted from *Global Terrorism Index*, 2019,

(<http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2019/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2019.pdf>)

In the area of education, UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2018a) posited that sub-Saharan Africa has the highest rate of education exclusion in the world with one out of every five children between the ages of six and 11 being out of school. Also, that one out of every three youths between the ages of 12 and 14 is out of school. Furthermore, that almost 60% of youths aged 15-17 are also not in school. Demonstrating the out-of-school rates and numbers by sustainable development goal by regions, UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2018b) in the Table 8 below showed that sub-Saharan Africa has the highest number of out of school children (of primary school age) in 2016 with 34.1 million as against Europe and North America with only 2.5 million; Latin America and Caribbean with 3 million; and Central Asia with 0.2 million among others with lower numbers.

Table 9

Out-of-school Rates and Numbers by Sustainable Development Goal Region, 2016

Region	Out of school children of primary school age		
	Out of school Number (Millions)		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female
European and North American	2.5	1.4	1.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	3.0	1.7	1.3
Central Asia	0.2	0.1	0.1
Southern Asia	10.3	4.7	5.6
Eastern and southern Asia	7.2	3.4	3.8
Northern South-Eastern Asia	5.8	2.7	3.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	34.1	14.9	19.1
Oceania	0.3	0.1	0.2

Note. Adapted from *UNESCO Institute for Statistics database*

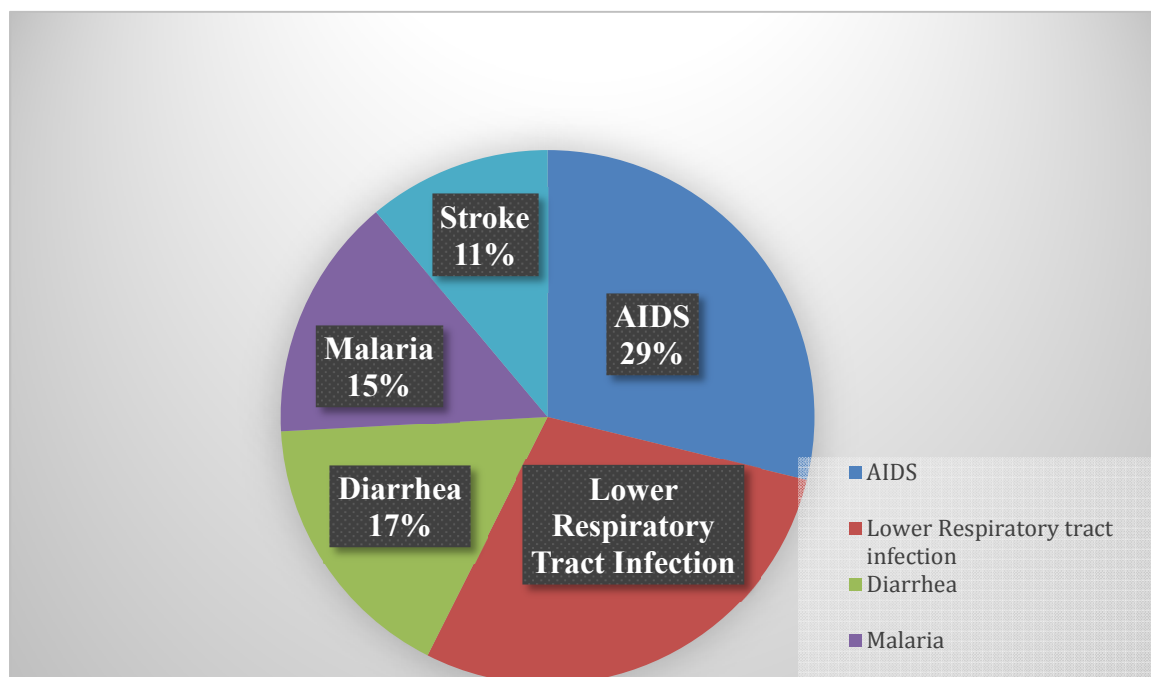
Health wise, Nigeria and by extension, the whole of Africa is an environment associated with HIV and AIDS, Malaria, Polio, water and air borne diseases, and other

forms of disease epidemics resulting in high mortality rate. Corroborating the above views, SOS Children's Villages observed that more than 30% of children in Africa suffer from malnutrition and other growth related problems. Also, that one out of every 11 children is likely to die before his 5th birthday. Furthermore, that 25,000,000 Africans were infected with HIV virus including an approximately 2,900,000 children.

Corroborating this view, African Check (2014) stated that communicable diseases, maternal deaths, and malnutrition accounted for 61.7% of all deaths in sub-Saharan Africa. On the other hand, deaths through non-communicable diseases accounted for 28.6% of all deaths in Africa. Meanwhile, African Check reported that in 2012, more than 3,000,000 people died from the five leading causes of death (AIDS, Lower Respiratory Tract Infection, Diarrhea, Malaria, and Stroke) in Africa. They also observed that 92% of deaths as a result of Malaria were recorded in Africa. The Figure 2 below shows the percentage of deaths in Africa according to the five leading causes of deaths in 2012 as identified by African Check.

Figure 2

Top Five causes of deaths in Africa in 2012



Note. Adapted from *African Check*, <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-the-leading-causes-of-death-in-africa/>.

Consequently, UNDP 2018 Statistical update further present the scenario in terms of life expectancy at birth as shown in Table 10:

Table 10*UNDP HDI Life Expectancy at Birth*

World Ranking	Country	Female	Male
85	Algeria	77.6	75.1
95	Tunisia	78.0	73.9
101	Botswana	70.2	64.9
108	Libya	75.1	69.3
110	Gabon	68.2	64.9
Medium HDI			
Rank	Country	Female	Male
113	South Africa	67.0	59.5
115	Egypt	74.0	69.5
123	Morocco	77.2	74.9
129	Namibia	67.7	61.8
137	Congo	66.7	63.5
Low HDI			
Rank	Country	Female	Male
156	Zimbabwe	63.5	59.8
159	Nigeria	54.9	53.1
158	Rwanda	69.6	65.3
159	Lesotho	56.9	52.2
159	Mauritania	64.9	61.9

Note. Adapted from *UNDP*, 2018, www.hdr.UNDP.org/sites/default/files/2018

Politically, Africa is often linked with political instability, the reign of despots and dictators, nepotism, poor democratic landscape, politicization of issues, political assassinations, corruption and exploitation, the existence of political parties without ideology, politicians without focus and vision, money bag politics, and rent-seeking politicians who desire to stay in power longer than expected, only with the motive of turning their countries into sites for rent extraction. All these leadership issues impact negatively on the image and identity of the African continent. It is in view of the above issues (produced by leadership deficit especially in Africa and Nigeria in particular) that

Dimitrov (2017) argued that the root of most problems in Africa is lack of good political oriented governance at both national and international levels. This according to him is further engendered in our polity as a result of the changing nature of the society, and the complexity of modern organization, which calls for leadership with character, ethics, innovation and vision, entrenched in impeccable value and moral standard born out of high sense of responsibility of the leaders to the led.

Consequently, with true leadership, Nigeria and indeed the entire African Continent have the capacity to set the path for good governance which will eventually go a long way in harnessing and engendering sustainable peace and positive socio-economic and political changes. Furthermore, effective and responsible leadership such as transformational leadership style is an indispensable leadership behavior that if inculcated in the African states will help revitalize and renew the minds of both the leaders and the led toward nation building (Tshiyoyo, 2012). Reinforcing this view, Okoye (2013) believed that for a country to develop and experience peaceful coexistence, the leadership must be proactive toward nation building in the midst of diversity. In view of this therefore, Okoye observed that Africa is faced with serious leadership challenges due to ineffective leadership. In his contribution to the discussion and in consonance with Okoye's view, Arogbofa (1992) quoting Obasanjo (1988) stressed that because the leadership of Africa is the cause of her misfortune, therefore Africa's leadership can ultimately also restore the lost glory thereby making the continent (Africa) relevant in the comity of nations across the world.

However, of greatest concern is the series of avoidable political crises that have engulfed the entire African Continent due to leadership failure, which has engendered a high rate of underdevelopment in the Continent. Some of the severe political crises within the African continent include Burundi's political crisis during the reign of the National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD), and the political impasse that occurred as a result of President Nkurunziza's refusal to settle a power sharing arrangement with the leaders of the Front for Democracy in Burundi (Frodebu) and Union for National Progress. Thus, tension arose between political parties and subsequent attacks against opposition members of parliament who opposed CNDD-FDD's policies (Crisis Group African Briefing, 2008).

A specific case is the attack on the supporters of Radjabu who left the ruling party due to some internal faceoff. This action further led to serious violence in mid-2007 between the supporters of government and that of Radjabu (Crisis Group African Briefing, 2008). Furthermore, the major political crises recorded in Nigeria include the Kano riot of 1953, the Action Group party crisis of 1962, the Federal Election crisis of 1964, Western Nigeria election crisis of 1965, the General Election crisis of 1979 and 1983, and the Kaduna State Executive versus the Legislative arm of government crisis of 1981 - leading to many casualties (Abdulkadir, 2012; Salawu, 2010). In view of the foregoing therefore, Table 10 shows that in 2017 political related issues constituted the highest violence fatalities in Nigeria.

Table 11

Number of Fatalities Resulting from Different Causes of Violence in Nigeria in 2017

Causes of Deaths	Absolute Number of Deaths by Causes of Violence
Political Issue	3126
Religious issue	2981
Crime	2806
Road accident	1565
Other accident	1124
Land Issue	1015
Cattle grazing	386
Sorcery	221
Fire/Explosion	215
Natural disaster	154
Oil distribution	114
Oil production	55
Convict execution	14
Market issue	1

Note. Adapted from *Seventh Report on Violence in Nigeria*

However, in Table 11 below, Bada (2018) observed that 1,300 lives were lost in Nigeria in January and July 2018 alone as a result of Farmers-Herders related conflicts. Furthermore, Vanguard Media Limited (2018) as contained in the table 11 reported that from January-September 2018, the death toll through natural disasters especially flooding in Nigeria hit 245.

Table 12

Reports of Deaths as a Result of Herders-Farmers Conflict, Road Accidents, and Natural Disasters

Cause of Deaths/Year	Numbers of Deaths	Source of Information/Year
Grazing or Herders-Farmers related conflicts	1,300	Bada 2018
Natural disaster (Flood)	245	Vanguard Online/2018

Note. Adapted from *Pulse.ng* 2018, *Punchng.com* 2017, and *Vanguard Media Limited*.

Consequently, Africa has become a fertile ground for violent revolutions, due to the neglect of the leaders. The Egyptian revolution of 2011 which brought down the regime of Hosni Mubarrack, and the Libyan revolution of 2011 that led to the death of Muammar Gaddafi are examples of these violent revolutions in Africa (Global Nonviolent Action Database, 2011; Tisdali, 2011; & Whitaker, 2011). Furthermore, Okoye (2013) believed that the parochialism of African leaders have succeeded in making the African states poorer than they should be. This is because it breeds negative ethnicity, sectionalism, and political differences which continue to impede on the unity of the continent.

In his submission, Daniel (2016) noted that leadership failure in Nigeria is evident in the unwillingness of the leaders to bring together both the human and natural resources for the development of the society. Also, that the leaders lack the moral justification to inculcate morality in minds of the followers because they have failed to live a life of morality themselves. In his contribution, Olayiwola (2012) observed that what constitutes leadership crisis in Africa include *visionlessness of the leaders, corruption and exploitation, socio-economic and political backwardness, high rate of unemployment,*

and poor provision of social services. Dike (2004) elucidated that the visionless leadership exhibited by most African leaders is the cause of poverty in the continent.

Citing the research conducted by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (n.d), Dike further noted that 43 of the 86 countries demarcated as low-income and food-deficient countries are in Africa (para. 2). Dike further stressed that visionless leadership behaviors has pushed most African leaders to develop the character of self-accumulation of wealth at the detriment of the continent's development. Thus, engendering the culture of poverty and unemployment across the vast majority of people in the continent. The Figure 3 below shows that globally there were 746,000,000 people in extreme poverty in 2013. Consequently, out of the global figure of 746,000,000, Africa alone add up to 383,000,000 people living in extreme poverty (out of which 86,000,000 are from Nigeria and 55,100,000 in Democratic Republic of Congo) as shown in Figure 3 below.

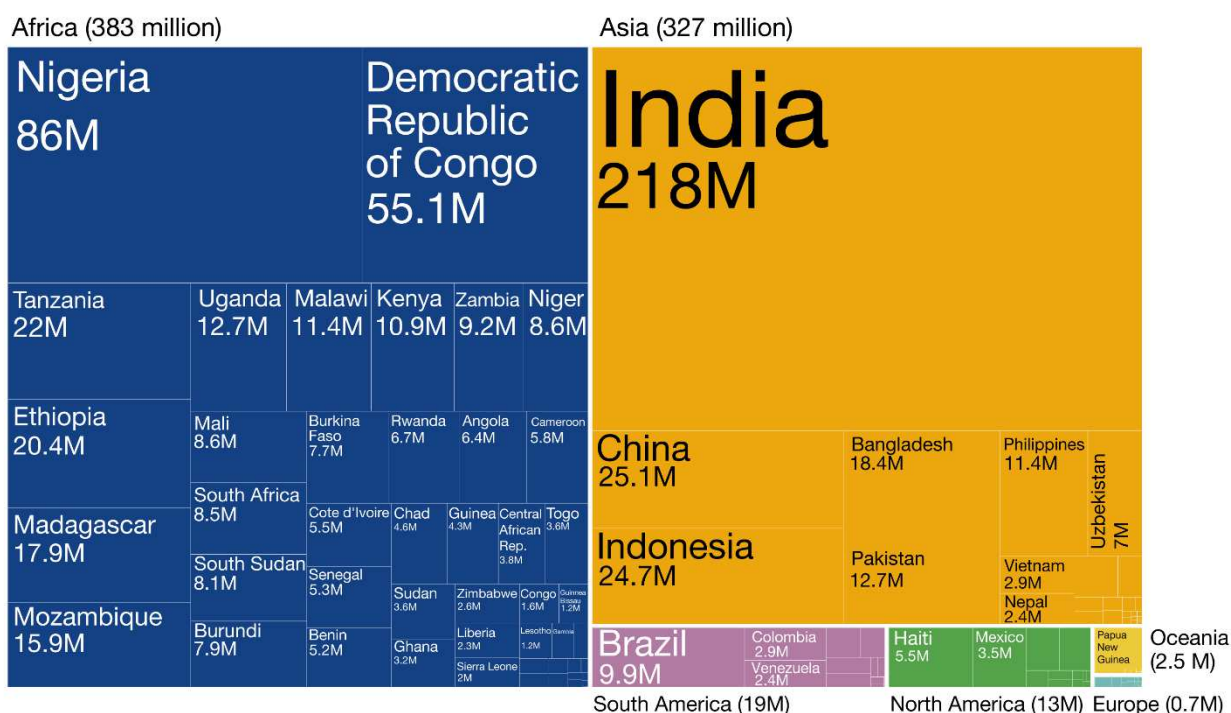
Figure 3*Global Number of people in Extreme Poverty*

Globally there are 746 million people in extreme poverty (in 2013)

Extreme poverty is defined as living with less than \$1.90/day.

This is measured in international dollars (i.e. price differences between countries are taken into account).

Our World
in Data



Data source: World Bank (PovcalNet)

The interactive data visualization is available at OurWorldinData.org. There you find the raw data and more visualizations on this topic.

Licensed under CC-BY-SA by the author Max Roser.

Goldsmith (2011) also posited that leadership without focus especially in Africa and Nigeria in particular is reflected in poor policies, persecution of political opponents, and selfish political interest as against collective national interest. Thus, Goldsmith opined that authoritarian *political traditions, lack of national identity, underdeveloped middle classes and widespread economic distress* are some of the factors for poor leadership (p. 79). To drive this point home, some cases of leadership crises in Africa were hereafter been examined.

Cases of Leadership Crisis in Africa

Background. The memories of individuals like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and Nelson Mandela of South Africa brings to mind how the present leadership in Africa as a whole and Nigeria in particular is suffering from great deficit (Adeline, 2014). This shows that preceding the activities of the great nationalists who fought for the continent's independence, and who also brought hope for the continent, the crop of leaders in Africa and Nigeria in particular are only enmeshed in corruption. Thus, leading to various degrees of leadership crisis that undermine the integrity of the African Continent. For example, Adeline observed that the Nigerian state continues to slide into the ebbs of poverty in spite of her human and material resources endowment. Also, Adeline opined that poor leadership misled the country into prolonged conflict period during the civil war. In her opinion, the many crises (religious, ethnic, and regional) and the emergence of terrorist groups like Boko Haram and other insurgent elements are products of bad leadership in Africa.

Zimbabwe under the Leadership of Robert Mugabe. The expectation in 1980 immediately after Zimbabwe's independence led by Robert Mugabe was for the country to become one of the strong independent states in Africa. This was because of the strong colonial structures the Mugabe government inherited, the level of social cohesion that was in existence then, and the strong promises to the people from the new leadership. All these were precursors to an independent Zimbabwe with a strong economy, and strong institutions capable of attracting international investments, among other things (Besada, et al. 2008; Kadembo, 2008). It was also observed that during the first decade of his administration Mugabe did not renege on these promises and there was improvement in

the basic government services, adequate living standards, and a democratic/representative government that embraced the rule of law and fundamental human freedom (Besada et al. 2008, p. 1). As highlighted by Kadembo (2008), the successes recorded in the early days of the Mugabe administration positioned the country in the *top league of fast developing countries* (p. 2). Unfortunately, after the first decade of the Mugabe administration, there was a paradigm shift with ethnic tensions causing divisions among the polity. These tensions stemmed from the land redistribution issues as a result of poor public policies of the ruling Zimbabwean Africa National Union-Popular Front (ZANU-PF).

Consequently, the inability of the Mugabe's Government to manage the land reform issues further degenerated into crisis that affected the country's economic stability. Thus, the once flourishing country which was the envy of its neighbors began to witness a steady decline in its educational system, rising poverty and HIV/AIDS, poor food security, and increasing malnutrition (Besada and Moyo, 2008; Chiliyo, 2016). These were further aggravated by the government of Mugabe who refuse to acknowledge the seriousness of the problem (Besada et al., p. 11). It has been suggested that the country further experienced social crisis, which eventually led to the mass exodus of Zimbabweans with the record of over 3.5 million persons (25%) of the immigrated to other countries like - *Zambia, Botswana, United Kingdom, Australia, and United States of America* (Besada et al., 2008, p. 11) and other countries. Despite all these, Mugabe rigidly clung to power for a long period of time through electoral processes associated with violence, and through the suppression of the opposition party by using the state

apparatuses (Eldredge and Fellow, 2010). Other manifestations of Zimbabwe's leadership crisis are evident in the hyperinflation (231 million percent recorded in the year 2008) which brought about the drastic devaluation of Zimbabwe's dollar, and the unemployment rate which skyrocketed to 94 percent. As Eldredge et al. asserted, life expectancy of the average Zimbabwean reduced from 63 to 37 years of age, violation of fundamental human rights became a norm, and the free press was expelled by the government. In addition, violence and political intimidation became the order of the day. In view of the forgoing therefore, South Africa and United States of America (USA) who were the actors in the struggles for the restoration of Zimbabwe's past glory, blamed the leadership style of Mugabe as being responsible for the problems of the country. Eldredge et al. further pointed out that both South Africa and the USA observed that lack of good governance, rule of law, and poor economic policies of Mugabe administration were among the factors that brought about the unending socio-political, and economic crisis in Zimbabwe during the regime of Mugabe.

Meanwhile, Mugabe's insistence on clinging onto power by all means became more pronounced during the 29th March, 2008 presidential election. Kebonang (2012) argued that the electoral malpractices and lack of free and fair electoral processes became the outcomes of that election. After the election, it was clear that Morgan Tsvangirari the presidential candidate of the opposition party (the Movement of Democratic Change (MDC)) won the election. However, the Zimbabwe electoral body rather chose to declare the election inconclusive and a rerun was organized on 27th June 2008. In displaying their displeasure, the opposition MDC party pulled out of the race because of terror that

was unleashed by the ruling party through the use of security agents to harass and intimidate their supporters and other activists (Kebonang, 2012). In essence, Kebonang posited that lack of checks and balances, and lack of political neutrality of the security agents, were some of the factors that engendered the leadership crisis associated with Mugabe's government.

In his review of the political situation in Zimbabwe during the reign of former President Robert Mugabe, Mude (2017) observed that the political temperature in Zimbabwe was heated as a result of the political misunderstanding that existed between the major political party – ZANU-PF, and the main opposition MDC. He also reiterated that lack of internal democracy within political parties contributed largely to the leadership problems during Mugabe's regime. Thus, resulting in *power struggles, bad governance, human rights abuses, lack of rule of law, and economic downturn* (p. 3). Mude also postulated that the leadership crisis in Zimbabwe was further aggravated due to the high unemployment rates, rising poverty among the people, human rights abuses, poor provision of social services, and the poor leadership as demonstrated by the Mugabe government.

Gambia under the Leadership of Yahya Jammeh. In 1994, Yahya Jammeh staged a military coup d'état that ousted the democratically elected government of President Dawda Jawara who led the country for more than thirty years (Freedom House, 2012). In spite of the military coup d'état, the military dictatorship of Jammeh was eventually transformed into a civilian administration as a result of the 1996 referendum, which further led to the 2001 elections where Jammeh defeated Ousainou Darboe.

Following this, the presidential election (in 2006) that was characterized by wide level of malpractices, still returned Jammeh as winner for another five years (Freedom House, 2012). After that election, the government announced the suspicion of an impending coup. Thus, many individuals including journalists, intelligence and security personnel were arrested with many of them thereafter sentenced to many years in prison. Furthermore, in the year 2010, all the accused persons arrested were eventually sentenced to death for conspiracy and treason (Freedom House, 2012).

Freedom House further observed that from 2007 to 2009, Jammeh's leadership ineptitude became glaring. For example, he once declared that he can personally fight the HIV/AIDS in the country through the use of herbal medicine, and he had also warned against any form of human rights activities in the country. According to him (Jammeh) civil society activities have the capacity to bring about societal instability. Therefore, as a build up to the 2011 election, Jammeh announced his readiness to withdraw government services from any community that failed to elect him into office. It was also his belief that he can never be removed from power (be it through election or coups) because he was installed by God (Freedom House, p. 2). Freedom House affirmed that the leadership crisis in Gambia escalated prior to the 2011 election, when the voters register was inflated with double registrations, and the so called Independent Electoral Commission (which was government controlled) refused the opposition parties the opportunity to gain access to the register.

As a way of further weakening the popularity of the oppositions, the campaign period was reduced from four weeks to only eleven days. Consequently, the opposition

parties were not allowed to campaign through the national media, as they were coerced by security agents. This further led to the regular clashes between the supporters of the ruling party with the supporters of other opposition parties. Although Jammeh eventually won the 2011 election with 72 percent votes, yet the elections result was rejected by the opposition parties as well as international observer organizations for not been free and fair. On the whole, during the administration of Jammeh, Gambia became a transit point for drugs delivery, and the country was considered undemocratic by the international community. Besides the leadership legitimacy problem, official corruption also remained a serious problem for the Jammeh administration. Citizens' freedom and that of the press were suppressed by the Jammeh government which always acted with high level of impunity often exhibited through the high handedness of the country's security operatives (Freedom House, 2012).

However, Mendales and Ben (2017) observed that Jammeh was eventually defeated in the 2016 election by the opposition leader Adama Barrow. Although the election that ousted him out of power was adjudged to be the most credible ever in the history of the country, yet the outcome was rejected by the incumbent president Yahya Jammeh having earlier accepted the election results as free and fair. Consequently, as a means of stopping the winner of the election from taking over the mantle of leadership, Mendales et al. stressed that Jammeh declared a 3 month state of emergency in the country just a day to the end of his administration.

To finally address this leadership crisis in Gambia, it took the regional intervention of the African Union (AU) and Economic Community of West Africa States

(ECOWAS) before Jammeh was eventually forced out of office. In a recent study on the Gambian crisis, Akpuru-Aja & Augustine (2017) noted that “the political crisis generated by president Jammeh... cast serious spell on the future of democratic institutions and principles in Gambia, Africa, and the world at large” (p. 60). Consequently, the reverse victory in Gambia through the action of Yahya Jammeh clearly demonstrates that African democracy is retrogressing rather than progressing. In the views of Akpuru-Aja and Augustine, the desire of political leaders to stay longer than expected in a democratic setting is against democratic principles. It further demonstrates that African leaders only give up political power through condemnation, pressure, and threats from international organizations like United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), African Union (AU), or other regional bodies like the ECOWAS among others.

South Africa under the Leadership of Jacob Zuma. Carbone (2006) observed that the administration of Nelson Mandela of South Africa was often adjudged to be entrenched in positive transformational change. However, the subsequent administrations in South Africa only succeeded in engendering and throwing the country into leadership crisis, with devastating effects on most sectors of the country’s economy. Although most post-apartheid leadership in South Africa were characterized with divergent political irregularities leading to one form of political crisis or the other, yet Carbone posited that that sense of directionless was engendered when Jacob Zuma ascended to power.

Carbone further observed that during the regime of Zuma there were records of high level of corruption, incompetency, lack of tolerance, facelessness, and low level of socio-economic development. In view of these, Carbone argues that the administration of

Zuma was constantly criticized by both internal and international organizations across the globe. Thus, during Zuma's Administration in South Africa, there was lack of confidence and high social tension as a result of Zuma's mismanagement of the state funds for selfish interest. For example, Carbone asserted that a South African Court had found Zuma guilty of misappropriation and diverting Sixteen Million (US\$) just to renovate his private residence.

Carbone further affirmed that another case against Zuma still ongoing in court involves 738 counts of Corruption that are linked to US \$ 5 billion arms purchasing contract dating back to the late 1990s. These consequently brought about lack of confidence in the leadership of Zuma by some prominent members of his political party (African National Congress - ANC) who thereafter began to criticize the Zuma's administration. Furthermore, the public reaction to the 'Marikana' event, leading to the police killing 72 Miners also added to the leadership crisis in South Africa under Zuma. Meanwhile, Carbone pointed out that social pressure in South Africa got to a new level with the spread of *student protests, workers' strikes, and xenophobic anti-immigration riots* (p. 31). All these point to the leadership failure of Jacob Zuma which further encouraged many people to dissociate themselves from his administration.

Thus, the personality of Zuma before his fellow citizens and the international community and organizations further declined. Another great set back to the regime of Zuma as noted by Carbone, was when he began to have issues with members of his cabinet leading to the sack of his most proficient finance minister and replacing him with an *unknown backbencher, David Van Rooyen* (p. 32). Again, Carbone argued that this act

of leadership deficit exhibited by Zuma led to a decline in South Africa's currency - Rand as a result of the reaction of international forces, thereby forcing Zuma to rescind his hitherto decision of replacing David Rooyen the newly appointed finance minister with a more proficient and highly respected Pravin Cordhan. In my view, a major consequence of Zuma's poor leadership was the resultant crisis that engulfed his government and the vote of no confidence passed on him by the parliament which thereafter led to his resignation.

As mentioned by Zame (2015) despite the fact that before Zuma was made the president of South Africa, there were various scandals leveled against him such as: his implication in Schabir's Corruption case (leading to Thabo Mbeki dropping Zuma as his deputy), and a rape charge leveled against him in 2006. Although these charges were dropped in 2009, by the then National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) Mololedi Mpeshe, yet Zame argued that there is still ongoing debate on the merit behind the dropping of the cases against Zuma by NPA. In spite of all these allegations, Zuma eventually became the president of South Africa amidst negative perceptions of him in the public domain. In the course of his leadership, Zuma was often accused of giving special consideration to friends and families during government tenders selection. There was also a report that Zuma's son (Duduzane) together with Tony Gupta control Mabengola investment (Zame, p. 43). These and many other allegations mentioned earlier, made Zuma's administration to be characterized with different types of political crisis. In view of the forgoing therefore, Zame in his assessment of the bureaucratic corruption during the first

leadership tenure of Zuma concluded that there is correlation between corruption and political stability especially in African states.

The Leadership Crisis in Nigeria

Background

The crisis associated with leadership in Nigeria remains the same from the first republic administration of Tafawa Balewa till date. The leadership crisis in the country that is reflected in the country's system of corruption has also become a thing of great concern (Imhonopi & Urim, 2013). For this reason and in their opinion Nigeria continues to tow the path of perpetual leadership crisis hence, carrying the mark of a failed state. As noted earlier in the background section of this review, the genesis of the leadership crisis in Nigeria among others may arguably be traced to the campaign promises leaders make before being elected into political offices on what they will do to transform their society and nation. Consequently, it is believed that when elected into public offices, and the leaders become aware of the reality of the situation on ground, they often realize the difficulties in actualizing the lofty campaign promises. Thus, Danladi (2013) stated that the masses in Nigeria continue to lament on the failure of leadership even after many years of independence. This is because the leadership has failed to improve on the country's social welfare, unity, equality, and justice despite promises they made before the mandate is given to them.

Also, because Nigeria has the capacity due to her vast natural resources to end poverty, and improve on her developmental profile, it is worth believing that poor leadership characterized by lack of political will serves as hindrance to the actualization

of the expected progress in the country. Therefore, it is enough to conclude that crisis of leadership is one of the major problems confronting the development of the Nigerian state (Danladi, p. 16). Consequently, in their research findings on leadership crisis and nation building in Nigeria, Theophilus, Kazeem and Bolanle (2017) observed that leadership has lost its power in the effort to accomplish national progress because of government of *live and let live* (p. 3). Thus, the consequences of this kind of bad leadership manifest in the form of high corruption rates, mismanagement of the resources of government, lack of accountability, environmental crisis, ethnicity, ethno-religious crisis, and socio-economic inequalities, which continue to impede on the nation building process.

Omotoso (2013) opined that the challenge of leadership in Nigeria in particular starts with the leadership recruitment process. In view of this, it is worth noting that most leaders in Nigeria emerge through merely unilateral decisions of various political godfathers, and not based on the pedigree and the performance of the individuals toward the collective interest of the society. However, Omotoso observed that the emergence of leaders is often based on the ability of the individuals to be subservient to the dictates of the godfathers. Therefore, this portends great tendency for crises, leading to political instability usually when the godson refuses to continue being subservient to his godfather. For example, during the earlier period of Nigeria's fourth republic (1999-2003) Omotoso noted that there were series of political crises between political godfathers and their godsons across the different states in the country. As an example therefore, he observed that

in Kwara state - Nigeria, it was Saraki (godfather) versus Alabi Mohammed Lawal (godson/governor); in Anambra state, it was chief Emeka Offor (godfather) versus Chimaroke Mbadinuju (godson/governor); in Enugu state, Jim Nwobodo (godfather) against Chimaroke Nnamani (godson/governor); and in Kano state, it was the late Alhaji Abubakar Rimi (godfather) against Rabiu Kwankwaso (godson/governor); among others (p. 129).

These various crises served as impediments and distractions to democratic governance across these states. Thus, high level of poverty, economic recession, ethnicity, political violence, and monetization of politics became the order of the day.

Using the hegemonic theory, Sani et al. (2017) observed that the hegemonic power of most African states with particular reference to Nigeria has continued to decline due to poor leadership. In their view, ever since General Sani Abacha took over the mantle of leadership in Nigeria, the country lost her value in the eye of the international community because of his (Abacha's) leadership style that was dictatorial in nature and characterized by brutality. For example, Sani et al. observed that Ken Saro Wiwa a great environmental activist was executed by the Abacha's military Junta despite agitations by international community against the execution. Also, during the Abacha's regime the former military ruler General Olusegun Obasanjo and his then deputy, General Shehu Musa Yar'adua (who later died in prison detention) were jailed. Eminent Nigerians like Anthony Enahoro and Professor Wole Soyinka fled the country because they were also targeted by the Abacha's administration. At the peak of Abacha's cohesive leadership, another prominent Nigerian, who was adjudged to have won the most fair and free

democratic election, MKO Abiola was denied victory, arrested, incarcerated, and later died in prison. The wife also was not spared as she was assassinated during the Abacha's regime among many other cases of human rights abuses and killings.

Consequently, Nigeria was sanctioned by western countries and also suspended by Common Wealth of Nations. Sani et al. further observed that the Olusegun Obasanjo's civilian regime was also characterized by human rights abuses and massive extrajudicial killing of the citizens. For example, Sani et al. pointed out that the killing of civilians at Zaki Biam in Benue state and the massive execution of civilians at Odi in Bayelsa state are among such extrajudicial killings. Also, Sani et al. posited that Obasanjo's administration was adjudged to have the highest number of political assassinations, which as a consequence also contributed immensely to the decline of hegemonic power of Nigeria in the eyes of the international communities (Sani et al., 2017). They (Sani et al.) equally observed that the Goodluck Jonathan's administration was associated with monumental corruption and impunity of the highest degree. Thus, Sani et al. reiterated that Nigeria as a country had failed to sustain her hegemonic power during Jonathan's administration, thus, foreign investors lack confidence investing in Nigeria as a result of *corruption, and insecurity* (p. 2296).

In his assessment of ethics and morality in Nigerian politics, Etemike (2015) observed that lack of morality especially amongst the political leaders serves as the cause for many challenges of leadership associated with the country. Etemike posits that often time the ruling parties in Nigeria use the political power at their disposal to oppress and hunt political opponents (both real and perceived). As Etemike has shown, ample

evidences abound that politics in Nigeria lack ethics and morality. Thus, the abuse and misuse of power by politicians in Nigeria shows that, the ultimate aim of politics in the country is merely the means of acquiring of political power and ill-gotten wealth.

Etemike also highlighted the following as possible factors responsible for the political leadership crisis in Nigeria – *disrespect for the rule of law, corruption, disobedience of court injunctions, constitutional breaches, rule of impunity, violence, electoral fraud, political assassinations, and the use of police force against opponents and citizens* (p. 43). He also believed that Nigeria will experience progress if morality and ethics are engendered in decision making, policies, and actions of the political elites of the country. He argued further that only a radical change in socio-economic and political system that encourages the culture of exploitation and the marginalization can make the country great.

Etemike suggested that Nigeria should consider the devolution of power, that would reduce the magnitude of power at the federal level and that would at the same instance recognize the various nationalities, interests, cleavages, and other underlying factors in its nation building. As a panacea for the lingering leadership crisis, Etemike recommended that the lower levels of government in Nigeria (states and local governments) should be empowered. Doing so he believed will reduce the inordinate struggles for the control of the centre by the political class.

Critical Evaluation of the Leadership Crisis in Nigeria Discourse

Orugu and John (2014) posited that past leaders in Nigeria both civilian and military have applied different leadership styles which have impacted negatively on the

Nigeria state, thus resulting in varying degrees of crises - socio-economic and political. This has also demonstrated that greed and rivalry among political leaders and their political parties continue to be the obstacles to the socio-political development and leadership effectiveness in Nigeria. However, people-oriented policies and programs can help largely to develop trust and confidence between leaders and followers in any society. For example in Nigeria, policies such as the establishment of 'Almajiri' Education Scheme in Northern Nigeria, the special education organized for school dropouts in southern Nigeria, and the National Conference of 2014/2015 organized by the Goodluck Jonathan's Administration are some of the examples of such people oriented policies needed to engender peace and stability in leadership (Orugu & John, 2014). They observed that the unity of Nigeria can be made healthier if the leadership of the country understands the need to promote national interest as against any sectional or individual interest.

Orugu and John further posited that peace, tranquility and development in Africa and Nigeria in particular can also be enhanced when political leaders learn to cultivate and inculcate democratic principles and values. They also recommended that for Africa and Nigeria in particular to experience leadership that is characterized with minimal crisis, it is expedient that all forms of tribal politics by its leaders and those led should be discarded. Therefore, they suggested that leaders need to develop more proactive measures in resolving critical national issues, to build effective consensus. Furthermore, they posited that there is the need to develop the confidence and trust among all groups and to maintain policy consistency within the Nigerian political systems. Finally, they

concluded that to maintain political consistency, the culture of political cross carpeting or defections should be adequately stemmed.

In their submission, Ladan-Baki and Enwere (2017) observed that the political elites' behavior in Nigeria can be attributed to the legacies of the political culture which emphasize on the tradition of political totalitarianism. They also noted that the modern conflict associated with Nigeria parliament and the political elites is rooted in the British colonial era – a period when the Nigerian political elites were alienated from the parliamentary processes and the promotion of British elites were dominant (Ladan-Baki & Enwere, 2017). This was reflected at independence when Nigerian leaders were less concerned with establishing a true modern democracy, rather they were more interested in enshrining the features of liberal democracy. Thus, they were merely concerned with the selfish interests of establishing the *written constitution, multi-parties' system, independence of judiciary, separation of powers, and the rule of law* (p. 1). Therefore, these features only resulted in numerous conflicts as a result of struggle for power both within political parties and within the parliament. It is therefore expected that these forms of behavior can only lead to the collapse of parliamentary democracy as it was in the first republic which consequently ushered in the incursion of the military into the political scene. Furthermore, the introduction of multi-party system gave rise to political elites' struggle for power thereby leading to uncommon benefits that turned out to make the legislature frail and uneven.

For example, Ladan-Baki and Enwere observed that the struggle of the legislature which dates back to the era of colonial administration through the military rule became so

pronounced under the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) administration in Nigeria. Thus, the executive arm of government view the legislative arm as hock in the political game that must be used according to the dictate of the executive arm. Also, the introduction of the politics of impeachment gave rise to more conflict in the National Assembly. To thwart the impeachment process it becomes easier for the executive to form alliances with a friendly faction within the Senate and House of Representatives to stabilize and legitimize the administration. Consequently, the nature of the conflict between the political elites in the executive and the legislature portend the tendency to create divisions in the country's political system along ethnic and religious lines.

In his contribution to the discourse, Danladi (2013) argued that after many years of independence, the masses in Nigeria continue to lament on the failure of leadership because they believe the leadership has failed to improve on the country's social welfare, unity, equality, and justice. He further posited that all regimes in Nigeria from the civilian to the military eras are *mostly cosmetic and deceitful* (p. 6). However, after taking over the mantle of leadership the political leaders immediately return to the status quo thereby further widening the gap in the existing social class order. Thus, one cannot categorically demarcate the line between an old administration characterized by corruption, embezzlement of public funds, and crisis with a successor's administration that came to position of authority as a result of its promise to engender positive change. For example, the true nature and character of the Nigerian political elites manifested during the second republic which only lasted from 1979 to 1983. Danladi viewed the second republic which brought to power the administration of Shehu Shagari as the

president of Nigeria, as only succeeding in exalting the political elites' class. Thus, basic needs or necessity of life like food, shelter, clothing, and ownership of vehicles became the exclusive reserve of the few privilege political elites. This clearly shows the level of disengagement of the social contract where the people and the leaders are expected to be held together through a symbiotic relationship. However, the leaders benefit at the detriment of the followers because the leaders were only preoccupied with self-accumulation of wealth. The resultant effect is that electricity which serves as the force behind the development of modern economy became erratic during this regime (Shagari) and also, transportation system became truncated due to the fact that the various transportation systems (road, rail, water, and air) were poorly maintained and managed (Danladi, 2017).

The Buhari (military) administration which took over from Shagari with all the determination to engender discipline and bring about transformational change by reducing corruption that was associated with Shagari's regime, launched the War Against Indiscipline (WAI). On the contrary, the officials in the Buhari administration who were bestowed with the responsibility of handling foreign exchange dealings were accused of corruptly enriching themselves (Danladi, 2017). Danladi also observed that when General Ibrahim Babangida took over the mantle of leadership on 27, August 1985, his economic policy of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was believed to have plundered the country into indebtedness. He also observed that it was widely acclaimed that his (Babangida) administration institutionalized corruption. This brought about poor delivery on the social services which paved way for socio-economic and political decline

for the nation. Danladi further observed that the nation's status became worse under Abacha's Administration from 1993 to 1998. According to him several public utilities were broken down and institutions of government became moribund. For example, the four refineries in Nigeria stopped production of petroleum products, thereby bringing about high shortage of fuel with the country importing fuel at a very high scale. In summary, the inability of the administrations from independence (the first republic) in 1960 to the present administration witnessed downturn of socio-political and economic development in the nation. Indeed, basic benefits of democracy such as social amenities, basic infrastructures, better life for the people, affordable Medicare delivery, better education, and basic availability of food to the people promised by these leaders during their campaigns often time occasioned by rising levels of displeasure and severe pressure and in some instances clashes between and among communities, *religious riots, militant youth violence and other social unrests* (Danladi, p. 6).

Major Factors That Engender Leadership Failure in Nigeria

The main responsibility of government across the world is the provision of social services to the people, thereby improving the living standard of the masses. However, in most developing countries especially in Africa the reverse is the case. Therefore, the high rate of poverty, unemployment, and the poor living standard of the vast majority of the citizens become the antecedents of leadership woes in most African states and Nigeria in particular. To this effect, Asaju et al. (2014) observed that for the past years successive governments in Nigeria had failed to translate the population of the country as well as the natural resources endowment of the country into economic progress.

Although good leadership is often associated with honesty, integrity, vision, communication and self-confidence, yet the leadership trends in Nigeria is such that the executive contributed to the country's backwardness and instability. Furthermore, it is believed that the institutional weakness, that is, the poorly organized judiciary, independent national electoral commission (INEC), and the political parties, poor moral values, greed, and corruption on the part of the leaders constitute major contributors to leadership crisis in Nigeria (Asaju et al., 2014).

Consequently, more than 55 years after independence, Nigeria still battles with the question of effective leadership. Some of the reasons for the leadership failure in Nigeria have been attributed to the nature of the country's colonial misadventure, corruption, and lack of visionary leadership on the part of the past and present leaders in the country. These factors largely contributed to the present socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic, communal instability, and crisis that continue to retard the development of the country (Asaju et al., 2014). Moreover, Ifeanyi (2016) opined that some of the challenges of leadership in Nigeria hinge around the non-adherence to the rule of law by both leaders and the led. According to Ifeanyi, there are challenges associated with lack of commitments on the side of the political leaders to work toward effective and sustainable development initiatives. Consistent with Asaju et al., Ifeanyi observed that part of the challenges to leadership failure in Nigeria manifest in lack of transparency and accountability, corruption, electoral malpractices, lack of political will, lack of experience, and incompetency on the side of the leaders.

Although leadership failure is often attributed to the leaders, yet Ifeanyi observed that the followers also play a part in the leadership failure because often time they influence the leaders negatively. Corroborating the views of Ifeanyi, Chinenye (2011) reinforced that failure of leadership in Nigeria can be attributed to lack of intellectual training and discipline on the part of the leaders, desire for self-accumulation of wealth as against holistic development of the society, lack of proactive involvement of the citizens in the political activities, unscrupulous demands on the leaders by their followers, nepotism, tribalism, and weak emphasis on the rule of law (Chinenye, 2011).

In their view, Salawu and Hassan (2010) observed that the two major problems associated with multi-ethnic nature of Nigeria that undermine the survival of democracy in the country are difficulties that arise as a result of the major ethnic groups and the antagonism that comes as a result of rivalry among the different groups (p. 28). This reinforced the fact that the diverse nature of the Nigerian state make individuals and political leaders to align with people from their common ethnic background when it comes to privileges. Thus, relegating merit to the background and exalting nepotism and ethnicity to the high pedestal. These problems are further enhanced by the constitution which encourages quota system, federal character system, political zoning, use of catchment areas for admissions into higher institutions, all of which give credence to the process of dividing the country along multi-faceted lines.

Consequently, Salawu and Hassan opined that the strong allegiance followers have on leaders and individuals from their ethnic background tended to encourage primordial sentiments among the Nigeria people. This further brings about ethnic politics

with strong administrative division that cut across the three dominant ethnic groups in Nigeria - north, south, east, and west. In view of the above, Nigeria continues to experience series of leadership crises due to the fact that leaders fail to effectively manage the political relations among the diverse ethnic groups in the country.

Nevertheless, Nigeria needs leadership that is purposeful, visionary, and without any form of ethnic chauvinism that sees acquisition of power as a means to serving the collective welfare of its people, and not as an end in itself regardless of their ethnicity.

Consistent with the views of Salawu and Hassan, Ayatse and Isaac (2013) observed that ethnic sentiment has gradually found its way into the centre of Nigerian political landscape. This has continued to militate against efficient and effective leadership bringing about poor development and political crisis at all levels of government. Over the years, they opined that the ethnic sentiment bedeviling Nigeria is a product of colonialism. The introduction of federalism and the amalgamation of the two protectorates (northern and southern) by the colonial regime have also been blamed for the strong regional sentiment exhibited by the current educated political elites. Unfortunately, according to Ayatse and Isaac, these political elites have continued to use ethnic sentiments for their political gain thereby hindering them from achieving the common goals of the society.

Ayatse and Isaac further argued that the nepotism and ethnicity pervading the current administration in Nigeria and the political class are responsible for most of the *political, administrative, economic, social, and cultural maladies* in country (p. 178). Religion they said has also become a tool for gaining political opportunities and

privileges as against merit, professional capability, and skills. These vices are also responsible for the constant call for the creation of more states and local governments with the belief that this process will stem marginalization against the minority ethnic groups. Consequently, Ayatse and Isaac also posited that these ethnic, religious, and nepotistic tendencies most often form the yardstick by which the leaders determine the allocation of federal revenue and services to the states and local governments. They also cited the example of the first republic in Nigeria, where the Hausa/Fulani extraction who were at the helm of affairs used their ethnicity and nepotistic disposition to allocate most of the funds to their northern extraction. This they say heightened unhealthy political rivalry, which most often lead to inter-ethnic and communal conflicts.

Dantani et al. (2017) contributing to the discourse, observed that most leaders in Africa and Nigeria in particular are characterized by politicization of all institutions of the state particular security. Often time, they opined that the political decision to deploy security personnel to contain conflict situations is done across ethnic and religious divides. Consequently, this leadership style usually constitutes the major cause of crisis across most African societies and Nigeria in particular. In their research on security personnel deployment in conflict areas within Nigeria, Dantani et al. observed in their research findings that security personnel during conflicts in Nigeria are often deployed based on decision of the leaders to defend the welfare of a certain group as against the interest of others. Therefore, in deploying security personnel to conflict areas in Nigeria, three of the major challenges the Nigerian leaders consider are religion, ethnicity, and inadequacy of security personnel. These most often inadvertently create a lopsidedness in

deployment of personnel to favour the situation of the conflict at hand. In effect, security personnel from some ethnic regions may be deployed to a conflict area that is highly prone to heavy casualty while those from the region affiliated with the leadership may be protected from such deployment. In summary, their findings revealed that most of the conflicts in Nigeria are often sponsored by some political leaders as means of achieving particular interests.

Koos and Pierskalla (2016) asserted that the exclusion of ethnic groups from the economic activities within their immediate communities has the tendency of igniting political violence. Therefore, the political economy of oil in Nigeria clearly shows that socioeconomic growth and ecological deprivation of the locales where the resources are located are critical issues that undermine the stability of the country. Although the oil products are surely not responsible for the country's political crisis, yet the politics of the oil sector is a great determinant of instability. In other words, issues surrounding the oil sector communities in Nigeria like *poor governance, corruption, poverty, and unemployment* (have continued to motivate socio-political conflict (p.900). They asserted that the over dependency of the government on oil largely contributes to weakening other institutions of the state leading to poor policies of government, thereby creating avenues for political violence. Consequently, the political class through selfish policies benefit immensely from the oil wealth, while the local communities in the oil producing areas are totally excluded to suffer from the consequences of ecological degradation as a result of the oil exploration activities. Koos and Pierskalla further remarked that due to the ineffectiveness and inefficiency of the government, individuals tend to gain access

illegally to the resources of the state creating incentives for violent activities in the nation. Therefore, with an effective governance system, the situation above and the observed political representation have “inverse effects on political violence, because policies addressing local grievances become more credible” (p. 902).

In his own input, Daniel (2015) observed that leadership under democratic regimes in Nigeria were associated with crisis of varying intensity as a result of insecurity, godfatherism, and political instability in the democratic space. Historically and for the above reasons, the past elections in Nigeria were characterized by thuggery, and ballot box snatching, which is an indication that good electoral processes are lacking. Consequently, from independence till date, Nigeria is persistently awash by instability in governance, which is often ignited by crisis oriented electoral processes that continue to give way to numerous electoral uncertainties. To clarify the above assertion, Daniel observed that the 1979 election like the previous elections conducted in Nigeria was reported by international observers as marred by monumental rigging. Furthermore, he observes that the 1983 election became more unacceptable for a democratic state as a result of corruption, political mayhem, and irregularities perpetuated across different polling units before, during, and after the election.

Daniel further opined that the 1999, 2003, and 2007 elections were widely criticized as not being free and fair elections. In summary, Daniel observed that the unresolved issues before and immediately after independence like the controversy over the declaration of self-governance by Anthony Enahoro as against the position of the northern region, and the subsequent events leading to violence in some parts of the

country, constitute major problem of political crisis in Nigeria. This brought about lack of trust among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria that continue to struggle in the bid to control the political and the state resources between 1960 and 1966 (Daniel, 2015).

Additionally, David (2015) believed that what shapes the nature of politics of a state are *political ideology, political culture and political actors* (p. 115). Therefore, in his view, besides the colonial factors that shaped the political landscape and crisis associated with leadership in Nigeria, he also believes that the nature of Nigeria's politics and democracy largely contributed to the leadership crisis. For this reason, he observed that in Nigeria, "the character of the state rules out a politics of moderation and mandated a politics of lawlessness and extremism" (p. 118) just to make politics and the nature of the state power more attractive for the ruling class. In his opinion, this is further achieved through the ethnicity and religious bigotry, which politicians often use for their selfish interests. This suggests that politicians in Nigeria often resort to sectionalism and ethnicity as a way of gaining political support and to also clinch to power indefinitely. David further opined that the political class often gets involved in the militarization of the state which frequently and sadly gives birth to military rule and inevitably affects the political culture of Nigeria, as evident in the long years of military rule in the country. David reiterated that the nature of politics in Nigeria is also associated with the privatization of violence. In other words, this is a situation where the political class use their offices as private enterprises to cause violence as a means of gaining material wealth.

Consequently, David asserted that the nature of politics in Nigeria is attributed to the personalization of state apparatus by the political elites. This implies that, in Nigeria, the politicians who occupy political offices are only preoccupied with using the state machineries like the police, the security apparatus, and the economic resources among others as weapons to achieve their selfish personal and political interests. He further observed that the nature of political parties in Nigeria also contribute immensely to the leadership failure in the country. Consequent upon this, most political parties in the country are hijacked by few individuals who continue to dictate those who become the parties' flag bearers and who occupy the leadership hierarchy of the political parties. Finally, David posited that the nature of elections in Nigeria are mostly flawed and the leaders become unaccountable to their followers. However, such false victories make the leaders to conceive their political victory as their personal efforts and not necessarily those achieved through the collective efforts of the electorate.

Consequences of Leadership Failure in Nigeria

Madu and Mustapha (2014) observed that before independence, the multi-ethnic groups and the various religious institutions in Nigeria cohabitated peacefully with one other. This they say was attributed to effective leadership, minimal corruption, high employment opportunities, and good security, which made human existence safer than what is obtainable today. However, in Nigeria today, the reverse is the case. This situation can be blamed on the failure of leadership, the monumental culture of corruption and impunity, nepotism, greed, thuggery, poor public policies, political ineptitude, and bureaucratic bungling thereby leading to criminality and violent crises of varying degrees

and proportion across the country. As an example, Madu and Mustapha noted that terrorism, bomb blasts, targeted killings, kidnappings, assassinations, robbery, and poverty are some of the products of these crises.

Olalekan (2013) corroborated Madu and Mustapha's view and posited that the failure of leadership in Nigeria is responsible for the political and socio-economic backwardness the country is presently experiencing. This can be attributed to the poor and unpatriotic behaviors often exhibited by the political class with little or no interest in the welfare of the citizens. Thus, the leaders enmesh themselves in all sorts of selfish and egoistic attitudes geared toward self-accumulation of wealth to maintain their relevance in the political landscape of the country. According to Olalekan, these actions of the leaders have enormous consequences ranging from *neglect of public interest, malpractices of all forms, crimes of every description, mendacity, lack of candor, readiness to cheat, grapping, philistinism, egotism, ethnic and sectional inclination* and such unethical practices (p. 3). In view of this therefore, as unemployment continues to grow unabated; the affluence of the leaders also continue skyrocketing on a daily basis.

Tyvwase (2013) argued that the leadership failure in Nigeria, as seen in the culture of impunity and political violence, has not only been sustained as the country's political behaviour, but it has also become an essential instrument that lowers political participation among the citizens. Tyvwase cited the example where party agents within a particular polling booth during elections are threatened to compromise the ballots, and INEC officials are often intimidated into unethical conducts that are contrary to the electoral laws. All these further push the citizens to develop political apathy knowing that

their votes may not count. The reality of politics in Nigeria is that the police and other security agencies are not neutral in carrying out their duties of protecting lives, properties, and the ballots during elections. Therefore, with this development, most citizens refrain from voting thereby making the election process to produce incompetent leaders who may end up being engulfed with leadership crisis of all manners.

In their submission, African Report (2014) suggested that bad leadership in Nigeria breed corruption and poverty, and it also brings about declining human development, growing alienation, and radicalization. In connecting the link between bad leadership and the rise of Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, African Report argued that the emergence of the radical group (Boko Haram) is a product of *frustration aggression* (p. 7), a situation where effort does not meet expectation thus, throwing the anticipation of the people away. In view of this therefore, African Report observed that Boko Haram is a product of an Islamic group of youths who worshipped at the Al-Haji Muhammedu Ndimi worship centre in Borno State in the 1990s. Its leader Mohammed Yusuf, started as a preacher and the youth wing leader of 'Shababul Islam' otherwise known as *Islamic Youth Vanguard* (p. 7). His literal interpretation of the Quran pushed him to develop a radical view of the Quran; hence, his belief that the western education is a taboo, which must be forbidden by all Islamic faithfuls. However, in his attempt to enshrine the Sharia law in accordance to the dictates of what he calls true Islam, Mohammed Yusuf involved in an illegitimate means of supplanting some of the values (of Islamic law) into the northern states in 2000 (African Report, p. 7). Therefore, African Report concluded that the dangerous political tools that enhanced and triggered the activities of the group was

when Yusuf and his members formed an alliance with Ali Modu Sheriff a politician before election, which enabled him (Sheriff) to become victorious.

Although Ali Modu Sheriff denied ever forming any Alliance with the group, yet the group continues to accuse him of failing to meet with his part of the bargain (especially his promise to enshrine Sharia Law in the state). Consequently, as a way of venting the group's anger and frustration, some members that were given appointments in the government had to resign. A case in point according to African Report was that of Buji Foi who resigned as the religious commissioner of the Borno state. Furthermore, as a way of venting their anger, the group began to cause problems in the state, which the government continues to accuse the opposition party in the state- the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) of fomenting. However, it was believed that the Governor of the State Ali Modu Sheriff arranged the killing of Yusuf, Buji Foi, and Baba Fugu as a way of covering up his involvement with the terrorist group (Boko Haram). Thus, African Report asserted that after Foi was declared wanted by Sheriff's government, for funding the activities of the sect, he was arrested and later killed by the police under a strange circumstance. Likewise, Yusuf was also arrested and extra judicially executed by the police. Fugu, who reported voluntarily at the state police headquarters was also killed (p. 13). As a revenge mission, the sect targeted police stations, and police officers homes. They also attacked military barracks, Christians, government officials, neighborhood chiefs, critical Muslim clerics, United Nation agencies, bars, and even schools.

Summary of the Chapter

In summary, this chapter has defined leadership in relation to the phenomenon under study – *Leadership Crisis in Africa: A Case Study of Nigeria*. The major theory of leadership which underpins the study was transformational leadership. However, other leadership theories like situation leadership theory, path-goal leadership theory, and servant leadership theory were further explore to make the study more grounded in leadership theory. The Chapter further explored aspects of the leadership crisis from the African perspective before relating the phenomenon of interest to Nigeria as the case study. Furthermore, there was an effort to fill the literature gap on leadership crisis particularly within the Nigerian context, highlighting the benefits of the aforesaid theories to effective leadership.

Consequently, in Africa and particularly in Nigeria, due to poor leadership quality, the leaders instead of being the sources of unity have become rather the harbinger of disunity. This was aptly demonstrated in the literature reviewed in this chapter. In an attempt to understand the effectiveness of leadership in Africa, the different literatures reviewed have argued that good leadership is still lacking in Africa, in comparison to the other developed climes. Furthermore, in an attempt to understand the perceived causes and the nature of leadership crisis in Africa, most literature reviewed identified lack of commitment of the African leaders toward socio-economic development, lack of commitment in engendering true democratic principles occasioned by corruption, nepotism, ethno-religious sentiments, security challenges, human rights abuses, culture of impunity, and poor innovation, among others.

A careful look at some case studies of leadership and leadership failure in Africa, revealed severe cases of leadership crises particularly in Zimbabwe under the leadership of Robert Mugabe, in South Africa under the leadership of Jacob Zuma, and in Gambia under the leadership of Yahaya Jammeh. From the cases examined, the crises resulted from selfishness of the leaders, the desire by the leaders to cling onto power by all means, and the reduction of the state apparatuses as personal properties. In particular, the Nigeria case revealed that the situation is not any better because right from the first republic till date, the poor performance of the leaders have succeeded in turning the country into almost a failed state. In effect, as Mboup (2008) opined that the African continent is in dire need of other avenues for the development of critical leadership with the capacity to engender the best practices as a result of past experiences.

The literature review also clearly exposed the failure of leadership particularly in Nigeria from the lens of failed campaign promises made by them while seeking political offices. Some of the literature reviewed (see Ogbeyidi, 2012; Ebebelum, 2012; Moghalu, 2017) associated the failure of leadership in Nigeria with the disunity created by the failure to honour campaign promises between the political class and those they govern. Consequently, there are breakdowns of confidence, trust, and responsibility between the leaders and the led thereby giving room to what Oghenechuko (2016) referred to as lack of *political value and commitment* (p. 333) from the leaders. Moreover, in an attempt to fill the gap in the literature reviewed, the failed campaign promises by the politicians and the inherent breakdown in the trust networks of both the political leaders and their

followers were further explored from the viewpoints of 'institutionalized' and 'non-institutionalized' political successions as posited by Govea and Holms (1998).

Chapter 3: Research Design

An overview of the research design adopted in this qualitative descriptive phenomenological study is the focus of the chapter. The chapter details the adopted research design that underpinned the study and further provides a full explanation of the methodology on how the research was conducted accordingly.

The qualitative research inquiry was the method adopted by the study and underpinned by phenomenological approach. Consequently, the purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was an attempt at understanding individual lived experiences of leadership crisis in Nigeria, as it concerns the relationship between the leaders and their followers toward transformational change. Pienaar (2011) postulated that leaders across the world, and Nigeria in particular, are considered ineffective because of their inability to manage their emotions and maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with their followers more than anything else. In view of this, the data collection process for the study utilized in-depth interviews in an effort to ascertain the experiences that contributed to the participants' perceptions of the leadership crisis in Nigeria. In developing the interview guide, the information required were the participants' leadership experiences, followership experiences, political knowledge, leadership philosophy, and the perception of the dominant leadership style in Nigeria.

To this effect, the results from this phenomenological study have shed more light on the nature of the leadership behaviors of Nigerian leaders toward their followers. Qualitative analysis examines how individuals and groups determine what is meaningful from interviews, observations, and other documentary data. In broad terms, qualitative

inquiry investigates issues affecting real people in the real world and from their views (Patton, 2015). Therefore, when qualitative inquiry is approached from the descriptive phenomenology in my view, the resultant data becomes a reflection of the study's participants' perspectives, experiences, and observations on the subject of interest.

Furthermore, the chapter focuses on the research design and its rationale following the restatement of the research questions. The research tradition for this study was descriptive phenomenology and guided the approach to the study. The role of the researcher is described as a commitment to reflexivity, objectivity, nonbias, and ways that I mitigated any bias that arose as a result of my subjectivity. Under the methodology section in this chapter, the logic for participants' selection is provided while the data collection and data analysis strategies are explained thereafter. Issues of trustworthiness such as credibility, transferability, generalizability, and dependability as they relate to the research study are discussed in this chapter and the respective ethical procedures applicable to the study. In essence, the ethical procedures entailed the steps taken to ensure the confidentiality, anonymity, and protection of the research participants.

Research Design and Rationale

The research design is not just a work plan, but a framework, overall strategy, blueprint, or systematic plan that defines the study type and subtype, and the choice(s) to be made regarding the research approach (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Sileyew, 2019; Tobi & Kampen, 2018). In the study's research design, therefore, specific data were obtained through interviews, observation field notes, and other documents, in a bid to aptly describe the phenomenon of my research interest. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006)

asserted that the research design is otherwise known as the conceptual framework which is different from the method by which data are collected. However, Tobi and Kampen (2018) further clarified that the research design encapsulates the study type such as descriptive, correlational, semi-experimental, experimental, review, meta-analytic and sub-type (e.g. descriptive-longitudinal case study), research question, hypotheses, independent and dependent variables, experimental design, and if applicable, data collection methods and a statistical analysis plan.

Consequently, the research design of a study should be carefully framed in a way that will ensure alignment among the major parts of the study (Burkholder, 2016). From yet another perspective, research design according to some scholars (Akhtar, 2016; vanWyk, n.d.), is a procedural plan which the researcher adopts to answer research questions in a valid way. According to vanWyk (n.d.), the research design as the overall research plan that connects the intangible examination of the problems to the appropriate and feasible scientific inquiry. This way, the research design would specify the type of analysis that the researcher should adopt, which in this case is the qualitative research inquiry. As a plan of the proposed research work, Akhtar (2016) viewed the research design also as a structured framework for obtaining answers to research questions.

Although it has already been established that the research design is distinct from the research method, Akhtar posited that the research design should aptly anticipate and specify all the stages involved, including data collection, analysis, interpretation, and justification for these decisions. The phenomenological approach was used in developing the qualitative framework of the study using the lens of phenomenological research

whose focus is on subjective experiences of individuals and groups (Kafle, 2011). In achieving this, the study interviewed some prominent past and present Nigerian political leaders. It also interviewed followers in order to have the opinions and positions of both the led and their leaders. Based on Crawford (2016), I determined that the in-depth individual interviews was a good primary data collection tool for this research approach, even though participant observation and analysis of documents and archival data could have been used also. Furthermore, using phenomenological approach for this study was consistent with the conceptual framework of the study.

The rationale behind this selection is for the study to obtain diverse views from participants on the phenomenon of interest. Rubin and Rubin (2012) added that the selection process entails convincing those people to participate in my project while building sufficient trust for them to talk openly to me during the interviews. However, they cautioned that participants' selection should be voluntary. Corroborating Rubin and Rubin's view, Ravitch & Carl (2016) suggested that before the researchers even selects the specific data collection method for the study, they should purposively select the sample population. Therefore, participants' selection in this case should be informed by the goals of the research question(s) and the overall research design. In particular, recruiting participants for the study's interviews was done purposefully and considering Ravitch and Carl's (p. 128) primary questions bordering on the choice of research participants (those whose experiences, knowledge, and perspectives are germane to answering the research questions), and the rationale behind their selection, which should align with the study's goals, research questions, and overall design.

Meanwhile, the phenomenological qualitative research approach that was adopted for the study focused on participants' lived experiences. However, before commencing the process of data collection, ethical considerations were observed as they affected the research participants. As previously noted, the phenomenon of interest here was how Nigeria's past leaders – military and civilian – have fared despite the challenges and crises that characterized their respective administrations. According to Dawidowicz (2016), phenomenology can help me to understand the human factors involved in the Nigerian experience from the lens of both a leader-practitioner. The phenomenological approach has further answered the question of how the research participants perceive the phenomenon of leadership crisis within the Nigeria context. Therefore, one way of seeking alternative perspectives in the qualitative research study was to actively engage the leadership class and their followers in the research process.

Descriptive Phenomenology

It is worth noting that phenomenological research method is broadly divided into two major areas - interpretive and descriptive phenomenological methods (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2009; Wojnar & Swanson, 2007). Husserl who was earlier recognized as the founding father of phenomenology in general, is also renowned for the descriptive tradition of phenomenology in particular. Meanwhile, the idea of Husserl's phenomenology was further developed by Merleau-Ponty (Sundler, et al 2019; Christensen, et al., 2017). Husserl's descriptive phenomenology was developed in an attempt to explain a philosophical method that is completely different from what is

obtainable from the natural sciences, but whose emphasis is the understanding of the subjective meanings of human experiences (Christensen, et al., 2017).

Christensen et al. further observed that phenomenological philosophy in general and descriptive phenomenology in particular made deliberate effort to elicit the true meaning of human lived experiences so as to describe such phenomena in the same exact manner as it appears to the person experiencing the phenomena. Sundler et al. (2019) further observed that many researchers across the world have used phenomenology (and descriptive phenomenology in particular) in their attempt to understand different human phenomena.

In understanding the idea of lived experiences particularly in the descriptive tradition of phenomenology, it is often linked to the idea of intentionality of consciousness, or how meaning is experienced. Intentionality to a large extent encompasses the idea that our awareness or consciousness is always directed and concentrated toward something. This entails that within the context of descriptive phenomenology when an individual experiences something subjectively, that which is experienced has meaning for the person who experiences it (Sundler et al., 2019). Therefore, in descriptive phenomenological approach, based on the writing of Husserl as noted by Dahlberg et al. (2008) such meanings can best be described rather than being interpreted.

In view of this therefore, Christensen et al. (2017) observed that Husserl's descriptive phenomenology is widely used in social science research as a method of exploring and describing the lived experiences of individuals within the society. This is

because phenomenology is a complex, all-inclusive, and elaborate concept that puts consciousness into themes and its purposes. Also, because consciousness is noticeable in different perspectives, unlike physical phenomena, a special descriptive method of phenomenology becomes expedient to effectively analyze such consciousness (Giorgi et al, 2017).

In view of this therefore, it is useful to stress that descriptive phenomenology demands thorough exploration of phenomena studied through direct interaction between the researcher and the object of study. It also expects that the researcher or investigator sets aside his hitherto preconceived notion of the phenomena through the procedures involved in bracketing (Wojna & Swanson, 2007) - a commonly used term developed based on Husserl's descriptive phenomenology (Dowling & Cooney, 2012).

Although the concept of bracketing is still an issue of great debate, yet some people argued that bracketing means putting aside all previous assumptions (on the phenomenon of study) with the intention of understanding the issues from the view point of the experienced person. However, it is worth noting here that questioning one's pre-understanding of a phenomenon of study is closely related or linked to having a reflective attitude. In view of this therefore, it is believed that the researcher needs to shift from the ordinary and the natural understanding of every day experiences to a more self-reflective and open stance towards the data obtained during interviews (Dahlberg et al. 2008).

Therefore, in descriptive phenomenology, the lived experience itself, as described by participants is used to provide universal description of the phenomenon. Furthermore, descriptive phenomenological studies provide universal representation of phenomena as

opposed to the contextual representations in interpretive phenomenological study (Wojna & Swanson, 2007).

It is also worth noting that in descriptive phenomenological studies, phenomenological reduction and synthesis or thematic analysis are often employed to facilitate more instinctive descriptions of an experience (Colaizzi, 1978; Giorgi, 2009; Spinelli, 2005). Also, through an exhaustive description of the phenomenon investigated, the researcher has the opportunity to provide a holistic view of a lived experience as described by participants (Sundler et al 2019). Therefore, Giorgi et al. (2017) posit that descriptive phenomenological approach tries to describe the lived experiences through very careful means. Consequently, once the raw data has been acquired, a systematic phenomenological organization of data takes place within the perspective of phenomenological reduction. This entails that it is only through this reduction that the phenomenological analysis can be made by the researcher (Giorgi et al 2017).

In the ontological and epistemological foundations of descriptive phenomenology, Sundler et al. (2019) observed that some methodological principles can be recognized which when used appropriately throughout the research process will go a long way in enhancing the quality of the work. In view of this therefore, Sundler et al. suggested that effort should always be made in descriptive phenomenology to lead the entire research process (from data gathering to data analysis and reporting the findings), to be guided by the methodological principles that accentuates openness, questioning pre-understanding of the phenomenon, and adopting a reflective attitude (Sundler et al. 2019). This entails that during the research process of descriptive phenomenology, and particularly during

the data analysis stage, the researcher is expected to deal with the issue of natural attitudes and previous assumptions that may interfere with the data (during analysis) thereby affecting the quality of the research work.

The thematic analysis approach in descriptive phenomenology is often inductive in nature. That is, a method where one's lived experiences and observations, including what are learned from others, are synthesized to come up with a general truth (Walch, 2004). Therefore, the prerequisite for the analysis is that it should include data from participants' lived experiences obtained through interviews or narratives. The analysis usually begins with search for meaning and goes on with different meanings being identified and related to each other. The analysis is aimed at trying to understand the complexity of meanings in the data rather than their frequency. Analysis in descriptive phenomenology entails searching for patterns of meanings being further explored and determining how such patterns can be organized into themes. The analysis must be guided by openness, thus involving a reflective process designed to illuminate meaning. Descriptive phenomenology approach focuses on the understanding and description of meaning oriented themes (Dahlberg et al. 2008).

According to Kafle (2011), 'phenomenology' on its own can simply be defined as the study of phenomena: their nature and meanings. The focus of phenomenology is on the way things appear to us through experience or in our consciousness where the phenomenological researcher aims to provide a rich textured description. Also, Langdridge (2007) as cited by Kafle (2011) defined phenomenology as "a discipline

whose focus is on people's perceptions of the world in which they live in and what it means to them" (p. 182).

The four qualities of phenomenology as highlighted by Merleau-Ponty (1962) and cited by Kafle (2011) include – *description, reduction, essences, and intentionality* (p. 182). Kafle explained further that the main aim of phenomenology is description of phenomena, while the reduction quality involves suspending or bracketing the phenomena so that the 'things themselves' can be returned to the way they were, and to further understand individuals' lived experiences. Gearing (2004) as cited by Ravitch and Carl (2016), further described bracketing as "the scientific process in which a researcher suspends or holds in abeyance, his or her presuppositions, biases, assumptions, theories, or previous experiences to see and describe the particular phenomenon of interest" (p. 24). Likewise, an 'essence' is the core meaning of an individual's experience that makes it what it is. Intentionality on the other hand, refers to consciousness since individuals are always more than what is given in the perception of a single perspective.

In their submission, Ravitch and Carl (2016) viewed phenomenology as a qualitative research approach that focuses on the experience of the participants in an examination of shared experience. As a research approach, it is also considered a philosophy and is largely attributed to the works of the philosopher - Edmund Husserl (Moran, 2013). Therefore, researchers employing the phenomenological approach tend to be interested in individuals' lived experiences of a particular phenomenon of interest. This qualitative research approach often include exploring a phenomenon with a group of individuals, and the data collection tends to include interviews, participant observations

or other sources of documents. In essence, Moustakas (1994) also cited by Ravitch and Carl (2016) pointed out that phenomenological research methods provide bases for researcher reflexivity through the descriptions or narratives of participants' lived experiences. All the aforementioned scholarly definitions of phenomenology focus on the fact that phenomenology has the potential to penetrate deep to the human experience and trace the essence of a phenomenon and explicate it in its original form as experienced by the individuals.

However, from an epistemological paradigm, Lester (1995) points out that personal knowledge and subjectivity form the basis for phenomenological approaches whose emphasis is on the lived experiences and personal interpretation of research participants. As such, Lester argued that phenomenology is a powerful approach for understanding individual lived experiences through the participants' motivations and actions. Within the context of the study therefore, the lived experiences of Nigerian leaders (past and present) and their followers, served as the platform from which primary data for the study emerged. Consistently, the problem to be addressed by the study was the inherent cracks or breakdown in the Trust Networks (group of people linked by the same ties, ideologies, and interests in which a mistake, betrayal or failure of an individual(s) within the group has the capacity to impede their collective goal) of both the political leaders and their followers thereby leading to leadership crisis in Nigeria.

The Role of the Researcher

The role of the researcher in a qualitative phenomenological study is to collect, collate, and analyze different views from the lived experiences of the participants

(Dawidowicz, 2016). In view of this, Patton (2015) posited that qualitative inquiry is personal, hence, my role as a researcher is that of being *the primary instrument of inquiry* (p. 3). Also, Patton (2015) observed that in this role, my military background, experience, training, skills, and competence among many others will further undergird the trustworthiness of the research findings. For example, Patton (2015) noted that researchers should reflect on the data collection and interpretation, which may be affected by their positionality, or what Patton (2015) typically referred to as the intricacies of the daily life of the researcher. In agreement, Ravitch and Carl (2016) posited that the researcher's role as the primary instrument in qualitative research is reflected in 'positionality' and 'social location' components of the researcher's identity.

In essence, Ravitch and Carl (2016) viewed positionality as the totality of the social, interpersonal, and intrapersonal dimensions of researchers' interactions with their participants and the research topic. Consequently, to fully understand researcher positionality, researchers should consider also their social location. Therefore, the researcher's social location or identity and positionality with respect to the topic of the research should be reflected in all aspects of the research design. For example, my positionality as the researcher was consistently reflected during the process of recruiting research participants; while structuring the interview protocols and other data collection instruments; while interacting with research participants; during the data analysis; and even while carrying out member checks or triangulation after the data collection and analysis have been concluded. Meanwhile, during fieldwork, particularly while collecting data in the interviews the researcher invariably becomes the instrument of inquiry as

Patton (2015) further submitted that the quality of data collected depends a lot on the researcher's methodological prowess.

In the views of Rubin and Rubin (2012), the qualitative researcher is typically unbiased while conducting research. Consequently, the researcher's role is a reflective one whereby researchers always question their assumptions, and increasingly use complexities to help figure out what was said during the interview process. It is pertinent to note here that my worldview both as an individual and researcher has further broadened significantly after conducting over thirty interviews, spanning over a period of two years (2015-2017).

Methodology

Population Identification

Population of study simply implies a complete set of elements (persons) that possess some common characteristics defined by the sampling criteria established by the researcher. In other words, a population has to do with the entire universe that is the concern of any study (Marshall, 1996). In view of this therefore, the population for this study included all the past and the present political leaders in Nigeria and their followers. Therefore, owing to the challenges of time, resources, and logistics needed to study this large population efficiently, purposive sampling became expedient in research of this nature

Sampling Strategy

Sampling in simple terms means a fraction of the entire population of study. In view of this therefore, sampling generally involves selecting some cases to examine in

detail from which much larger set of cases can be understood, while the specific sampling method to be adopted largely depends on the study design (Neuman, 2014). Meanwhile, Berg (2009) observed that one of the major reasons why it is necessary to use sample in a large population like in this study is simply to draw conclusion about the larger population using the data obtained from the fraction of the entire population.

In view of this therefore, the participant selection was done purposively to enable me obtain information-rich feedback from my interviewees. According to Neuman (2014), purposive sampling is a valuable sampling type used in exploratory research or in field research. Essentially, purposive sampling borders on choosing information-rich cases in a bid to illuminate the study's research questions (Patton, 2015). Meanwhile, most discussions of qualitative sampling techniques usually revolve around the purposive sampling technique (Bryman, 2012).

Consistent with this view, Patton (2015) identified 40 purposive sampling strategies which he classified under 8 categories thus: *single significant case, comparison-focused sampling, group characteristics sampling, concept or theoretical sampling, instrumental-use-multiple-case sampling, sequential and emergence-driven sampling strategies during fieldwork, analytically focused sampling, and mixed, stratified, and combination sampling strategies* (p. 264). In line with Patton's categorization, and owing to the nature of the study which is an exemplar of a phenomenon of interest, the study will therefore fall under Patton's single significant case study category. Patton further stressed that understanding these sampling strategies is important because of their designations and different approaches to the study design. In

particular, the participants' selection was guided by participants' different roles, occupations, and relationships in relation to the research phenomenon.

Dawidowicz (2016) suggested that phenomenology seeks the depth and not breadth of lived experiences. Hence, the ideal sample size for a study of this nature should be between 8 and 12. While this is a suggestion, however in this study, 35 participants were interviewed before data saturation was attained. The purposive sampling technique is apt because at the outset of a research study, very little is known about the phenomenon of interest and the nature of the sample is not always predetermined. Hence, Morse (2004) suggested that participants should be purposively selected to reflect an emerging investigation and theory.

Participants Selection Criteria

In purposive sampling, Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim (2016) pointed out that researchers should select their participants based on the participants' knowledge and experiences about the phenomenon under study. Consequently, in addition to participants' knowledge and experiences, Etikan et al. argued that the justification for participants' selection should include their willingness and availability to participate in the interviews.

In defining a sample universe, Robinson (2014) further posited that inclusion criteria should be a common attribute for all selected cases. Therefore, in line with Robinson's position, one of the inclusion criteria for my participants' selection was for the subjects to be past or present political leaders and their followers in Nigeria. However, the selection cases for the study were further informed by the research

questions. On the other hand, exclusion criteria according to Robinson (2014) are those attributes that disqualify a case from the study. For example, leaders of multinational organizations, religious organizations, and secular leaders to a large extent were excluded from my participants' selection because they do not fall within the framework of my Dissertation work. That being said, it is expedient to note that there are people who in no small way contributed relevant data to this study. Such participants like the economists, the academics, political practitioners, the leadership opinion shapers (both academic and practitioners), security experts, university students, and other leadership actors and professionals in Nigeria made up this group. It is pertinent to note that this group of participants belonged to both the *other leaders* and followers' categories.

Number of Participants

In my proposal, 6 to 10 number of leaders and followers were proposed. However, during the oral defence of the proposal the chair and second member of my committee observed that the demography should be expanded so as to achieve a meaningful saturation point. Consequently, additional 15 participants were approved by the committee members. This was subjected to query by the URR simply because there was no evidence that IRB approved the expansion from the previous 20 to 35 participants. This position was eventually resolved with the IRB, and my committee chair. The 35 participants that were approved by IRB and my chair eventually formed the basis of my field work in Chapters 4 and 5.

The final demography for the participants were:

Leaders: (17) made up of 3 females and 14 males

Followers: (18) made up of 7 females and 11 males

It is also pertinent to note that demography of 35 participants helped in achieving my data saturation point. It also helped me to expand the size of the followers to gain a better understanding of the issues or challenges responsible for the leadership crisis.

Justification for Participants' Selection

Prior to the interviews, letters of invitation and informed consent forms were sent to the prospective participants in line with the Walden University's Institutional Research Board (IRB) requirements. Thereafter, the first formal contact with the potential research participants was made. Out of the 50 invitations sent to prospective participants, only 35 indicated their willingness and indeed participated in the study. This did not come as a surprise because of the caliber of the Participants invited, and the timing of the interviews. As anticipated, not all prospective Participants accepted the invitation because some indeed had busy schedules which impacted the timing of the interviews. Consequently, IRB approved the participants' selection vide their IRB Approval Number 07-18-19-0666405.

It is expedient to make the point that the participants' selection was done purposively based on their in-depth knowledge and lived experiences of the phenomenon of interest. Consequently, this became the inclusion criteria. On the other hand, an exclusion criteria for participants' selection was also considered apt so as to ensure quality in the data collection, and to further justify the saturation points in the data collection and analysis stages. The sample population for the study were categorized into two major groups thus – *political leaders* [who have occupied or are presently occupying

political offices], and *political followers* [participants from the electorates, who are the followers who willingly surrender their electoral mandates through their votes to the leaders during elections].

The participants' recruitment was further facilitated through formal and informal means. The formal contacts were made via emails and letters to the prospective participants based on the selection criteria described earlier and the informal invitations were made via telephone calls or face-to-face contacts. Meanwhile, only those participants who indicated interest in the study were sent informed consent forms with the assurance that participants' identities would be kept confidential and anonymous throughout the research process. This was strictly adhered to during the data collection process. Before each interview session, the participants were reminded of their rights and privileges as encapsulated in the consent form reiterating the ethical considerations for the interview. The research and interview questions were developed based on a number of factors and criteria.

As an example, the interview questions were developed with my research participants in mind and to maintain internal alignment with the research questions on the topic of interest – *Understanding Leadership Crisis in Africa Using a Case Study of Nigeria*. Most responses to the letters of invitation sent earlier came back through phone calls and emails. This applied to those who accepted to participate and others who declined the invitation. Consequently, the interviews were conducted at the private residences, offices, and other venues of choice of the participants. The entire interview sessions covered a period between 26 August 2019 and 30 November 2019. All the

participants interviewed were Nigerians. To reflect a good geographical spread, the Participants were recruited from the six geopolitical zones to which Nigeria is divided – North Central, North East, North West, South West, South East, and South South Zones - making sure that ethnoreligious divides were adequately captured in the spread.

Data Collection

Instrumentation

The face-to-face (FtF) interviewing format was considered preferable for the primary data collection and also based on my previous experiences with qualitative interviewing. Consistent with the above choice of FtF, Crawford and Lynn (2016) also considered it preferable to conduct FtF interviews because of the rapport it creates with participants and the greater access it avails the researcher through participants' body language and other cues. Furthermore, I believed that conducting the FtF interview would ensure that analytic notes were taken during the interviewing that might warrant either rephrasing some of the interview questions, or developing more probes or follow-up questions even while the interview was still ongoing.

Opendakker (2006, p. 3) also opined that in FtF interviews it does not matter when responses to questions asked are elicited from the interviewee as long as the conversation is not one sided. Therefore, an advantage of this synchronous communication is that the answer of the interviewee is more spontaneous, without an extended reflection. Moreover, Polkinghorne (2005) affirmed that interviews bring out a first-hand explanation of an individual experiences (p.141) I agreed with him and strongly believed that such first-person accounts of my participants' experiences with the

phenomenon of *Leadership Crisis* could best be explored through the medium of FtF interviewing.

Procedure for Data Collection

As a major source of my primary data, the interview data were collected from the respondents using an audio tape recorder. Each interview session lasted about 90 minutes and for convenience sake, the interviews were conducted at specific venues that were determined by the participants. Prior to the interviews, letters of invitation were sent to the selected participants. Subsequently, the researcher forwarded informed consent forms to the participants in line with the Walden University's IRB requirements. Meanwhile, before each interview session, participants were debriefed by still seeking their consent and the researcher further reiterated the ethical considerations for the interview. The research and interview questions were developed based on a number of factors and criteria. As an example, the research questions were developed with the research participants in mind so as to maintain internal alignment with the topic of research interest and to further align with the overall research design.

As Rubin and Rubin (p. 2) observed, some researchers rely on qualitative techniques and explore a topic with a small sample population especially when conducting phenomenological studies. Also, after selecting the topic of the research interest, the researcher came up with the research questions considered appropriate for the research topic. This was done so as to ensure that the study was practical and feasible. Thereafter, the researcher engaged in participants' selection in a purposive

manner, bearing in mind Rubin and Rubin's suggestion that interviewees should be selected purposively.

Data Analysis

Data Analysis Strategy

The primary standard of data analysis consistent with the phenomenological study was to use an emergent strategy. This entailed allowing the method of analysis to flow with the nature of the data itself which emerged or changed in the course of analysis. In view of this, the lived experiences of participants were approached differently from the interview data. However, the focus was on a deep understanding of the meaning of the description. This was aimed at obtaining the indispensable meaning of the experience of participants. Rubin and Rubin also posited that during the analysis of responsive interviews data the raw data should be analyzed dispassionately so as to extract from the data, clear and convincing answers to the research questions. Doing this enhanced the quality of the interview data and allowed the researcher to prepare a report of the findings that was vivid and convincing and further strengthened the analysis and overall research design.

Rubin and Rubin further outlined the steps of the analysis of responsive interviews thus: *transcribe and summarize, coding, sort and summarize, sort and compare, weigh and integrate, generate your own theory, and generalize your findings* (p. 190). They also advised that researchers should endeavor to keep separate memo files for their personal reflections and notable quotes that might arise during the course of the interviews. In addition to the memo file and list of catchy quotes, researchers should also

endeavor to write summaries of the contents of each interview for ease of comparison across interviews.

Consequently, as a first step in the data analysis, the researcher prepared verbatim interview transcripts from the recorded interviews which were manually transcribed via the use of transcription assistants as indicated in the IRB application. Ravitch and Carl stressed that coding assists researchers to easily retrieve primary data from each interview. In their view, doing this will uncover rich data with many codes for analysis. Therefore, the researcher chose to purposively code aspects of the interview data that ensured a better understanding of the research problem and invariably addressed the research questions also.

Ravitch and Carl (2016), concurring with Saldana (2016) advised that precoding should precede the full data analysis. Broadly speaking, Ravitch and Carl described coding as ways of organizing and labelling your data that help with analysis. According to them, coding is data organization, and coding supports analysis by allowing for the identification of patterns across multiple data points or sources. Therefore, the researcher first engaged in a process of reading and questioning of the transcribed data before choosing the codes for the data analysis. Through this process the data became less opaque as preliminary codes were developed. Coding is one way of analyzing qualitative data (Saldana, 2016). As researchers, Saldana further advised that coding is appropriate for our particular research interest. Thus, the common approach here is to code and conceptualize the emerging themes from the data analysis with the hope of ensuring that meanings are usually understood through thematic analysis (Waters, 2017).

It is apt to also understand here that after coding my data, the principal means for synthesizing, or merging data was the process of conducting thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was considered most appropriate for studies that seek to explore phenomena using the lived experiences of participants as it provides in-depth information for data analysis (Alhojailan, 2012). In concrete terms, the proposed data analysis method for the study was a qualitative approach of thematic analysis. As Jugder (2016) noted, thematic analysis is one of the most widely used qualitative data analysis approaches. In view of this therefore, the conceptual framework of the thematic analysis for the qualitative interviews was built upon the theoretical positions of Braun and Clarke (2006).

Consequently, in concurrence Maguire and Delahunt (2017) further expanded the Braun and Clarke's 6-step guide for thematic analysis thus: Step 1 – Becoming familiar with the data (or precoding); Step 2 – Generating initial codes (first cycle coding); Step 3 – Searching for themes (second cycle coding); Step 4 – Reviewing themes (categorizing); Step 5 – Defining themes (analyzing); and Step 6 – Writing the Narrative (interpretation).

Meanwhile, the rationale for choosing thematic analysis for my data analysis was hinged upon its meaningful insights that answer particular research questions. In concurrence, Jugder argued that thematic analysis facilitates an understanding of research questions better in two ways. The first perspective according to Jugder is data-driven based on coding in an inductive way; while the second perspective focuses on the research questions to ensure that the data are consistent with the research questions and to further provide sufficient information. Similarly, Thomas and Harden (n.d.) posited that qualitative research is specific to particular research contexts or situations. In their views,

thematic analysis provides research synthesis among other analysis techniques. Hence, they argued that *thematic synthesis* rather best describes thematic analysis as a data analysis technique.

According to Thomas and Harden (n.d.), thematic synthesis usually takes the form of three stages thus: *the free line-by-line coding of the findings for primary studies; the organization of these 'free codes' into related areas to construct 'descriptive' themes; and the development of 'analytical' themes* (p. 7). Likewise, Thomas and Harden's strategy below which in my view is an abridged version of Braun and Clarke's 6-Step Guide for thematic analysis, became expedient during the data analysis stage of my work: Stage 1 – Coding interview data; Stage 2 – Developing descriptive themes; and Stage 3 – Generating analytical themes.

Another rationale for choosing thematic analysis over other data analysis techniques is that themes capture the essence of primary data in relation to research questions (Jugder, 2016). Hence, a major requirement here is consistency throughout the process of determining themes. Essentially, the process of data analysis in the study entailed developing the records for exploration by translating and decreasing the facts into subjects through coding process and data representation (Jugder, p. 3). Thereafter, identification of themes and patterns were done through pre-coding, coding, and themes categorization. Although a potentially large amount of interview data were generated from the data collection, yet the transcription was done manually using transcription assistants.

In essence, the analysis here was conducted primarily by identifying common structures of the particular experience of participants based on the interview protocol, thereby providing the researcher with better understanding of the world or the phenomenon of study (Morse, 1994, p.36). According to Groenewald (2004), a phenomenological methodology is the best means of analyzing data contained within the lived-experiences of people about a phenomenon of interest. Conclusively therefore, Groenewald's position aptly justified my choice of thematic analysis and further aligned with the aim of the dissertation study which is to gather quality data regarding the lived experiences of research participants about the phenomenon of *Leadership Crisis in Africa*.

Issues of Trustworthiness

The issue of ensuring trustworthiness and quality in qualitative research formed a major consideration for me to establish trustworthiness in my research work. Getting acceptance for scientific work is partially an intellectual achievement and partially an ability to communicate and handle the socio-political interactions with supervisors, getting peer reviews from colleagues and others who exert an influence over your research. Referring to the present status of the evaluation of qualitative research, Holloway and Wheeler (2002) emphasized that qualitative researchers will in their work encounter at least two schools, namely:

- (i) those colleagues who argue that reliability and validity should be retained, but can't simply be —translated from quantitative to qualitative

work; and (ii) those supporting trustworthiness and authenticity as alternative and parallel terms (p.250).

They also pointed out that qualitative researchers should take cognizance of these schools.

In discussing the criteria for evaluating the quality of qualitative research designs, a high-quality research study is a precursor for a researcher to make an impact in academic, policy, business, and program evaluation settings. Hence, any shortcomings may mislead or distort the quality of the research findings. The two most commonly used criteria for evaluating data quality in qualitative research designs are validity and reliability (Burkholder et al., 2016). According to them, validity remains the most credible yardstick for researchers to measure the quality of their work or that of others.

In agreeing with this position, Guest and MacQueen (2008) cited by Burkholder et al., posited that quality considerations are involved in every step of the research process. Another aspect of validity is reliability, which Burkholder et al. referred to as the stability of outcomes for both strategy and approach of the research. In sharing a similar view, Babbie (2017) stressed that although reliability is sometimes elusive in some areas of social research, yet owing to the ever-dynamic nature of qualitative research dependability is the basic factor underlying reliability criterion. Consequently, and for the purpose of comparison and to offer an alternative position, Lincoln and Guba (1985) were the first to propose 'trustworthiness' and 'authenticity' as alternative perspectives to validity and reliability criteria. Bryman (2012) specifically supported this view and

affirmed that both reliability and validity were most obviously concerned with the adequacy measures of quantitative research.

Perakyla (1997) cited by Bryman (2012) is another advocate of trustworthiness and authenticity as alternative criteria for evaluating quality in a qualitative research who sought to apply the concepts of validity and reliability to qualitative research, but discovered that the grounding of both validity and reliability renders them inapplicable and inappropriate for qualitative research. Bryman also admitted that there has been some disagreement among qualitative researchers concerning the relevance of validity and reliability. He argued that even the proponents of these two research quality metrics have now rescinded their positions. While buttressing the import of the alternative criteria, Lincoln and Guba (1985) as cited by Babbie (2017) proposed that an investigation review is critical to determine and evaluate the reliability of results with the hope of adding value to findings.

Following this suggestion, Lincoln and Guba's (1985) Naturalistic Inquiry (NI) thereafter became the classic way of assessing a qualitative research. They proposed *trustworthiness* as a criterion of how good a qualitative study is. Another aspect of trustworthiness as identified by Bryman (2012) and Graneheim and Lundman (2004) is dependability. As noted by Lincoln and Guba (p. 299) cited by Graneheim and Lundman, dependability explores those phenomenal or research design changes to data that have been collected by a researcher.

Trustworthiness also includes the question of transferability, which refers to how research findings can be replicated in other settings (Polit and Hungler, 1999). To

facilitate transferability, Graneheim and Lundman (2004) admitted that participants' nature, and characteristics should be described vividly relative to the data collection and analysis processes. Other aspects of trustworthiness include dependability, and confirmability.

Authenticity as the second criteria for evaluating the quality of a qualitative research proposed by Lincoln and Guba, raises a wider set of issues concerning the wider political impact of research. As noted by Bryman, underlying this criteria are the concepts of *fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity, and tactical authenticity* (p.390). It is pertinent to note here that the main point of discussing Lincoln and Guba's quality criteria for qualitative research is because it is a departure from the hard-stance views of quantitative researchers like, Babbie, LeCompte and Goetz (1982), Kirk and Miller (1986) as cited by Bryman. In a clearer term, the two criteria that I used to evaluate the quality of the research were authenticity and trustworthiness. However, I had to also let the audience see the opposite side of it which are validity and reliability.

Consequently, the requisite considerations for trustworthiness and authenticity were strictly adhered to in the research work. Doing this entailed collecting data from multiple sources (besides the interviewing primary data collection); the interview transcripts were also shared with the participants through the process of member checking for their review; while the feedback from my colleagues through peer debriefs were also incorporated into the final narrative of the study.

Ethical Procedures

The phenomenological qualitative research approach for the dissertation work focused on the lived experiences of participants. However, before venturing into the process of data collection, during the data collection stage, and even after data has been collected and analyzed, there were ethical considerations observed as it affected the research participants.

In his view, Babbie (2017) argued that all social research is concerned with issues of ethic owing to the intimate interactions between researchers and their participants. As Babbie suggested, *researcher bias and protection of research participants* (p.419) are the two ethical issues that raise special concern in the analysis and reporting of qualitative research. He further observed that because qualitative analysis depends so directly on subjective judgements, then researcher bias often sets in. In order to avoid this pitfall as a researcher, I had to express my subjectivities and any bias ab initio in the research study. Ravitch and Carl (2016, p. 346) opined that ethics in qualitative research underscores the need for researchers to clearly understand their critical roles in the research process. Therefore, a key consideration in qualitative research which Ravitch and Carl identified as ‘informed consent’ refers to:

situations in which researchers seek to: (1) access settings and groups to which they are outsiders, (2) obtain data or documents not publicly accessible, or (3) elicit information or data from research participants through interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, observation, writing, and other means (p. 360).

Succinctly speaking, Ravitch and Carl (2016) stressed that consent is a just and vital issue of ethic. If so, then as a researcher, it behooves on me to adequately inform the research participants about what I seek to know from them, demands on their time through their participation, potential risks (if any) or any potential benefits, how the data will be utilized, and how the results of the research will be published for specific audiences.

In view of the foregoing ethical responsibilities toward the research participants, there was the need for the researcher to send out informed consent forms to all potential participants via mail or email. Again, Ravitch and Carl reminded me of the need to relate with the participants in a respectful, cordial, and transparent manner. In their view, Rubin and Rubin posited that research interviewees expect to be assured that they will not come to any harm as a result of my research. Moreover, interviewees who willingly agreed to participate in studies expect that the researchers would behave responsibly and ethically. Therefore, as Rubin and Rubin (2012) posited that during the entire research process, researchers should behave and conduct themselves with decorum, mutual respect and in a transparent manner devoid of deceit or pressure. In specific terms, the expectation here was for the researcher to be straightforward with the interviewees by respecting their views and opinions, by seeking their permission before recording any conversation with them, and by also desisting from misrepresenting the topic of the research in any way. To further buttress this, Ravitch and Carl suggested that researchers should adopt a relational approach to research which they argued that it allows researchers to become automatically involved in communications with other individuals.

Consequently, with regards to ethical considerations particularly as it affected the participants, after selecting them, the researcher ensured that their informed consents were obtained by clearly informing them that their participation was voluntary, and also assuring them of the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses (even though the transcripts of the interviews will be published as part of the dissertation work). The researcher further informed participants that they have the right to refuse answering any question(s) and that they can withdraw at any time from the interview without fear of upsetting me as the researcher or harming themselves in any way. The researcher had hoped to also gain the rapport and trust of the past military Heads of State, civilian Presidents and their followers, particularly since he had the privilege of once serving as a military leader under some of them, and especially during the immediate past civilian administration. At the onset, data collection boundaries were spelt out while pushing for sensitive information from them. Furthermore, the researcher also endeavored to address any potential ethical concern before, during, and after conducting the interviews.

Ultimately, before proceeding to this stage of the dissertation work, the researcher applied for approval to the Walden University IRB whose appointed committees review research proposals so as to ensure beneficence (Ravitch and Carl, 2016, p. 347). Beneficence in this case implies that researchers should ensure the welfare of participants (p. 347). According to Patton (2015), one way of obtaining IRB consent is to ask for approval in stages as the dissertation work progresses. Thus, the researcher initially applied for IRB approval for the general framework of the study and specifically for the first exploratory stage of the fieldwork. Doing this included providing evidence for

confidentiality, anonymity, and informed consent which further ensured that the IRB application was successful (IRB Approval Number: 07-18-19-0666405).

Furthermore, meeting this requirement entailed that my participants signed informed consent statements. Another requirement of the IRB was for me to submit the proposed questions to be asked during the interviews for their scrutiny. In the views of Rubin and Rubin (2012), doing so was with a view to ensuring that the participants familiarize themselves with the subject matter of the questions and the general interview protocol without any potential risk to them (p. 91). Consequently, to assure the IRB that the interview questions were acceptable, Rubin and Rubin's advice helped me to provide the IRB with examples of the sample interview questions that were asked during the interviewees ahead of time. There was also the need for me to clarify to the IRB that the exact wording of the questions might change during the course of the interviews. And when the questions do change, I further assured IRB that I would further endeavour to get back to them accordingly for quick approval of these changes before advancing to the data analysis stages of the dissertation.

Summary of the Chapter

In summary, this chapter has argued in support of phenomenological qualitative research inquiry as the method of data collection and analysis for the research study on *Understanding Leadership Crisis in Africa Using a Case of Nigeria*. To justify the rationale for choosing this proposed research design and method, Nigeria was selected as case study, taking into account the proposed participants' lived experiences on the phenomenon of interest. The participants' selection were done purposively and justified

based on their knowledge and lived experiences on the phenomenon of study.

Meanwhile, the proposed instrument of data collection was the face-to-face (FtF) interviewing method so as to fully discover adequately the *experiences, motives, and opinions* (Rubin and Rubin, 2012) of the participants on the phenomenon of study.

Finally, issues of trustworthiness of the data and research findings and potential ethical considerations were equally addressed in this chapter.

Chapter 4: Findings

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to understand individual lived experiences of leadership crisis in Nigeria, as it concerns the relationship between the leaders and their followers, toward transformational change. According to Pienaar (2011), many leaders across the world, and in Nigeria in particular, are considered ineffective because of their inability to manage their emotion and maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationship with their followers. Some schools of thought (David, 2015; Ebebelum, 2012) added their voices by suggesting that it could also be because of the absolute powers that leaders often arrogate to themselves once they occupy political and other powerful offices. This study therefore further set out to exploit the veracity of these scholars' position in order to give credence to their views or discover more about the phenomenon which has continued to create water shed on leadership in Africa and particularly in Nigeria.

The data collection process for my dissertation utilized in-depth interviews in an effort to ascertain the experiences that contributed to the participants' perception of leadership crisis in Nigeria. Also, the interview protocol contained information that aided in eliciting participants' leadership experiences, political knowledge, leadership philosophies, and the perception of the dominant leadership style in Africa. Evidently, the results from this phenomenological study have shed more light on the nature of the leadership behaviors of Nigerian leaders toward their followers. It is on this premise, I believe, that this work will provide resources for policy makers and other scholars to better understand the nature of leadership situation in Nigeria with the hope of working

towards a more effective leadership capable of changing the leadership narrative positively and stem the current rancor between Nigerian leaders and their followers.

There is no doubt that this will pave way for leadership with minimal crisis.

My data collection in this chapter was conducted bearing in mind the following research questions that underpinned the study:

RQ1: What are the reasons for the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria?

RQ2: What are some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?

RQ3: How are leadership problems in Nigeria borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is in their various political parties Manifestoes?

RQ4: In what ways are political leaders in Nigeria totally detached from those they lead especially after elections, and how has this led to the sociopolitical crises ravaging the country today?

This chapter therefore starts with a brief explanation of the setting for the interview which comprises of the demographics of the study as it relates to the sample population and the raw interview data collected. Thereafter, an in-depth data analysis of the raw data is presented using thematic analysis in alignment with the research questions. Furthermore, evidence of trustworthiness as it relates to credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability are provided. The results of the findings

are thereafter presented according to the different thematic categories based on responses from participants during the interviews.

The Setting

Prior to the interviews, letters of invitation and informed consent forms were sent to the prospective participants in line with the Walden University's Institutional Research Board (IRB) requirements (IRB Approval Number 07-18-19-0666405). Thereafter, the first formal contact with the potential research participants was made. Out of the 50 invitations sent to prospective participants, 35 indicated their willingness and participated in the study. This did not come as a surprise because of the caliber of the participants invited and the timing of the interviews. As anticipated, not all prospective participants would accept the invitation because they may have had busy schedules which may have impacted the timing of the interviews.

It is expedient to make the point that the participant selection was done purposively based on their in-depth knowledge and lived experiences of the phenomenon of interest. Consequently, this became the inclusion criteria. On the other hand, exclusion criteria for participant selection were also considered so as to ensure quality in the data collection and to further justify the saturation points in the data collection and analysis stages. The sample population for the study were categorized into two major groups thus – 'political leaders' [who have occupied or are presently occupying political offices], and 'political followers' [participants from the electorates, who are the followers who willingly surrender their electoral mandates through their votes to the leaders during elections]. The details of these groups are provided in Table 13.

The participants' recruitment was further facilitated through formal and informal means. The formal contacts were made via emails and letters sent to the prospective participants based on the selection criteria described earlier. The informal invitations were made via telephone calls or face-to-face contacts. Only those participants who indicated interest in the study were sent informed consent forms with the assurance that participants' identities would be kept confidential and anonymous throughout the research process.

Before each interview session, the participants were reminded of their rights and privileges as encapsulated in the consent form reiterating the ethical considerations for the interview. The research and interview questions were developed based on a number of factors and criteria. As an example, the interview questions were developed with my research participants in mind and to maintain internal alignment with the research questions on the topic of interest. Most responses to the letters of invitation sent earlier came back through phone calls and emails. This applied to those who accepted to participate and others who declined the invitation. Consequently, the interviews were conducted at the private residences, offices, and other venues of choice of the participants. The entire interview sessions covered a period between 26 August 2019 and 30 November 2019. All the participants interviewed were Nigerians. To reflect a good geographical spread, the Participants were recruited from the six geopolitical zones to which Nigeria is divided – North Central, North East, North West, South West, South East, and South-South Zones - making sure that ethnoreligious divides are adequately captured in the spread.

Demographics

Table 13 shows the percentage distribution of the 35 participants interviewed.

Participants were divided into seven groups thus:

- Group A – Past Heads of State;
- Group B – Retired/Serving Military Leaders;
- Group C – Past/Serving Distinguished Senators;
- Group D – Political Office Holders;
- Group E – Other Leaders (Academics, Captains of Industry, Security Experts, Public Policy Analysts); and
- Group F – Followers/Electorates.

Table 13

Distribution of Participants (Number of Participants = 35)

Participants' Groups	No. of Participants	% Distribution of Participants
A: Past Heads of State	3	8.57
B: Retired/Serving Military Leaders	4	11.43
C: Past/Serving Distinguished Senators	4	11.43
D: Political Office Holders	3	8.58
E: Other Leaders: (Academics, Captains of Industry, Security Experts, Public Policy Analysts)	3	8.58
F: Political Followers/Electorates (University students, Business men, Artisans, and others).	18	51.43

Note. Source: The Researcher

The age range of the 35 participants interviewed was 18 to 80 years. Some of the electorate, whose academic standard was up to American Grade 12, were interviewed alongside others whose academic credentials varied between undergraduates and first degree holders. The three past heads of state interviewed were retired, while those interviewed under Groups B, C, D, and E were either still in active public service or retired. Although some sociocultural difficulties were encountered while recruiting female participants, three female leaders and seven female followers were eventually interviewed. This further ensured gender sensitivity in the population demography.

Data Collection

The inclusion criteria for the participants' were purposively done because of the challenges of reaching the subjects who were past or present political leaders in Nigeria. However, the other group of Participants who constituted the other leaders included the economists, the academics, political practitioners, the leadership opinion shapers (both academic and practitioners), security experts, and other leadership/followership actors and professionals in Nigeria.

Concurring with the views of Rubin and Rubin (2012) who suggested that some researchers rely on qualitative techniques and therefore explore topics with small numbers of individuals who possess the relevant experience and understanding and are ready to share with the researcher, I selected my Participants in a purposive manner to meet this criteria. The interview sessions entailed asking the interviewees questions, listening to their answers, and then asking probing or follow-up questions based on their

responses. Since the study was phenomenological, no secondary data was further collected.

The interview data was collected from the respondents using a digital audio recorder. Each interview session lasted about 90 minutes. For convenience sake, the interviews were conducted at specific dates and convenient venues determined by the participants. During the data collection, the researcher interviewed about 17 past and present Nigerian political leaders (both civilian and military). The study equally interviewed about 18 followers. This was considered apt and expedient because from literatures reviewed, the crux of the problem is with the aggrieved followers who feel their expectations are not met by their leaders. Furthermore, the participants' selection was done with the aim of getting relevant information on the phenomenon of interest based on their peculiar experiences to gain a better understanding of the issues or challenges responsible for the leadership crisis.

The data collection was through face-to-face (FtF) interviews with the 35 participants which I considered as an adequate sample size for the phenomenological study (Dawidowicz, 2016). In all, two sets of interview questions were designed for the interviewees – one set for leaders and the second set for followers. The interview questions for the leaders comprised of 11 questions designed to elicit answers to the four core research questions, and 17 interview questions to elicit answers to the four core research questions for the followers were asked. It is pertinent to stress that all through the interviews, I kept reiterating to participants my unbiased position as interviewer, which was consistent with Walden University's IRB requirement that the researcher

should assume a non-involvement status during the interview sessions. In essence, before each interview, I always restated participants' rights as stipulated in the Informed Consent Form, especially the voluntary nature of their participation, and the fact that they can withdraw from the interview at any time.

In order to create a more relaxed atmosphere for each interview, the interviews always began with a little chit-chat. Doing this ensured that the participants freely responded to the interview questions. However, a major challenge encountered during the interviews was the timing which varied from one interview to the other even though it had been indicated in the letter of invitation that each interview was expected to last for about 90 minutes. This challenge had to do with the positions and personalities of the participants, most of whom were leaders at various tiers of governance – former Heads of State/Presidents, retired/serving Military leaders, serving and former Distinguished Senators and political leaders in that category. Consequently, in some cases we had to stop abruptly in the middle of some ongoing interviews only to reschedule for other times to enable the interviewees attend to other matters of national importance requiring their urgent and immediate attention. This was not experienced with the followers.

Another challenge was the fact that some of the past leaders are ageing. Hence, they were either not able to sit down for long periods of time or their attention spans were very short. Furthermore, some of them who in spite of their fragile health occasioned by old age who still showed interest would sometimes have to reschedule for the interview to be concluded at other more convenient times for them. These and many other reasons necessitated the rescheduling of some of the interviews. In consonance with IRB research

ethics of confidentiality and anonymity therefore, participants' data were identified using identification codes instead of their real identities.

Data Analysis

The data analysis was conducted by first identifying common structures of the particular experiences of participants based on the interview protocol. Doing this further aided better understanding of the phenomenon of study. According to Groenewald (2004), a phenomenological methodology is the best means of analyzing data contained within the lived-experiences of people about a phenomenon of interest. Therefore, Groenewald's position aptly justifies the researcher's choice of thematic analysis for the data analysis.

The study also adhered to Rubin and Rubin's suggested steps for analyzing responsive interviews which premise on the need to: *transcribe and summarize, coding, sort and summarize, sort and compare, weigh and integrate, generate your own theory, and generalize your findings* as applicable (p.190). Consequently, as a first step in the data analysis, the researcher transcribed the interviews verbatim so as to get a full and accurate word-for-word account of the interview data. This transcription was done manually using transcription assistants as indicated in the IRB application. Therefore, the study purposively coded aspects of the interview data capable of giving a better understanding of the research problem and will invariably address the research questions also.

Broadly speaking, coding entails ways of organizing and labelling data that help with the analysis (Saldana, 2013). According to Rubin and Rubin, coding is data

organization, and coding supports analysis by allowing for the identification of patterns across multiple data points or sources. Therefore, before choosing the codes in the data analysis, I first engaged in a process of reading and questioning of the transcribed data. Through this process the data became less opaque as preliminary codes were developed.

To simplify the coding process, the researcher classified the coding into first cycle and second cycle coding. By my first cycle coding, it means selecting concepts and phrases from the interview data. This can be seen in Table 13. Also, my second cycle coding involved emergent thematic categories as shown in Table 14. As cited by Rudestam and Newton (2015), Charmaz (2014) suggested that stage one in coding is referred to as *initial coding* (p.218). Saldana (2013) described the initial or first stage coding as all the processes that are associated with the early coding data. It is pertinent to note that the initial coding of data is done without foreclosing any thematic categories that may emerge in the latter cycles of coding. Rudestam and Newton's advice is that researchers' first priority in reporting a qualitative data analysis is to adopt a *well-organized strategy* (p.209). Doing this often give researchers considerable latitude while analyzing qualitative data. This strategy became apt while interpreting the primary data and presenting them in a coherent and comprehensive manner. The results of the first cycle coding in the data analysis as contained in Table 13 simplifies the coding process for the researcher:

Table 14*First Cycle Coding: Concepts/Phrases from Raw Interview Data*

Coded Concepts/Phrases from Interviews
Absence of Systematic Leadership Succession Program
Bad Leadership
Bad Leadership Recruitment
Class and Caste System
Credibility Problems
Digitization of Electoral Processes
Elections Rigging
Endemic Corruption
Falsified Elections Results
Faulty Leadership Selection
Favoritism
Followers' Apathy
Followers' Reorientation
Illiteracy
Inproper Identification and Accreditation of Voters
Ineffective Leaders
Lack of Accountability in Public Offices
Lack of Leadership Training
Lack of Political Parties' Manifestoes
Leaders' Inaccessibility
Legitimacy Problems
Managing Access versus Derived Access
Monetization of Elections
Nepotism
Paucity of Governance Institutions
Political Thuggery
Poverty
Problems of Breakdown of Trust Networks
Problem of Religious Discrimination
Uneducated and Unqualified Party Candidates
Under-aged Voting
Unrealistic and Unachievable Campaign Promises

Note. Source: The Researcher

Thus, the common approach I used was to code and conceptualize the emerging themes from the data analysis with the hope of ensuring that meanings are understood through thematic analysis (Waters, 2017). It is apt to also understand here that after coding the data, the principal means for synthesizing, or merging data was the process of conducting thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is considered most appropriate for studies that seek to explore phenomena using the lived experiences of participants as it provides in-depth information for data analysis (Alhojailan, 2012). As Jugder (2016) notes, thematic analysis is generally viewed as the extensive use of qualitative method to evaluate interviews. In view of this therefore, the conceptual framework of the thematic analysis for my qualitative interviews was built upon the theoretical positions of Braun and Clarke (2006) 6-step guide for thematic analysis thus:

- Step 1 – Under this step I familiarized myself with the primary interview data (or precoding);
- Step 2 – Here, I generated the initial codes (first cycle coding);
- Step 3 – Thereafter, I searched for emergent themes (second cycle coding);
- Step 4 – Then I reviewed the emergent themes (categorizing);
- Step 5 – Here, I defined the themes (analyzing); and
- Step 6 – Finally, I wrote descriptive narratives on the emergent themes (interpretation).

Table 15*Second Cycle Coding: Emergent Thematic Categories*

Coded Emergent Thematic Categories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The reasons for the break in trust network between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria. • Reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period • How leadership problems in Nigeria are born out of failure of the leaders to align their promises with what is in their political parties' manifestoes • Ways political leaders in Nigeria totally are detached from followers after elections

Note. Source: The Researcher

During the second cycle coding of data, Richards (2009) as cited by Rudestam and Newton (2015) recommended a fairly straightforward approach for coding qualitative data thus: *descriptive coding, topic coding, and analytical coding* (p. 214). The descriptive coding entails a process of keeping and making all codes very brief and concise (p. 214). Topic coding is the labeling of the initial codes based on the emergent themes, while Analytical coding is the process of developing a new sets of idea that the researcher may come across as he reflects on the available data. The second cycle coding methods, if needed, are more developed strategy of rearranging codes obtained through first cycle coding (Saldana, p. 234). Consequently, before thematic categories emerged from the data analysis, the researcher had to recode the data so as to assemble more accurate words and phrases from the original codes. Ultimately, Saldana stressed that the primary goal of the second cycle coding is advance logic of *categorical, thematic, and conceptual organization* from the collection of codes obtained during the initial coding cycle as shown in Table 14.

Recurrent Themes

To get the framework for the thematic analysis right, I had to do further analysis on the themes. This is because interview data are usually enormous in nature thereby making it almost difficult to transcribe the entire data verbatim. Consequently, coding of the interview data became apt. As Rudestam and Newton (2015) suggested that researchers should “reduce the data by developing categories or codes for sorting and refining them” (p.214), and Rubin and Rubin (2012) describe themes as *summary statements, causal explanations, or conclusions*. Therefore, the themes interviewees often mentioned are signified by important words like *because, as a result, due to, therefore, and as a consequence* (pp.194-195) which resulted from the data analysis conducted and as shown in Table 15.

Table 16

Code Frequency of Themes: Participants' Number of Occurrences

Major Themes	The Number of Occurrences by the 35 Participants
All-too-Powerful Executive	12
Breakdown in Trust Networks	35
Class and Caste System	30
Digitization of Electoral Processes	30
Endemic Corruption	25
Faulty Leadership Selection and Recruitment	25
Illiteracy	28
Ineffective Leaders	35
Lack of Accountability in Public Offices	29
Leaders' Inaccessibility	35
Leadership Legitimacy Problems	26
Monetization of Elections	30
Nepotism	15
Non Separation of Powers	20
Political Thuggery	18
Poverty	15
Problem of Religious Discrimination	26
Tribalism	29
Unrealistic Campaign Promises	

Note. Source: The Researcher

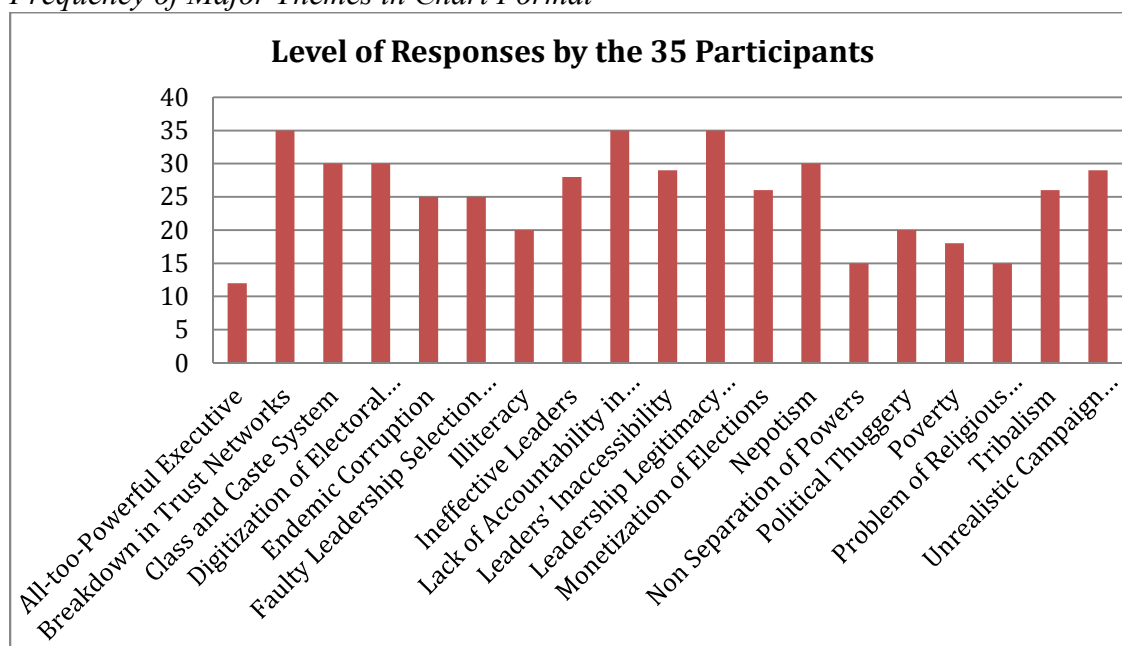
Frequency of Major Themes

In this study, there are many themes that have been analyzed but the major themes that impact on the study are as clearly shown in Table 15. Figure 4 shows the chart format for these major themes. As can be seen in Table 15 and Figure 4, the three almost equally impacting themes are *faulty leadership*, *leadership legitimacy problems*, and *unrealistic campaign promises*. It is equally evident in Table 15 and Figure 4 that *breakdown in trust networks*, *lack of accountability in governance*, *nepotism*, *digitization*

of electoral processes, non-separation of powers, and all-too-powerful executive equally play leading roles in shaping the gaps observed between the leaders and the led.

Figure 4

Frequency of Major Themes in Chart Format



Note. SOURCE: The Researcher

During the initial coding of interviews data, about four categories were identified from the emergent themes. Consequently, the results of the study are discussed using a descriptive narrative style. In the section where the Results of the Findings are presented, the codes, emerging themes and categories related to the research questions are discussed further

Evidence of Trustworthiness

In this research effort, one of the major concerns was how to ensure trustworthiness and quality in the study. In my view, the best way to ascertain

trustworthiness is to ensure validity in the data sources and methods used in obtaining the data (Stewart and Hitchcock, 2016). In other words, trustworthiness refers to a tradition where researchers can clearly demonstrate that the findings of their study are in accordance to the experience and views of the participants (Ravitch and Carl, 2016). Therefore, obtaining trustworthy data in a study depends on the earliest stages of a study which include, the study purpose and design. Furthermore, qualitative researchers use the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability to assess the trustworthiness of a study.

According to Guba (1981) as cited by Ravitch and Carl (2016), *Credibility* is “the researcher’s ability to take into account all of the complexities that present themselves in a study and to deal with patterns that are not easily explained” (p.188). This criterion has to do with the research design and the researcher’s instruments and data. Therefore, Stewart and Hitchcock recommended that during data collection and analysis, researchers should employ triangulation and member checking so as to ensure credibility in the data collected. Similarly, the data collection in this study observed the triangulation condition after transcribing the data, where the researcher had to conduct member checks with the participants by sharing their respective interview transcripts with them for their review. Meanwhile, feedback obtained from participants through the process of member checking was incorporated into the final narrative of the study and it further ensured quality in the data collected.

Transferability, necessitates that research that are qualitative in nature are bound *contextually* (Ravitch and Carl, 2016), which suggested that qualitative studies can be

replicated or transferable without losing their context-specific richness. Consequently, Ravitch and Carl (2016) posited that researchers should provide detailed description of the data and the context or setting to enable others make comparisons with other contexts. In the study, I observed this criterion at the participants' selection stage. Hence, participants who comprised past Heads of State, Past/Serving State Governors, Past/Serving Distinguished Senators, and their Followers, were purposively selected. Also, the researcher restricted the participants' pool to include only Nigerians relevant to the case study.

Dependability has to do with *stability* or *reliability* of facts obtained from the field (Ravitch and Carl, 2016). This criterion stipulates that qualitative studies should be consistent and stable over time. In other words, the data collected should be dependable in providing answers to the research question(s). According to Ravitch and Carl, the methods of achieving dependability are the *triangulation*, *sequencing of methods*, and generating a clearly defined reasoning for these choices to ratify that you have fashioned the suitable data gathering strategy that align with your research questions (p.189). In consonance with this criterion, and to further ensure the repeatability of the study, I have provided details of the sample selection criteria and data collection/analysis strategies, considering the relevance of the data collection instrumentation to the outcome of the research. I also subjected the interview protocol to a rigorous process which involved sharing the sample interview questions with the Committee Chair and IRB for their scrutiny and approval. This the I believed makes the study dependable and repeatable from inception to completion.

Confirmability, considers the fact that qualitative research work cannot claim to be free from impartiality (Ravitch and Carl, p.189). In other words, the foundational premise of qualitative research assumes that the world is a subjective place. Hence, qualitative researchers do not work toward achieving total objectivity from participants. However, the research findings should be confirmable. In essence, Ravitch and Carl (2016) stressed that “the one goal of confirmability is to acknowledge and explore the ways that our biases and prejudices map onto our interpretations of data and to mediate those to the fullest extent possible through structured reflexivity” (p.190). In line with Ravitch and Carl, therefore, I achieved confirmability in the study through the process of bracketing as further suggested by Dawidowicz (2016).

Bracketing helped the researcher to set aside all the prior personal experiences, biases, and perceptions held to allow participants freely express their lived experiences during the data collection process. I avoided leading or pre-empting participants’ responses during interviews through the questions, facial expressions, and other gestures. During the interviews, I further avoided pushing participants to continue answering questions they do not want to answer and totally avoided allowing the researchers’ lived experiences (story) to influence participants’ responses to the interview questions. Doing all these ensured the confirmability of the data collected.

Results

In this section, the results of the findings during the data collection are presented. This is a representation of data collected from the 35 participants with whom I interacted during the FtF interviews. The interview protocol was guided by a set of questions

adapted from the four core research questions underpinning the study. The questionnaires were developed with a view to interrogating why there are often breakdown in trust networks between leaders and followers after elections.

It is pertinent to note that the interview questions were not sacrosanct because during each interview, follow-up and probing questions were elicited from participants' responses. The results of the study are further organized into 4 major thematic categories based on the emergent themes from the coded interview data. Thus, the descriptive and narrative styles were used to describe and report responses from participants on the questions asked during the FtF interviews. Consequently, the following discussions of results of my findings are interspersed with narrative description of participants' responses and in some cases, verbatim quotations of the responses as applicable. Hereafter, the study will analyze the responses to the four questions starting with research question one.

Before providing the specific comments of my participants, it is expedient to consider the number of interviewees who agreed on each of the responses to the four research questions. Table 16 below shows the Participants' responses to each of the research questions.

Table 17*Participants' Responses to the Research Questions*

Research Question (RQ)	Thematic Categories	Number of Participants' Responses
RQ 1: What are the reasons for the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria?	<p>The reasons for the break in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fault lines in the electoral law • Poor implementation of promises made during political campaigns • Inability of the political leaders to fight corruption and provide basic needs of the followers • The use of thugs by the political class 	<p>30</p> <p>20</p> <p>35</p> <p>20</p>
RQ 2: What are some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?	<p>Reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for failing to fulfill some of the campaign promises they made during the pre-election period:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ignorance of the electorate (followers) • Poor and weak law enforcement agencies • Lack of moral justification on the part of the electorate (followers) • Institutionalization of nepotism and corruption 	<p>30</p> <p>35</p> <p>30</p> <p>13</p>
RQ 3: How are leadership problems in Nigeria borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is in their various political parties' manifestoes?	<p>How leadership problems in Nigeria are born out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is in their various political party manifestoes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor and inaccessible parties' manifestoes • Fake campaign promises by the politicians due to lack of viable parties' manifestoes 	<p>29</p> <p>20</p>
RQ 4: In what ways are political leaders in Nigeria totally detached from those they lead especially after elections, and how has this led to the socio-political crises ravaging the country today?	<p>Ways political leaders in Nigeria are totally detached from followers after elections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physically distancing themselves from the followers • Their inability to provide followers with basic amenities • Their inability to listen to the plight of their followers 	<p>29</p> <p>21</p> <p>28</p>

Note. Source: Researcher Generated.

Research Question 1: What are the reasons for the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria?

This research question sought to understand the participants' lived experiences, observations, and perspectives on why breakdown in trust networks exist between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria. In interrogating the issue further, the interview began with some general leading questions bordering on Nigeria's electoral laws and how these laws have influenced the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers.

Thematic Category 1: The Reasons for the Breakdown in Trust Networks between Political Leaders and their Followers in Nigeria

The interview conducted with participants for this study revealed that the reasons why there was breakdown in trust networks between the political leaders and their followers in Nigeria include: fault lines in the electoral law, poor implementation of campaign promises made during political campaigns, experience of the followers with past political leaders, and the use of thugs by the political class. These points are succinctly and thoroughly explained below:

1. Fault lines in the electoral laws of the country

The results obtained from interviews with participants revealed that the fault lines in Nigeria's electoral law is responsible for the politicians' bad leadership, weak leadership, and poor governance knowing that the law as presently constituted cannot be used to convict them. For this reason, the followers naturally lack trust in the political

leaders because the weak nature of the electoral law presents the leaders with the opportunity to break the law and get away with it effortlessly.

Therefore, from the responses obtained, the researcher discovered that majority of participants faulted the electoral laws for not adequately addressing issues of monetization of the electoral process, under-aged voting, undemocratic leadership selection processes (at the political party levels), and other forms of electoral malpractices. Consequently, the participants unanimously agreed that the electoral laws were still emerging since the first electoral act was bequeathed to the country by the military in 1999 when they handed over power to the civilians. They were quite certain that a lot still needs to be done to ensure that the electoral laws become instruments of trust building among the political leaders and the followers. For example, Participant 006 opined that after every election cycle, there is always a lacuna discovered in operating that particular electoral act. Consequently, the participant who is a strong advocate of electronic voting suggests that:

The Electoral Act as far as electronic voting is concerned needs to be thought through carefully and international examples must be followed and studied to see where it has worked, where it didn't work, and what are the advantages and disadvantages? And how we can match it to our own home – grown sociocultural tendencies? The manner of transmitting elections results that we saw in 2019 where people actually thought that identification through electronic means was actually voting was inappropriate. This is because it gives room for the electorates to question the conformity of the election results with the electoral law. The

electoral law did not fully recognize full operations of the electronic voting system. We are also looking at the timing of the method of declaration of results which is crucial. That needs to be revisited at the electoral law level when the National Assembly is amending the Act.

The Participant 006 further posits that such amendments may stipulate if an election result should be accepted or not if a party agent refuses to sign the election results as announced at the polling unit. The electorates may also want to see whether the electoral system will protect political parties so as to ensure that in areas where they are completely disenfranchised, one party cannot just go ahead and take charge to the detriment of others. I believe that the participants were quite clear on the role of leadership both at the Executive and National Assembly levels in engendering an electoral act that would bring about this transformation in Nigeria's democratic processes. Because they believe that with good electoral laws, better leaders will emerge and trust networks between them and the people they lead will improve. This was further emphasized by Participant 004 who opined that we have leadership crisis because when a nation is underperforming due to poor leadership selection processes occasioned by fault lines in the electoral laws, and when the quality of life of the people seem to be on steady decline due to the poor leadership, then there will be constant breakdown of trust networks between the people and their leaders.

I share the view of participants and posit that there are reasons to affirm that Nigeria is blessed with so many natural resources that one can arguably conclude that Nigeria is one of the most favoured Nations in the world. Such reasons manifest in the

natural resources spread from the northern part of Nigeria down to the southern part of it. The country is blessed with natural resources like solid minerals, oil and gas, mangrove forests in the south that afford good vegetation and rich soil for agrarian farming, major rivers and the Atlantic Ocean that affords sea food, and others. However, it is among the poorest and most backward when you assess it on the basis of human development index, in terms of peace and stability, and in terms of economic performance. The Participant 004 consequently asked how the nation can be so richly endowed and yet be so poor? And he proffered the answer that it can only be a consequence of mismanagement and bad leadership. And in this particular case, the bad leadership emanate from poor selection of the right leaders through lack of mechanisms such as good electoral laws, leadership training, leadership mentoring, ethical conducts, loyalty to the nation, and love for the country and the countrymen.

Also, Participant 008 asserted that leadership issues are not entirely the fault of the leader but probably the failure of the governance structures that should be able to control, or guide his journey into leadership because at every level people see leadership as those who are the decision makers. And I share the peoples' view that leaders are those who are the decision makers. Furthermore, it is worth noticing that one of the good instruments for good governance structures is an effective electoral law – an instrument of good leadership selection process. Participant 008 further suggested that if leadership were driven by decision making then everybody and every human being is a leader in their rights, especially in building that self-consciousness that makes you human. Participant 008 then shared his experiences in the academia, his life as a consultant, and

his work life in and out of government and concluded that the system has been corrupted from the foundation. Therefore, principles, values, and ethics which should have been the substance of the system have been thrown to the dust.

In my opinion therefore, it is sacrosanct to posit that this scenario showcases conspiracy of mutual deception because the process has inevitably conspired to misguide the followers and the leaders. With good electoral laws, many of the deficiencies that have been observed in leadership can be corrected. With this done, the benefits of a good electoral law would have yielded good leadership selection and recruitment processes. Furthermore, Participant 016 in his contribution believed that for political leaders in Nigeria to be seen as effective leaders, they must learn to be exemplary leaders who are guided by well-defined and articulated laws. Thus, they must be well principled, focused, work according to rules, and be free from all forms of corruption.

Participant 016 further gave the example of the military where there are such military leaders who have done a lot in bringing the Nigerian Army to its enviable standard in the world. In terms of discipline, performance, addressing the security challenges of the nation, training of their officers and soldiers, ensuring constant military exercises so that they can maintain high professional standards, diligence, loyalty to the Nation, ensuring that they obey the law, and maintaining tenets of military ethics, these military leaders according to him have done creditably well.

One major reason for this is that they have been guided and are obedient to the rule of law – military, electoral, and other Constitutional laws. Participant 015 corroborates Participant 016 and opined that a good leader must be ethical, honest and

respectful to the subordinates. To effectively do this, the leader must follow a set rule of law that guides his leadership role because a good electoral law normally provides guidance on the interaction between the leader and the followers. In particular, a good political leader must as of necessity do all it takes to ensure that the followers are well catered for and their personal complaints, concerns, and general welfare are promptly attended to. The participant also opined that Nigeria is now a democratic nation and believed that politics the way we see it in our country has no set pattern. In the participant's view, the requirement for parties to follow their manifestoes does not exist. The participant however, believed that no nation would have been as great as Nigeria, but we are pulling it apart.

Corroborating Participant 016, I believe that there are simple issues that can bond us together such as inter-ethnic marriages, ethnoreligious and political tolerance, rather than laying emphasis on the class and caste system. This can only be achieved if the government entrenches a good electoral law and our political leaders obey the letters of the law. The participant further posited that soldiers serve in different parts of the tribal divide and they get married to women who are not from their tribal extraction. They build strong families on this axiom because they have done their best to remove nepotism, and stem the concept of a divided nation.

It is expedient to see things from the point of view of Participant 016 because leadership born out of tribal ethnicity, religious affiliation, and social strata are not the panacea to the breakdown of trust networks usually occasioned by faulty electoral laws. The point is that we are all Nigerians and we should see ourselves as one united nation

guided by one unifying electoral law system where we are not only rainbow coalitions but we are each other's keepers. He further posited that what is obtainable today is the faulty electoral laws which makes it difficult for evolution of good leaders in our system.

Participant 016 further remarked that the resources endowed into this Country, may not be available to many African countries. For example, from a state in Nigeria there are well over 28 solid minerals. We have similar natural and human resources that abound in many states in the other 36 states in Nigeria. He further opined that if Nigeria puts all the mismanaged resources to mining, processing and export, the country would be a self-sufficient and well-developed Nation in Africa. Unfortunately, the participant observed that the crux of political leaders in Nigeria who are not guided by good electoral laws hardly look at the global picture but their own myopic regional and nepotistic interests. Consequently, this deficiency in leadership often makes it difficult for them to harness these enormous human and material resources for the benefit of the nation.

The participant also proffered a solution to the problem for the nation to establish very effective electoral laws and functional manifestoes so that leaders contesting electoral positions must forget the toga of region or state. Characteristically, most leaders in the nation only think about how to build up their own empire and develop their own self-interests without due consideration for the electorates that surrender their mandate to lead them. He consequently concludes that this is one major reason why breakdown of trust networks becomes a common phenomenon in the country. Because of lack of manifestoes and poor electoral law guiding these leaders they do not care about provision of basic amenities like potable water, motorable road infrastructure, affordable Medicare,

and other social amenities that will strengthen the trust networks between them and the electorates. These in the researcher's opinion are leadership traits that will not add value to the relationship between these types of leaders and their followers. Without an iota of doubt leaders with these traits will continue to create an environment of mistrust that is capable of creating breakdown of trust networks between them and the electorate.

However, Participant 007 further opined that there are still some political and other leaders who are very passionate about Nigeria. They are very pragmatic, and very fair to their people and communities. The wealth they acquired was through dint of hard work, resiliency in managing both success and failure, and visionary leadership style. All they have, they did not keep to themselves. Instead, they instituted Philanthropic Foundations through which they share their wealth with others through social intervention programmes. They further ensured that people felt their impact. Those of them who are political leaders were able to achieve this feat due to their ingenuity to create their own manifestoes and make the best out of the existing electoral laws. They gave electoral promises to their followers and did not renege. They demonstrated unquantifiable level of discipline, dedication, focus, and belief in the available electoral law of the land. The participant consequently concluded that this caliber of leaders did not assume unethical standards rather they chose the path of diligence, loyalty, and belief in those they lead.

Consequently, leaders of these ethical qualities usually slam the door of any breakdown of trust networks between them and their followers. They also make their followers very accessible to them by frequently organizing town hall and market place

meetings where they bring their report sheets and debate them with the electorates. It therefore becomes difficult for any breakdown in trust networks to exist between them and their followers. Examples of such sterling qualities in leadership are found mostly among the retired military class some of who have invested their dedication, loyalty, and stewardship in promoting the development of the country through their military service to the nation. Participant 007 further claimed that the nation has such leaders in other professional areas like civil service, academia, entrepreneurial environment, politics, and others who were responsible for rehabilitation, reconstruction, and reconciliation of the nation after its gruesome civil war. It is evident that every human being is created specially but differently. Consequently, some through humbled leadership styles, dedication, loyalty to the nation, ethics and character, have impacted very positively on the progress of the nation. It can be arguably ascertained that because of these people today Nigeria remained an indivisible united nation.

Participant 012 in his contribution to the discourse believed that leadership comes with responsibilities and the worst thing the leader should do is to be provincial, bigoted, fanatical, religious, and nepotistic. A leader should be broad minded, egalitarian, and democratic – in the sense of carrying everyone along. He then asserted that to be fair and just - as a leader of his department, he dealt with monies which he could have misappropriated or channeled towards other personal areas. But whenever his department had money or whenever there was an opportunity, they would all sit down and discuss. This was the dictate of the electoral law that brought them to power. According to him, up till the time he left the department, nobody said anything bad about his leadership

even though he was hot tempered at times – for good reasons. He believes that with commitment and standard laws Nigerian leaders can effectively work toward becoming ethical leaders.

In contributing to the discourse, Participant 002 viewed leadership from two perspectives thus: where the leaders know what to do for the people to follow them but did not because they do not care about those they lead and they pay no attention to their welfare, their pains, and their concerns. Rather, they were always concerned about themselves rather than the collective interests of those they lead. These types of leaders are not in short supply in Nigeria.

The researcher shares the views of the Participant on his first perspective of leadership, and agreed that leaders in this category have the potential to continue to increase the gap between them and those they lead. The consequence of that is breakdown in trust networks between the two parties.

On the second perspective, Participant 002 stressed that the Nation has the political leaders who take time to prepare their manifestoes, their vision, and who respect the rule of electoral law. According to the Participant, such leaders exemplify the best ethical, professional, moral and best practice leadership characters to influence their followers to constantly achieve their optimal abilities. The participant also posited that these leaders also ensure open-access and close interaction with their followers. Seldom will you find a breakdown in the trust networks between them and those they lead. The bad leaders who usually benefit from the unethical conducts hardly see anything wrong in

what they do. Also, the followers who benefit from their bad leadership do not have the moral rectitude to challenge these bad leaders.

Still on Participant 002, the examples of good leaders in Nigeria were given as General Murtala Mohammed (a former Nigerian Military Head of State; 1975-1976) whose transformational leadership in that short spate of time is still resonating in terms of developmental achievement of Nigeria. Similarly, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (former Nigeria's Prime Minister; 1960-1966), Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (former Nigeria's Head of State; 1960-1966); Chief Obafemi Awolowo (former Nigeria's Premier of the Southern Region; 1960-1964), and Alhaji Ahmadu Bello Sardauna (former Nigeria's Premier of the Northern Region; 1960-1966). According to the participant, all these leaders spent limited periods as compared to the modern day leaders yet they were less educated, less exposed socially and developmentally, and had limited exposure to modern technology like their successors had and their performances are still what the country is basking in today.

These leaders, according to the participant, ensured that good laws were written for the nation. Most of them who were politicians had their manifestoes and they were visionary leaders. They turned their homes into political meeting places just to get familiar and know their followers better. He further stressed that the leaders obeyed the laws they made, part of which is the electoral laws and they also fulfilled most of the promises in their manifestoes.

This class of leaders were truly the peoples' leaders. It therefore behooves on anyone not to see that trust levels between such leaders and their followers would be

impeccable. This is because what they had in quantum supply were **foresight, vision, and sacrifice** which are economical to most modern Nigerian and African leaders. These leaders with their limitations laid the solid foundation of socioeconomic, political, and physical infrastructure development on which those who are given the baton are still grappling with little or no improvement. They had foresight because they were interested in what becomes of the future of the nation. They therefore worked assiduously towards improving the future of the nation, and in the process they made sacrifices because they were selfless and because they put Nigeria over and above self. No wonder therefore why the relationship between them and their followers are very intimate. This kind of relationship did not allow any room for trust breakdown between them.

According to Participant 002 this also accounts for why Sardauna proposed that the revenue from the groundnut produced in the North be invested in crude oil prospecting and exploration from the South-South which will bring more revenue to develop the country. To the modern-day leader who is not guided by any electoral law, vision, and manifesto, and who makes electoral promises purposely to deceive their followers this will be an unthinkable advice by Sardauna who is a northern leader with vision, moral standing, ethics, and legal guidance suggesting that the proceeds from groundnut which is also a northern produce be used to prospect and explore oil from the southern part of the country.

Evidently, and from the foregoing, these past leaders were more interested in the development of the country rather than the narrow view of the region where they come from which forms the mindset of the modern leaders. As such there was no report of

breakdown of trust they developed between them and their followers. Unfortunately, leaders in the modern day Nigeria rule the nation by fiat through religious, tribal, ethnic, and other such narrow leadership minds. Such leaders are not interested in what they can do for this country but are only interested in what they can make out of the country. This explains why today there is a breakdown in the trust networks between them and their followers leading to a huge gap between them. They are unlike John F. Kennedy who once said, “ask not what your country will do for you, but what you will do for your country” (JFKennedy Presidential Library and Museum, n.d.). Participant 002 concluded by observing that this class of leaders:

Do not know the principle of leadership by example, but they only understand the language of take it all and give nothing back. So the problem of the nation is that of leadership and not followership. Consider the case of the leadership of Jerry Rawlings, a flight lieutenant and former leader of Ghana who imbibed leadership by example and bridged leadership gap with his followers through frequent private and public interactive sessions with them on crucial state matters.

The question is what happened to the Nigerian leadership story?

Late former leader of South Africa Nelson Mandela aptly answered this question by saying that: Nigeria stood by us (South Africa) more than any nation, but Nigerian leaders have failed not only their followers, but Africa and the black race very badly (Ishiekwene, 2013). Therefore, if one of the greatest leaders (Nelson Mandela) that Africa has produced could cede Africa’s leadership position to Nigeria it makes political sense to believe that it behooves on Nigerian leaders to rise up and step up best leadership

practices to happen for Nigeria and Africa. Participant 013 also clearly looked at the fault lines in the electoral law from its foundational roots and opined that due to ethnic politics, tribal sentiments, nepotism, religious and tribal bigotry giving rise to unethical conducts, actors in the political clime no longer follow any rules unless they can benefit from it. He further stressed that people who are placed in positions to make electoral laws do so to favor these negative norms.

Consequently, best practice electoral laws are not made. Furthermore, the participant observed that because the political process must favor some ethnic groups from particular geopolitical zones, guiding documents like the manifestoes and best practice electoral laws are given no priority in our electioneering campaigns. According to the participant, it is therefore, not difficult to see why the leaders who emerge from this process will not have the character to understand the tenets of good leadership. He concluded by arguing that:

Because these leaders evolve through this process the bond between them and their followers are weak as their loyalty will only be to self. As a result, breakdown of trust will grow between the two parties. This fundamental problem leading to the making of weak electoral law has destroyed the breeding of right leadership which will continue to ostracize the followers from their leaders.

However, in spite of the gloomy story about political leadership deficiency,

Participant 013 opined that it is gratifying to assert that some Nigerian leaders are very ethical, visionary, responsible, quiet, respectful, studious, and very intelligent. Contextually, a good leader is one who is ethically respectful and has full control of his

inner mind and everything he does. Such leadership personality is a very reliable, effective and confident leader. You can see that in all they do, they perform exceptionally well. The reason is they have vision, they have manifestoes, they interact very well with their followers, and they make the best of the available electoral laws. Participant 002 further opined that the followership class can be faulted for having poverty of the mind and not of money alone. The participant believed this type of poverty is not physical but more chronic and it affects the total fabrics of the human system. It transcends money, food and other basic means of livelihood. In his contribution, the participant believed that this theory of poverty of the mind can be summed up as intellectual poverty.

Participant 002 consequently opined that Singapore was said to be one of the corrupt countries in the world to the extent that when an accident victim is taken to the hospital emergency, you must bribe the gateman before the gate can be opened to allow Medicare provision. But the leadership at a stage in Singapore said this practice must stop. Thereafter, Lee Kuan Yew (1923-2015) emerged as President of Singapore and said, *this is it* and puts an end to this untoward corrupt conduct in Singapore. This is because Singapore has laws, particularly electoral laws that frown very strongly against this kind of conduct and Lee Kuan Yew not only understands this law but applied it in correcting these anomalies.

In Nigeria nepotism keeps growing, tribal and religious sentiments keep dominating the hearts of our leaders and nobody seems to care what becomes of the nation that gave them the position of leadership they have. This is certainly not the kind of leadership that encourages good followership. Consequently, we have to search for the

right leadership that will go through the process of democratic norms to clean the country of its current decadency. Unfortunately, some of the participants (P-012; P-006; P-032) observed that the problem of nepotism, tribalism, religiosity and corruption, lack of unity, loyalty, and dedication to the nation have continued to play very negative roles for both the leaders and their followers. Therefore, when a follower perceives that the one in power is from his or her ethno-religious domain, then the follower will not see anything wrong with the leadership style even when it is glaring that the treasury of the nation is being emptied and the security of the country is under serious threat. All these are the antecedents giving birth to breakdown in trust networks between leaders and the led. These are also the challenges faced by the leadership class because the electoral laws to address some of these fault lines are too weak to make a difference.

There is no doubt that a sound electoral law will give no room for uneducated people to be involved in the leadership selection processes. The rules of engagement would have been clearly and unambiguously stated in the electoral law documents but where an electoral law failed to frown at utilizing uneducated poor class, intellectual poverty will dominate the leadership selection process. Consequently, the selection process will fall back on what the people have made their culture – nepotism, tribalism, religiosity, corruption, and other such vices. These are not the panacea for breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and their followers. Participant 002 thereafter cautioned the leaders by saying that revolution is imminent if they fail to lead the people aright. The participant opined that revolution and mob actions are not preached.

The participant believed that by the time revolution and mob action are setting into the polity elder statesmen and those who love the nation with all their hearts should make it abundantly clear that the nation will be ruined if that path being treaded does not stop. He further remarked that Nigeria should not wait until the followers carry placards into the streets and announce to their leaders that they have had enough of their bad leadership. When this happens, security will be threatened, socioeconomic and political environments will become tensed, and the system will become ungovernable. Definitely, total breakdown in trust networks will happen. A good electoral law system will solve most of these problems. These, unfortunately, have been the recipes for crimes and unrest which when not controlled blows up into use of arms by dissidents. He concluded by stressing that this situation led to the Nigerian Civil War of 1967 to 1970 which almost repeated itself in 1983 during President Shehu Shagari's leadership of the country (1979-1983). Again, these are the manifestations of fault lines in the electoral laws with the tendencies of encouraging breakdown of trust networks between this class of leaders and their followers.

In summary, it is expedient to note that the participants who have made input are very clear about the negative effects that poor electoral laws can contribute in the breakdown of trust networks between the followers and their leaders. Furthermore, they have clearly made the point that the conduct of our modern-day leaders quickly ensure breakdown of trust networks between their followers and them.

2. Poor Implementation of Promises Made During Political Campaigns

Another important reason for the breakdown of trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria as observed from the results of this study hinges around the inability of the politicians to implement promises made during campaigns. Over the years, it is evident that Nigerian politicians make “*mouthwatering*” promises during campaigns just to win the votes of the electorates without any intentions to implement those promises. In view of this, the followers would naturally lose trust in their politicians even after winning elections.

In his contribution to the discourse, Participant 005 was very clear about the issue of trust networks by positing that first, unlike what is obtainable in Nigeria today, trust used to be there in Nigeria’s leadership, giving example that during the General Yakubu Gowon era, a former Nigerian Head of State (1966-1975), the General Olusegun Obasanjo leadership (1976-1979), the General Murtala Muhammed leadership (1975-1976), and the General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida leadership (1985 to 1993), annual budgets were prepared by the Supreme Military Council and the Armed Forces Ruling Council. These two Military Councils, the participant said were not democratic in nature. The participant was in school then, and whenever the budgets were prepared, these leaders read them on the first of January each year. The military councils usually sat to decide the contents of the budgets. Part of the decision might be that if oil were sold at a particular price that will enable government to estimate realizable revenue upon which the budget will be built.

Participant 005 further ascertained that the Military Council might assert that in a particular year road construction between say Abeokuta - Ore road (a distance of about 200km), with an estimated construction cost of say 'X' million Naira, would be done. With this assurance, the followers would be rest assured that they can go to sleep with the confidence that the road will be done at the specified time and with the amount budgeted. One can be assured that not less than 95 percent of the budget would be executed. However, in the present democratic dispensation in Nigeria, budgets are just passed without implementation to 50%.

Based on the argument of the participant, this is the evidence that all the promises given by these leaders (before the present political dispensation) were promptly, speedily, and qualitatively executed. This was the definition of trust network between the leaders and their followers then. This built a high level of confidence in the followers at this time. The assurances that what were promised were done with efficiency and speed were not only confident building but also enhanced a robust trust network between those leaders and their followers.

The participant unfortunately believed that during this period the system gravitated into producing a dilution of the military and civilian mixed system leadership where the military junta became the head of the government and many civilian actors were involved at various leadership levels of governance. The attendant consequences of this dilution were that some people in the hierarchy of leadership introduced the culture of making promises that were high handed, unrealistic, and unfulfillable.

He further opined that this culture ushered in the beginning of the breakdown in the trust networks between these leaders and their followers. Then it got worse under the civilian and democratic dispensation - purely a democratic civilian leadership. He further argued that promises were made to look good on paper but unfortunately the promises were not kept. And that led to breakdown in trust. For example, some leaders who promised scholarships to the electorates were not forthcoming in fulfilling these promises. Even worse still, those leaders who promised some projects in their constituencies still reneged. These promises were not fulfilled as the monies have been diverted for their selfish gains.

The participant further opined that the political leaders take the money and use part of it to bribe the leadership at the grassroots level to help them subvert the grievances of the followers. This, the participant said brought about breakdown in trust network because the government is like a god on earth – God that you cannot see, and it should not be, especially for the President. The President according to the participant is expected to be the moral conscience and the political leader, and to some extent, like in Britain, the queen is the spiritual leader of the country, meaning that when they say something, it happens. If it does not happen they find a reason to explain.

Going by the argument of Participant 005, one may classify the reasons why there is loss of trust networks of the followers toward their leaders into two main reasons: the first is that the breakdown in trust was because the leaders were making promises and they were not being fulfilled. The participant further shed more light on the issue and gave a second reason for the loss of trust networks of followers toward their leaders. In

his view, when the promises were not fulfilled, politicians will find a way of bribing people to say that the promises have been fulfilled. He observed that while some people are happy at your promise of building a bridge, they come to the realization after being voted in that a bridge will never be in sight, because the money for the bridge has been shared between the *Obas* (Kings) and the *Emirs* (Islamic leaders), who are happy at receiving the largess rather than receiving the promised infrastructures that will benefit the masses. In my opinion, this is one of the reasons why the masses are constantly at war with their leaders because of the failure of these leaders to meet with their promises and thereby fulfill the fundamental objective of governance.

I concur concurred with this participant and further opine that this is a serious panacea for breakdown in trust networks between these leaders and the followers. As stated in Section 14 of the 1999 Nigerian constitution (as amended), the primary purpose of governance is for welfare and security of the citizens. And the people are seeing that even these two are not being fulfilled. Security means to move freely without let or hindrance; welfare means you need to have good schools, potable water, and electric power supply. But these are not forthcoming. That in my opinion is another reason why trust had broken down between the leaders and the led.

Participant 024 further added impetus to the argument and suggested that the government's inability to fulfill the primary duty, in spite of the fact that the leaders had free education at both primary and secondary levels, is responsible for the crisis. The participant further argued that good Medicare delivery is a rare sight as the case may be so much so that followers are insinuating that nowadays there are more worship centers

in Nigeria than functional medical health centers. In my opinion and in terms of security, I share the view of Participant 024 that the people have resorted to self-help by way of establishing vigilante groups, Civilian Task Forces, and parallel/alternative security systems to the established security systems (such as Police, Military, Civil Defense Corps, State Security Services whose main function is the protection and security of human and material resources in the nation) generally tagged *private security services* purely organized and operated by the civilians to protect their lives and property.

That is why Participant 018 believed that there is a famous concept that says “since the government cannot defend us, let us defend ourselves”. In my view, this is a precursor to a failed state and lawlessness. Furthermore, I believe that this is the reason why complete trust has broken down because of failure of government to fulfill these cardinal objectives. But the citizens are not out of blame as well. This is because according to some of the Participants (P-022; P-004) who have argued that they sell their mandate cheaply to these leaders who when they get to power, totally ignore them because of the belief that the electorates have been paid their dues. Again, I believe that these are responsible for why as a country we are still at this level of development. I the researcher, dare to say that both parties (leaders and followers) share the blame almost evenly. After all, the leaders are products of the followers. Therefore, if we do not hold leaders accountable, we are being bad citizens. Holding leaders to account does not mean you attack the governor, the president, and other leaders. But you attack and you criticize constructively which we are not doing.

Participant 004 in his contribution to the discuss viewed the issue of trust network differently by asserting that the breakdown in trust networks between the political leaders and their followers hinges on the absence of systematic leadership succession and recruitment programs. For example, the participant said that China is still essentially a dictatorship but it is working very well because they have a leadership recruitment program whereby from school you are made to join the Communist Party. If you excel you are given responsibilities at the lower level even as a student. By the time you graduated according to the participant, you may be given responsibilities at the County level; and those who excel are probably going to be given responsibility at the Provincial level. There is a conscious effort to identify talents and to give them bigger responsibilities. This is a leadership recruitment process that is missing in Nigeria. What we have are parochialism, religious discrimination, favoritism, and nepotism. As such people who are supposed to recruit the next set of leaders are only preoccupied with their relations, their tribesmen, or those who are from their religious group, and other similar parameters. The consequence of this is that uneducated mediocre end up becoming leaders.

In his summary Participant 004 further opined that the breakdowns in trust networks are as a result of faulty leadership recruitment and succession policies, faulty electoral process because of the fact that the elected leader is not elected on merit and the peoples' mandate. Consequently, the people have no reason to repose confidence in their leaders because they usually occupy public offices without performing. They do not keep their promises to the electorate and they do not lead by example. He further said that we

can even make it an example that failure of past leaders to perform well has also eroded the confidence of the citizens in their leaders. That is to say, whom they see is a man who had very little when he assumed office, but by the time he leaves office he and his children are stupendously rich. Obviously, all we have is a system of plutocracy where people go in there to steal as much as they can; they get away with it and there is no sanction. The poor performances of past leaders explain part of the reasons why there is a big gap between the leaders and their followers.

Participant 004 further remarked that there is endemic corruption in the public service arena. This according to the participant explains why there seems to be a scramble to see who steals the most when these leaders get into public offices. The managers in the public sense are technocrats and civil servants. However, the political leaders are supposed to be the men of vision, and men of great ideas, capable of giving a sense of direction to the nation, while the managers are the ones who are supposed to implement and execute on those ideas. Unfortunately, the corruption of the political leaders has affected the managers of the system too. Therefore, they end up joining the political class in plundering the nation.

The participant further claimed that Nigeria was said to have lost up to \$1.2trillion of crude oil within the year 2019. This revelation according to him is from a government source and it is not the opposition making the allegations. The participant consequently imagined what \$1.2 trillion can do for a country like Nigeria whose annual budget is less than 1/10th of that. Also, the participant claimed that these funds could guarantee uninterrupted power supply, good roads network, and can provide all kinds of educational

facilities positively for human resources development. Again, the participants observed that some of the contracts were poorly implemented and corruptly negotiated from the beginning and they were meant to fail, such that when compensation is paid only a few Nigerians will benefit from it.

With this revelation by Participant 004, it behooves on any ethical mind to imagine how the electorate will have confidence in a leadership process that offers this untoward developmental environment. It is expected that an environment of this nature will not only be chaotic but will equally create gaps between the governed and their governors. Let me further suggest that leadership crisis like some of my participants (P-004; P-003; P-012) have opined are borne out of poor leadership mentoring, and inadequate selection and succession processes. It is therefore my view that to reverse the current leadership lapses, the required qualities that make for a good leadership behavior should be entrenched into the polity. It will therefore not be out of place to have our institutions involved in leadership training from the secondary school cadres to the postgraduate level of our academic training. It is also expedient to incorporate into both public and private sectors annual leadership training curriculum for both leaders and followers. This way, leaders will know their responsibilities and followers will be in tune with their expectations. There is no doubt that if this is done, it will tremendously bridge the existing gap between the followers and their leaders as my participants have succinctly opined. This is a panacea to de-escalating the frequent crises borne out of breakdown of trust networks between the two divides.

Furthermore, it is evident from the inputs of some of the participants (P-004; P-007; P-030) that education plays a critical role in enlightening the generality of the society. Therefore, I as the researcher believe that if there is a wide educational lacuna between leaders and followers, there are bound to be misconceptions, misunderstandings, exploitations, and misguided opinions. No wonder therefore one can arguably posit that these are mostly the reasons why it takes the leaders little effort to exploit their uneducated masses. So government needs to pay heavy attention to the education sector and also make concerted efforts to evolve the type of educational environment that can absorb the uneducated masses.

It is expedient to share the views of Participants 004; 007; and 030 that if the people are well educated they are bound to be more involved in their own affairs or in their public lives. The whole idea of democracy is for citizens' participation both in policy formulation and execution. For instance, one may ask how an uneducated community of followers may participate effectively in discuss involving issues like monetization and remuneration for public officers. The answer is simple – they cannot, because they do not know the contextual meaning of those terms. Furthermore, citizens who are not capably qualified for the job they are doing just because they cannot grasp the issues at stake will not be able to effectively participate in the affairs that concern them. No doubt therefore that an enlightened and educated citizenry will be able to set high standards for themselves, develop a healthy interactive relationship with their leaders, and do a good job of making their leaders accountable whenever they observe the leaders are going off track.

However, Participant 012 shared a different opinion on the issue of trust networks. According to the participant the breakdown in trust networks is due to the failure of the political leaders. Our leadership recruitment process is another area of problem. In the participant's words:

In the Nigerian Defence Academy where I work, the Officer Cadets are taught leadership qualities of sincerity, trust, and ethics – issues that we train officers to uphold at all times in their career lives. These are the instructions that will enable them to lay claim to good leadership in peace and war times.

I share the view of Participant 012 and posit that if you are not trustworthy and ethical you cannot be a good military officer capable of leading your soldiers and officers to battle. Trust is equally important as it is the key that holds trust networks together between the leader and the led. A universal dictum for excellent leadership qualities in high dosage will include good virtue, honesty, ethics, sincerity, dedication, trust, and loyalty.

In my opinion global leadership involves players at global levels and because of the competitive nature at this stage, leaders can only excel when they possess many of these virtues. Unfortunately, there are reasons to believe that a host of leaders in Nigeria are more skewed to tribal, ethno-religious, and nepotistic tendencies. They are also shamefully engrossed in an egoistic display of ignorance of the tenets of leadership. A leader who is nepotistic cannot lead everybody and cannot contribute to the growth of everybody. Good leaders must realize that they serve the collective interests of the nation. That way, they will lead in a heterogeneous manner and displeasure that could lead to

crisis between the led and the leader will be stemmed. These qualities equip good leaders with result-oriented performance, toughness, sharpness, friendliness, energetic, and transformational acumen, all of which lead to great empowerment for the followers. This is surely a good way of negating the breakdown of trust networks between such leaders and those they lead.

Participant 003 agreed with the foregoing observations that there is a gap between the leaders and the led. The participant further suggested that indeed the followers should start demanding for their rights from the elected leaders. The mechanism to do this according to the participant is already there – one of which is recall. The followers can threaten political leaders with recall because of failure to fulfill campaign promises. The participant reasoned that because it is also constitutional, the followers can do recall their leaders successfully. Unfortunately, we are yet to record the first successful electoral recall in Nigeria. The followers can equally vote out such leaders in the next round of elections if they are found wanting.

However, if the leader comes back after four years and still tells the same story and the electorates accept, then it is not the fault of the leader. In effect, the leaders and the led have their part to play in the breakdown of the trust networks. In spite of this, what is required is good leadership. To achieve this, leaders must not lapse into a situation where the followers will evoke some of these checks and balances. In his contribution to the discuss, Participant 001 opined that two major things among others will cripple a Nation's leadership and create loss of trust networks of the followers. The first the participant said was how they gain power to leadership. If the people do not elect

them the democratic space becomes skewed so much so that the followers have very little to say about their leadership. In the same vein, the participant observed that if people vote and their votes are not counted in a democratic process, this also accounts for how they obtain their leadership and it ushers in mistrust. Since the followers are ignorant of the process of electing their leaders their participation in the process therefore becomes suspect. Consequently, they are totally disenfranchised and they lose trust in their leaders. This situation according to the participant can be corrected by evolving good electoral processes through a functional electoral law. These electoral processes will enable the participation of the leaders and their followers in the selection of who leads them.

Participant 001's second concern is the performance of these leaders when they assume positions of leadership. One may ask if those leaders who are elected into offices through due process can marry their perceptions before and after the election to the benefit of the electorates. Now that they have been voted into office and they are seeing the reality on ground, the participant asked if the leaders can sincerely interpret their new awareness in terms of their campaign promises before and after being elected into offices. The participant further queried if from their assessment of the new dispensation, the leaders think it is possible to implement their promises vis-à-vis the content of their manifestoes during the campaign period? If not, will they be ethical enough to go back to their followers and explain the real situation on ground – particularly in terms of available resources to match promises made during the campaign?

Furthermore, Participant 001 asserted that if they are able to do that then the mistrust that may come up between them and those they lead will be stemmed. Tapping

into the views of Participant 001, I believe that if due process that ushered them into power is non-inclusive of their followers then accountability will become a major problem. This is consequent upon the fact that these sets of leaders would assume they do not owe their followers any accountability because they did not vote them into power. They therefore, will have no obligation to even remember campaign promises they made let alone implementing one. Participant 001 further opined that leaders who evolve through this process generally indulge in corrupt practices, mismanagement of public funds, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and total disregard for the welfare of their followers. Participant 001 claimed that these leaders have perfected the art of appropriating to themselves the state resources, security apparatuses, and judiciary. Thus, it is very difficult for the common masses to challenge the leaders' actions or inactions in court.

In my opinion, these leadership selection and recruitment processes are the roots of the mistrust. This situation clearly undermines good relationship between these leaders and their followers. Consequently, it builds contempt and widens the trust network gap. Participant 006 brings a new dimension into the discuss, and submitted that the breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and the led is due to the de-emphasis on teaching of history in our schools. According to the participant some of the younger generation of leaders in our communities did not learn history in schools. Whereas, the older generation of leaders did study history but a lacuna is now created between the older ones and the younger ones. Incidentally, the participant noted that this gap cannot

be breached because the younger generation leaders are the ones who are most active in the leadership matters now.

The other point raised by Participant 006 is that majority of the voters are clueless about history, which makes it difficult to believe that even the younger generation that we have in Nigeria do not know their past leaders. According to her:

Few days ago, I was interacting with a young lady about Nigeria's history. To my amazement, she was clueless about the history of Nigeria's most prominent, eloquent, living, and past leaders. However, if she had studied history in school, she probably would have come across such leaders in her history class.

Unfortunately, we also have some elderly Nigerians who are equally ignorant about our history. Yet the National Anthem is about the labours of our heroes past. If you do not know who the heroes were, how can you even know what they had done? And on what basis would you know what to do as a leader when you attain that status?

3. Political Leaders Inability to Fight Corruption and Provide the Basic Needs of the Followers

As shown from the results of the interviews with the participants, breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria is as a result of lack of commitment of the political leaders to genuinely fight corruption in the country. This is because most times the leaders claim to be fighting corruption while in reality they are just pursuing their selfish interests. Thus, followers continue to bear the consequences of bad social amenities.

In view of the foregoing, Participant 004 believed that bridging the gap in the trust networks is through leadership by example. He consequently attempted to explain the meaning of bridging the gap which he said meant that the leaders should not only run for elections on the mantra of corruption even if Nigeria is corrupt. But we should be looking for transformational leaders who will stop the corruption. He further opined that the expectation of the electorates is for leaders who can stop corruption in its tracks. Unfortunately, the upcoming or newly elected leaders hardly ever fare better than their predecessors. So naturally the electorates are led to the inevitable conclusion that the leaders were only paying mere lip service to fighting corruption.

Sharing the views of Participant 004, I believe that for leaders to close the gap between them and those they lead, they need to start with themselves. They need to accept responsibility for what has gone wrong, engender ethical reforms, and block the leakages that are the sources of the problems through the process of leading by example. The participant further shed more light that the government of the day that wants to close the gap between the citizens and the government must embark on the necessary reforms.

Also, the participant believed that the leaders should fight corruption with determination and they must start with themselves. For the efficacy of these ethical reforms the leaders must start with the government so as to prove to the followers that they are above board otherwise they will lose credibility in the public arena. The participant therefore concluded that the government should provide education for its citizens and that they should also enlighten the populace at all times. Doing so will convince the electorates that the leadership is now more sincere, more serious, and more

determined to move the country forward. Participant 005 in his contribution opined that breakdown in trust networks manifest into leadership crisis because the government has failed in its constitutional responsibility of providing basic services such as welfare and security.

The consequence of the government's failure to provide these services as the participant observed is that an atmosphere of distrust, crime, insecurity, and terrorism will be created. Participant 005 in buttressing his argument asked the pertinent question how did Boko Haram come into existence? He consequently answered the question by asserting that prior to the advent of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, the citizens were encouraged to take their children to school, which was a good thing. The masses, the *talakawa* (the poor masses) took their children to school. Consequently, when the child finishes secondary school, maybe 30 percent of them will proceed to the university. And when the child graduates from the university, he comes back home and there is no work. These and other criminal reasons according to the participant, emboldened Boko Haram insurgents to assume that, the 'boko' which is education is not useful because after sending your child to school they hardly get gainfully employed afterwards.

Participant 005 thereafter again asked a hypothetical question on why sending your child to school and not getting gainfully employed afterwards is a problem. He consequently proffered an answer that it is a problem because government has arrogated itself the responsibility of creating employment. Government should rather create the atmosphere that will encourage other people to create employment. Government should not be the primary employers of labour. However, the participant further opined that

since Nigeria is a developing or an underdeveloped economy, job creation therefore becomes the primary purpose of government for the people. By creating the enabling atmosphere for businesses to flourish, through low taxation economy, and ease of doing businesses, the country can encourage small and medium scale enterprises to flourish. The participant strongly believed that for the government to minimize the breakdown in trust networks between them and the led, good roads should be provided, and level playing grounds should be provided by the so-called anti-corruption agencies. In my opinion as the researcher I believe that this may be difficult because largely we have the problem of lack of trust because our economy is a rent economy – that is, it is not a productive economy. Rent economy means you are getting revenue from the sales of crude oil at the end of the month. So the only way the leadership can change the narrative is by ensuring that people are gainfully employed so they may become patriotic and productive citizens.

4. The Use of Thugs by the Political Class

Also, the results of the study revealed that breakdown in the trust networks between the political leaders and their followers in Nigeria is because of how the leaders' use thugs during and after campaigns to silent their real and perceived enemies.

Some of the participants (P-026; P-028; P-023; P-015) and some scholars (Moghalu, 2017; Olalere, 2012; Mboup, 2008) in this research effort have come to term with the fact that the state of insecurity in many parts of Nigeria can best be described as alarming, spiraling and worrisome. The researcher shares this opinion because it comes on the heels of widespread kidnapping, armed banditry, and marauding herdsmen

activities besides the ongoing fight against insurgency in the North East. This state of insecurity has in no small way impacted negatively on the socio-economic and political climate of Nigeria. The insecurity environment has also created mistrust among the people such that it has bred problems of ethno-religious, nepotistic culture, and social disharmony that has continued to give rise to ethnic and religious cleavages. This has consequently opened up Nigeria for leadership along these phenomenological divides.

Participant 026 shared this view and opined that to properly situate what constitutes the current menace of insecurity in some states of the federation would clearly show that before now, the mismanagement of what used to be state sponsored and supported quasi-security outfits populated mainly by political thugs of government in power has now snowballed into security threats of different magnitudes. These threats as presently manifested range from coordinated banditry, kidnapping for ransom, formation of criminal gangs, criminal cells and rings, and as it is now in the North East - a full blown conflict between some (Boko Haram, Kidnappers, and the Marauding Herdsmen) insurgency groups and the Armed Forces of Nigeria.

Participant 028 further agreed with the opinion of Participant 026 and offered a review of states where hitherto known political thugs became entrenched state actors thereby providing covers for their 'boys'. The participant therefore narrated that in:

Kogi State (one of the 36 states in Nigeria) between 1999 to date known political thugs with government patronage headed influential political offices. For instance, one late Salisu Rambo a.k.a Rambo who had no formal education was appointed Chairman of the State Board of Internal Revenue as the reward for his violent act

during the election. Rambo also wields a lot of influence which he espoused on his 'boys' from government quarters for providing the needed armed and violent support during elections.

Also, participant 028 further observes that during the regime of Ibrahim Idris as Governor of Kogi state, he appointed Friday Sani (popularly known as Makama), a well-known political thug to serve as a special adviser in his government. Afterward, this same Makama was elected as member Kogi State house of assembly twice – a criminal been made to be a law maker for a state.

Similarly, one Friday Sani a.k.a Makama, a lead thug in the State PDP party was appointed Special Assistant by the state governor, Governor Ibrahim Idris. He was later appointed Special Assistant on Youth Empowerment who later got elected a two-term Member of the Kogi State House of Assembly. Makama was an uneducated political thug who rose to become a two-term in a State House of Assembly whose oversight function is to make laws for the state.

With this insight by Participant 016, one wonders what kind of contribution such a character will make to the legal development of that state. It is therefore imperative to underscore that the activities of these thug groups in the state formed the basis for what has now assumed a security concern for the state. Today, records are in the public domain of how political thuggery has led to many politically sponsored killings and other security issues in the state apart from kidnapping and armed robbery. These thugs are known instruments of coercion in the hands of their leaders. And their immediate victims are usually the leaders' followers. This is one of the reasons why communications breakdown

between those followers and the leaders resulting in unbreachable gaps in some cases thereby creating breakdown in trust networks among these followers and their leaders.

Participant 015 also shared similar views on the political thuggery in another State in Nigeria as Participant 028. He also had the story to tell on the state of this political thuggery in Lagos State (one of the southwestern states in Nigeria). In his account, a gang of political thugs led by MC Oluomo were consistently entrenched into the government of Lagos because they often play vital roles in determining the outcome of elections in the state through their nefarious activities. It was believed that without the support of this group of thugs who masquerade themselves as members of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) a candidate can never win Lagos state election. Therefore, to this participant election insecurity has become a major concern in many parts of the Nigeria because thugs were often provided with weapons to carry out the wishes of some of the politicians.

Participant 023 in support of this argument further observed that the security situation in Nigeria particularly in the north western part of the country in states such as Zamfara, Katsina, and Kaduna can be attributed to the roles played by both state and non-state actors in sponsoring criminal elements. For example, Participant 023 observes that some traditional rulers in recent past have been alleged to be supporting bandits that continue to undermine the security of the states.

In concurring with these participants (P-023; P-015; P-028), I believe that it is noteworthy that in Nigeria both pre- and post- electioneering processes come with increased spate of insecurity challenges giving rise to the direct correlation and testament

to the fact that state and non-state actors play tacit roles in scaling up insecurity through their sponsorship of armed groups. This is on the strength of the fact that those armed with weapons but without political patronage have something to fight back with in their quest for share of the 'national cake'. Examples abound where some of these political thugs turned their guns against their political masters who abandoned them after they have been voted into power.

For those leaders who are able to absorb these uneducated and violent thugs into their governance like we observed in Lagos, Kogi, and a few other states, lived to regret it because the thugs continued to widen the gaps between them and their followers, thereby, engendering breakdown in the trust networks between them. Those leaders who on the other hand abandoned their thugs on assuming positions of leadership were visited with violence by these thugs. The fact therefore is that our leaders will also lose when they engage themselves in political thuggery. Any which way, they must lose. Therefore, what is obtainable in these states and Nigeria as a whole today could be adduced to the above situation which is a major cause of breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and their followers.

Research Question 2: What are some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?

This question becomes expedient because it is believed that many political and other leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable. The input from most of my participants suggest that one major reason why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held

accountable for their failures in fulfilling their campaign promises is because firstly, the people do not know them, and secondly, the people did not vote them into office. Rather they took power by force or coercion. Consequently, they go there and do anything that pleases them. No wonder why most often they are hardly held accountable by their followers or electorates for the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period.

In my view, accountability in political office can be viewed from three perspectives. The first is the followers' perspective where the followers should have the mechanism to hold their leaders accountable. The second is the appropriate superior authority who should have a way of holding the leaders at that level accountable; and the third is the perspective of the leaders themselves who should also have the ethics of holding themselves accountable. It was on the premise on 'accountability' therefore, that the participants gave their opinions on the questions asked.

For this research question there were four issues considered and discussed under the Thematic Category 2. Therefore, in order to aptly answer Research Question 2 it behooves on the researcher to investigate how the system will make leaders in Nigeria accountable for their campaign promises and how followers can make their leaders accountable to them. Furthermore, it is expedient to exploit the inability of followers to hold their leaders accountable for their campaign promises as this will help the study to thoroughly understand some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable by their followers.

Thematic Category 2: Reasons why the Leaders in Nigeria are Hardly Held Accountable for failing to fulfill some of the Campaign Promises made during the Pre-election period

The results of this study showed that the reasons why politicians in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for failing to fulfill their campaign promises include: ignorance of the electorates, poor and weak law enforcement agencies, and lack of moral justification on the part of the followers. These factors are further explained in detail below:

1. Ignorance of the Electorate (Followers)

From the results of this study, it was revealed that one of the major reasons why the electorates or followers find it very difficult to hold their leaders accountable is because they are unaware of their rights. In view of this, most of the electorates consider the leaders as too powerful to be challenged. Consequently, they are reluctant in asking questions when the elected leaders are involved in all manner of unethical conducts.

In addressing this issue of ignorance, Participant 002 believed that accountability in governance is probably next to zero in the polity. The participant recalled that a couple of years ago in his state in Nigeria (Benue State), three successive governors were tasked to address the issue of accountability to the state indigenes. The reactions from the three past governors were very instructive. According to the participant, the first of the three governors to rule the state obtained a bank loan which to the end of his tenure he was still offsetting. The quest of the indigenes was to know from the governor why at the end of his tenure he was yet to offset the loan. Not only that, they were concerned that what the

loan was used for cannot be expressed in terms of any visible development in the state. While the governor was still thinking about a response, the indigenes turned attention to his successor who equally collected World Bank loan for projects in the state.

The participant further opined that the same concern was expressed on why he also collected World Bank loan and towards the end of his tenure the loan had not been totally paid off. Consequently, the indigenes first made it clear that there have been an accumulation of debts considering the fact that his predecessor did not pay off the loan he took. And the one he is going to leave behind could become cumulative. So, the indigenes requested that this governor should show what development he has committed that loan to. While he was scratching his head for an answer, he was voted out of office.

Participant 002 continued with his narrative that the indigenes again out of impatience turned their attention to the new successor who also went borrowing and interrogated him on the same subject of unpaid loans. And since none of them could actually point to what development the loans have added to the growth of the state, it is expedient to believe that the electorates must continue to ask what happened to the money borrowed by these leaders. This is what the indigenes believe is a good way to show whether people in leadership positions have been accountable or not. They also believe that the way the leaders spend the money would affect everybody and trust will become an issue if the spending is not satisfactorily explained.

From my standpoint, I believe the indigenes would have exposed these three governors and by so doing create challenges for subsequent governors not to be unaccountable. I also think if the indigenes had done this it certainly would have been a

litmus test for accountability for the other 35 state governors. Participant 005 in his contribution opined that the leaders are hardly held accountable for their campaign promises. According to the participant, the electorates must not take money from the candidates when they are campaigning, and they should further interrogate the party manifestoes of the candidates. He further gave an example that when you meet with your senators and request to know about their manifestoes and they fail to show you any, then this implies that they do not have manifestoes and no wonder therefore why they keep on failing in fulfilling their campaign promises after they are voted into offices. The participant further gave another example that:

In Senegal, candidates for political offices do not hold rallies for election processes, rather they campaign on TV and radio as the case may be. This allows them to avoid the rancorous process of engaging political thugs, political jobbers, jobless youth, and in some cases miscreants to prosecute their rallies. Since almost everybody can afford radios and some when they are determined can acquire televisions, campaigns can therefore be mostly carried out using social and electronic media. You can use these media to inform your followers what your manifesto is all about and how you intend implementing the content.

Participant 005 threw more light on the subject matter and posited that the story has been such that when a political leader comes to campaign in a rally with an attendance growing to about 10,000 followers and these followers either demand or prefer to be remunerated with cash, and once the political leader surrenders to the whims and caprices of these followers, he therefore assumes that right at the campaign ground

that the robber has met the road. Consequently, he needs not make any promises because the memorandum of understanding has already been executed when the followers take money at the campaign rallies from the leaders. The leader in my opinion will carry the false belief that he needed not to meet any further obligations because the followers have taken their share before the cake was baked. So the burden is on the citizens not to take money if they must expect performance from their leaders. As an example, if a leader wants to be a senator from a particular state he must have in his manifesto what he wants to do for the state in tangible terms. This way, the electorates can use the same manifesto as an instrument of holding the leader accountable when elected into political office.

Participant 004 also stressed the need to make leaders accountable, and what will be the outcome of making them accountable. The participant further addressed the issues of why the citizens fail to make their leaders accountable because the leaders themselves are not accountable. The participant opined that some leaders are thieves in control of the police and judiciary. The participant further asked that if the thief is in control then to whom are you reporting? Who is going to prosecute the thief? Who is going to judge the thief? The citizens have been made helpless by the situation where all the three arms of government are under the control of the Executive – the same government officials that you are trying to make accountable are the same ones who are controlling these institutions.

Consequently, Participant 004 remarked that there is helplessness on the part of the citizens because they do not have the power to arrest all these people. The only other windows still left for the citizens to exploit to make their leaders accountable are the

media and the civil society organizations. The press as watchdog of the society can expose whatever is going wrong and can highlight it. But unfortunately, according to him, the leaders are either trying to corrupt the press or intimidate the press. So they are not as efficient as they could have been. The civil society groups also are supposed to ensure that the leaders do not slip, by exposing them to the general public. But again, corrupt leaders have their own methods of either intimidating or buying-over both the press and civil society organizations. In fact, in some cases they pick members of the press and civil society and co-opt them into the corrupt leadership.

Corroborating the foregoing view, Participant 008 posited that if someone who is known to be a vocal social critic suddenly becomes a collaborator in the process of bad governance then there is a problem. And of course, poverty itself is one instrument, ignorance is another. Poverty and ignorance are the tools that corrupt leaders use in making it difficult for the citizens to keep them accountable. That is why I believe there is widespread poverty in the land. It is a deliberate scheme by the political leaders. For instance, the participant gave an example of such collaboration in the northern part of Nigeria where the elites know the importance of education for their children and as a result they send their children to good schools within Nigeria and abroad. But according to the participant:

95% of the children of the poor citizens in northern Nigeria are deliberately kept out of school in what they call *Almajiri System*.

Contextually, an *almajiri* in Nigeria is an adherent of the Islamic faith (or a disciple) who learns Islamic education under a Muslim cleric. To the participant, the

almajiri system is nothing but a deliberate policy of keeping the poor, and making them poorer and poorer so that they can take advantage of them, by using them to fulfill their political and other selfish interests. Therefore, poverty and ignorance combine to emasculate the citizens and prevent them from holding their leaders accountable. That is the hopeless situation that citizens find themselves, and that is why they are unable to really effectively hold the leaders accountable.

From another perspective of the accountability issue, Participant 001 opined that the electorate should devise ways of holding their leaders accountable. One way they can do that is to write petition that the leader is corrupt. For example, they can argue that he gave a budget of N20million which did not translate into any form of project. As such, he should come back to the constituents to explain what has happened to the N20million. The participant further argued that the leaders themselves must have the ethics and morality of accountability aside from any electoral value they may have brought with them to the political office. There is no doubt that instances abound where certain non-democratic elements with no moral values and democratic ethics run our democracy, and the security apparatuses especially the police willingly become the instruments of such elements. Now the question begging for an answer is that whose interests are the police protecting? Is it the leaders or the electorate or both or the Nation? It is sad to note that we do not have an independent police in Nigeria and even the Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended) does not clearly state the functions of the police.

Consequently, Participant 001 observed that this becomes a problem for the electorates who may wish to hold their leaders accountable since the Constitution grants

the President the executive prerogative to retire every police officer and probably appoint the recruit of yesterday as Inspector General of Police (IGP). The participant therefore remarked that:

If the electorates cannot have faith and confidence in the security apparatuses therefore it becomes difficult for them to make the leaders accountable for their campaign promises.

The participant cited the case of the former President of the United States of America, President Richard Nixon's Watergate scandal to show how the electorate can hold leaders accountable while in public offices. In the Watergate scandal that led to the impeachment and subsequent resignation of President Nixon from office, the former US President Nixon changed the Supreme Court Judges when judgement was to be passed in the case against him, but it did not deter the Judges from delivering judgement against him. Consequently, the President then went on air, wept, and resigned from office. In the researcher's opinion, that is what it means for a leader to have the ethics and moral value of being accountable to the electorate. However, if it were here in Nigeria the participant remarked that obviously the Supreme Court judgement might have gone in favour of the President who controls the judiciary and security apparatuses under the present arrangement.

There are other factors that may hinder the electorates from holding their leaders accountable in Nigeria. These include tribalism, ethno-religious sentiments, and nepotism. To support this argument, Participant 005 opined that if the President is from the South West, his people will agitate that he must complete eight years in office. Now

that is how nepotism starts because completion of a single term or a second term in office for any elected leader should be hinged on the leader's performance while in office. But the reverse is often the case in most African nations where ethno-religious and nepotistic factors determine such things. That is where we are missing the point. For instance, some electorates may say that if you are from Taraba State (one of the 36 states in Nigeria) and you are the President, and you appoint all your Ministers from Taraba, though this is not the best representation of democracy, yet the people do not care. All they want is for their children to have jobs, let there be security, let there be electricity, good transportation system, and affordable Medicare.

Participant 005 further suggested that leaders surround themselves with people who remain so little of them – particularly their kinsmen and women. This no doubt brings about the leadership problems. That is why it is difficult to hold them to account. It is a common knowledge that between 1999 and 2015 there were 16 years of democracy out of which President Obasanjo from south west political extraction spent 8 years in office. According to political calculations, it was the turn of the north to also spend 8 years. However, President Umaru Musa Yar'adua who took over from Obasanjo spent only 2 ½ years before his demise. His deputy then who was from the south-southern part of the nation – President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (2010-2015), by the Nigerian Constitution took over as President after Yar'adua's demise. However, according to Participant 005 this did not augur well with the northern political class who believed that besides the fact that they have not exhausted their 8 years, Christians have occupied the seat for 12 years of the Nigerian democracy while the Muslim counterparts have done

just 2 ½ years. That, more than anything was responsible for the defeat of the then ruling party – the Peoples’ Democratic Party (PDP).

From the foregoing discussion, I believe that part of the reasons why there are leadership failures resulting to the frustration and anger of the electorate is directly connected with the zoning formula and other arrangements such as nepotism, ethno-religious issues, and class caste system. Nigeria will be better for it if these vices can be stemmed from the political system. Consequently, the Participant 005 believes that if the leaders do not perform, since the electorates voted them to be accountable, then they should be changed. However, this can be made effective only by fine-tuning and making the electoral process work. Like in the legislative arm, there is a system of recall. If you vote a senator or a member of the House of Representatives to represent the interests of the electorates at the National Assembly and after two years he has not done anything then you know that he is not effective, and you may initiate a recall process. In the same vein at the state level, if a state governor fails to perform well, and the governor’s state house of assembly is truly independent, members can impeach the governor and remove him from office. That is how leadership can become effective and the leaders can be made more accountable to the electorates.

2. Poor and Weak Law Enforcement Agencies

The results of this study revealed that to hold leaders accountable, it is expedient that the law enforcement agencies of the country are strong, efficient, independent, and effective enough to carry out their functions without compromise. However, the situation in Nigeria as obtained from the interviews with participants demonstrated that the law

enforcement agencies in Nigeria are very poor and weak in prosecuting leaders who are corrupt. In view of this, followers are constantly discouraged on the ground that even if they make effort to hold the leaders accountable, those with the responsibility of prosecuting the leaders (law enforcement agencies) may compromise and frustrate their efforts.

Therefore, in his reaction to how followers in Nigeria can make their leaders accountable, Participant 004 posited that followers in Nigeria should appreciate the critical importance of good governance. In essence, the participant believed that with good governance every aspect of the lives of the electorates will be affected and we will have electricity, the children will be in school, the people will be healthy, the people will have food, and they will live abundant lives. So the citizens have to become more aware of the importance of good governance. The participant gave a clear example of when one considers the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the USA, it is like the terror to all bad leaders in America. According to him, no matter what you do in the USA, not just in public office but even in your domestic life or your social life, the FBI is like the *big eye* on behalf of the citizens, policing and monitoring the leaders. The participant further posited that in Nigeria where the reverse is the case the police see themselves as tools in the hands of leaders and their loyalty is not to the nation or to the citizens but to those few leaders from whose table they are collecting crumbs. Therefore, we need to make the police independent. He further affirmed that in a situation where the president is the one who solely appoints the IG of police one will expect that the loyalty of such IG will go to the person who appoints him or her.

However, if the three arms of government – the Executive, the Legislature, and the Judiciary who are the true representatives of the citizens are made to partake in the appointment of people in such positions (particularly law enforcement agencies), their loyalty will be redefined. Of course in the case of the judiciary the constitution already provides for the separation of powers by the three arms of government provided that this provision will be adhered to by the operators of the Constitution. Participant 021 argued that in the Nigerian experience the separation of powers only exists in theory. According to the participant the judiciary depends on the executive for their budget, and they also depend on the executive for the welfare of their personnel. In my opinion that cannot make the judiciary truly independent. The judiciary must be independent and self-governed. Consequently, they can be the ones that can police the executive arm of government, and the lawmakers too will see themselves as representatives of the people who would further police the executive. It is a kind of a situation where each of the three arms monitors the other and policing the others but right now they are all collaborators. Unfortunately, this is not the way to make or promote accountability. Participant 021 emphasized the need for a very vibrant media and remarked that:

It is expedient to have a more vibrant, independent, and incorruptible press. We also need to have independent and viable civil society organizations. Lastly, we have already highlighted the key role of the citizens which is the electoral reforms, which I have called for earlier. In my view these are the ways to make the people in government more accountable.

Participant 027 posited that the most effective way for the followers to make their leaders more accountable is by asking their leaders questions and demanding more transparency from them. The participant believed that this is because if the followers remain silent over the actions and inactions of their leaders, then the leaders will continue to take advantage of followers' ignorance. However, once the followers begin to mount pressure on the leaders they will surely be accountable to a large extent. For instance, if the followers know that the constituency allowances have been released to their representatives, they should then endeavor to meet their leaders. By so doing the leader will know that the people are aware of all that is going on. Also, the participant concluded that for the leaders to be more accountable to the people, and for the sake of transparency, the people can always demand the government to make known to the public once such constituency allowances are released to their representatives.

In her contribution to the discuss, Participant 030 opined that it is expedient for electorates in Nigeria to be empowered and be educated to know their rights and worth as citizens of a democratic society and to also shun ethic and religious bigotry. Participant 023 corroborated that followers can make leaders accountable only when they begin to reject the money they receive from political leaders during campaigns. In essence, when the followers collect money from politicians during campaigns, invariably they lack the moral rectitude to hold them accountable. So for us to hold our leaders accountable, Participant 023 believed that there is need for us to turn away from the *salt, maggi, rice*, and other things they give us during campaigns. Followers can further demand from the

leaders regular updates on their programs and activities in the various offices that they occupy.

3. Lack of Moral Justification on the Part of the Electorates (Followers)

Just as the maxim that says – “he who comes to equity must come with clean hands”, so also the electorates in Nigeria lack what it takes to hold leaders accountable because they have been compromised by collecting money from the politicians during campaigns before voting them into offices. For this reason, the electorates lack the boldness to face the leaders whenever they go astray while in government.

It is expedient to note that holding leaders accountable implies that the followers should challenge the leaders’ policies, projects, and programs while in office. Also, the followers should be bold enough to speak up when the leaders’ activities are at variance with their campaign promises. Unfortunately, most followers lack the moral wisdom to hold leaders accountable because as argued by some of the participants (P-023; P-027) the leaders have sold their mandates cheaply to the leaders during political campaigns. Consequently, democratic mechanisms such as recall or petitions as suggested by some participants (P-001; P-005) may not be tenable in these cases. Furthermore, other participants also shared their views on the accountability issue as encapsulated by Participant 022 who viewed followers’ inability to hold leaders accountable to their campaign promises from the perspective of how the leaders emerged. According to the participant:

Some leaders are emergency leaders who find themselves in power only as a result of the resources they possess. That is to say that they were not well

groomed or mentored before emerging as leaders. Therefore, the gap will always show in the type of leadership they render to the electorates. In essence, there is breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and the led at inception thereby making the leaders inaccessible to the followers.

In his contribution to the discuss, Participant 015 emphasized that lack of ethics, teamwork and communication by the leaders often make them more inaccessible to the followers. And without visionary and transformational leadership that produces results it therefore becomes even more difficult for the followers to hold the leadership accountable.

4. Institutionalization of Nepotism and Corruption

The interviews with participants further revealed that one of the reasons why leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for failing to fulfill some of their campaign promises is due to the fact that corruption is seen as a culture in Nigeria. In view of this, instead of frowning against it, it is perceived to be a way of life that cannot be changed.

Consistent with above, Participant 024 also posited that corruption, maladministration, prolonged incursion of the military into Nigerian politics, and the incompetent leadership as demonstrated by the civil leaders are responsible for followers' inability to hold their leaders accountable for their campaign promises. According to the participant corruption has eaten deeply into the fabrics of every aspect of governance and it has actually destroyed the values we have as a people, post-independence. The quota system he posited is a form of corruption which has always sacrificed competence for mediocrity. But what we have in Nigeria today are incompetent people who are placed in

positions of leadership in the Federal and State Ministries because of nepotism. He further asserted that when he was in active service, there was a case of a director who failed his promotion examination, yet he was promoted to a permanent secretary simply because he bribed his way with money. This situation according to this participant continues to undermine the administrative capacity of the state.

Also, the participant recounted that he worked with the military for some time and discovered that although the military might be regimental, yet they are highly disciplined. That is why when you consider the regimental mentality of the military profession, one cannot see beyond one's bosses, even when you have superior arguments. He stressed that if you are not careful enough, and you carry on with the toga of cerebral ideas you may get into deep trouble with your military superiors. So it is only expedient that you obey the last order. This was the participant's impression of the military class. Even with that impression, when the military came into power we had the greater chunk of the leadership as civilians who were ready to compromise for them to belong to the ruling junta. And that is actually why the military regime was said to have distorted democracy because of the claim that they influenced the civilians negatively who worked daily with them. This is consequent upon the fact that during military regimes in Nigeria, the majority of the cabinet staff were civilians. The participant concluded by remarking that:

The civilians who took over from the military inherited this same mentality of obeying civil service instructions without really interrogating some of these rules that may be anti-establishment. Consequently, this attitude has become the norm in the relationship between the leaders and the led.

My interpretation of what the Participant 024 is saying in effect is that the military actually came to pollute the leadership class of the political environment of this country. They were not trained to be politicians but they were trained to be battle field commanders and not political leaders. In my view, it is a revolving decimal as the political climate in Nigeria even under democratic rule has deteriorated and the leadership has been terrible. That is what is deterring our progress in this country, and the same thing in most African countries. In fact, former President Olusegun Obasanjo once said that “Africa’s salvation lies in the hands of her leaders and nowhere else. Only Africans can be architects of their own fortunes; as they have been the architects of their misfortune for the past quarter of a century. Africans should therefore, make their world a relevant part of the rest of the world” (Arogbofa, 1992, p.1).

No wonder therefore why Participant 020 stressed that the mentality of *winner takes all* by political parties in Nigeria is responsible for the breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and the led. According to the participant leaders in Nigeria who often come from the majority ethnic groups continue to dominate the government with people from their ethnic groups taking vital position in the government.

Consequently, whoever emerges as the political leader will have the full backing of the party followers whether he is performing in office or not. It has been observed that this also happens in the Western democracies (where you have the most developed democracies in the world) where a party wins elections and all appointments are filled by party members. Very few of them attempt to recruit competent people from the other political party (opposition party) and appoint them into leadership positions. This

therefore is consequential to their recruiting incompetent hands to run the affairs of government. In essence, the participant further opined that:

Some of the political parties' ideologies before coming into government might be responsible for their disposition of *winner takes all*.

Nigerian politicians he observed, make a lot of promises with most of the projects which the leaders actually promised to deliver not been actualized. That is probably why we need accountable followership for good governance to thrive. No wonder therefore, Participant 033 in support of military rule observed that although the 1966 military incursion into politics in Nigeria created more problems for our democracy, he believed that the military were able to produce some good leaders who tried to transform the country. On the issue of corruption as a factor responsible for followers' inability to hold leaders accountable for their campaign promises, Participant 019 posited that corruption in Nigeria starts from the home, to the larger society, government offices, the police, and even the military. Therefore, he argued that the societal values need to be changed. He stated that the Singapore experience is a good model of positive social change for Nigeria where the followers will be alive to their responsibilities as stakeholders in the democratic space. It is not incompetence that affects Nigeria's leaders but lack of conviction, loyalty, ethics, dedication, and committed leadership.

In her contribution to the discuss, Participant 032 shared the views of Participants 033 and 024 and posited that the followers' inability to hold their leaders accountable for their campaign promises are because of corruption, leadership selection processes, and maladministration by the leaders. According to the Participant when people tell you about

corruption, the charge of corruption in Nigeria as a country is protected and enshrined in our legal frameworks. By and large, one will assume that it is already a norm that maladministration has been entrenched in our legal frameworks. This is because in her views the judiciary more often than not glorifies corrupt practices and punishes ethical behaviors. Consequently, with a cursory look at the structure of government and its recruitment processes, it will then dawn on the society why only corrupt people can get into government positions. In the participant's view, it is arguable the assertion that our judiciary surreptitiously legalize maladministration in our legal frameworks. In pursuit of good leadership in some parts of the world in contrast to our own, the intelligence quotients (IQ) of would-be leaders are public knowledge to those they will lead. That is to say there is no leader whose mental and physical states of health is not public knowledge. There is therefore, no leader through this process who does not pass through some kind of rigorous mental, physical, ethical, and moral interrogation or assessments to determine the level of such leader's competence and capacity to add value to the lot of the followers. In her conclusion, the participant posited that the reason why wrong leaders are product of unethical processes is because often time political parties impose incompetent candidates to the electorate on the ground that the candidate is the highest bidder. According to this participant:

This is why anytime in Nigeria that the military makes incursion into politics to truncate the democratic process the followers receive it with jubilation. This is believed that their coming will pervade bad governance that has been entrenched through bad leadership selection processes. Whenever the military comes into

power the issue of leadership selection processes therefore becomes irrelevant to the followers.

Research Question 3: How are leadership problems in Nigeria borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is in their various political parties' manifestoes?

To address research question three, it is expedient to exploit why the question seeks to explore the impact of unfulfilled promises on the confidence of electorates borne out of failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with the contents of their parties' manifestoes. Because of the crucial nature of this question to the research interest, a thorough analysis of how failure of leaders to align their campaign promises to what is really achievable becomes critical to knowing why leaders' inability to fulfill campaign promises has continued to create gaps between them (leaders) and the electorates. The consequences of which according to some of the participants have been the reasons why trust networks have been abused in the polity. Evidently, the consequences of the unfulfilled promises that result from this process manifest in leadership crisis in Nigeria. In essence, unfulfilled promises and the issue of accountability in public office are intertwined because the leaders' inability to fulfill their campaign promises to the electorates will deter the electorates from holding them accountable. Therefore, I foresee that unfulfilled campaign promises borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with the contents of their political parties' manifestoes usually precede the lack of accountability in public office.

Thematic Category 3: How leadership problems in Nigeria are born out of the failure of Leaders to align their promises with what is in their political parties' manifestoes

From the results of this study as revealed from the various interviews, the participants eloquently explained that leadership problems in Nigeria born out of the failure of the leaders to align their promises with what is in their political parties' manifestoes can be traced to the issues of poor and inaccessible party manifestoes and fake campaign promises by the politicians. These points are further discussed below.

1. Poor and Inaccessible Party Manifestoes:

The findings from this study further showed that the leadership problems in Nigeria born out of the failure of the leaders to align their promises with what is in their political parties' manifestoes is due to the fact that the political parties lack workable party manifestoes. In view of this, people are not aware of the existence of manifestoes of any political party in Nigeria. During campaigns, individuals vying for political offices in Nigeria just make promises that are in dissonance with any political party manifesto.

In his contribution to the discus, Participant 001 agreed that leadership crisis is caused by leaders' failure to fulfill their campaign promises to the electorates because the manifestoes of the political parties where and when available are not well articulated and they are also not well debated among the electorates. The participant further observed that the manifestoes of political parties are supposed to be in school libraries, and they are supposed to be distributed at the campaign rallies. But where are the manifestoes he asked? Unfortunately, he opined that the leaders usually make rosy campaign promises,

but when the time comes for their actualization they usually renege on their promises because they hardly circulate their manifestoes among the followers. The participant consequently queried that:

Those political parties in 2015 general elections that promised to pay N5000 to unemployed citizens as a social welfare package, are they pegging it to a one time offer or a regular social welfare package, and for how long?

He posited further that when they get elected, the music will change into denial that it is not every unemployed citizen who will benefit from the package. Or they may say that we only thought of the vulnerable groups without defining exactly whom these groups are. Some of these leaders also promised feeding every school child which they reneged on immediately after they were voted into power. He consequently asked if all the campaign promises are recorded and documented in their manifestoes. He believed that these are political gimmicks and deception many of which they know cannot be fulfilled. The participant further observes that one in Nigeria is not sure whether political parties have documented manifestoes. This is because it is not made available for the electorate before election. In view of this, this participant posited that because the Nigerian politicians were dealing with an illiterate population, it is very easy for them to use money and issue of religion and ethnicity to win the support of the electorate instead of manifestoes. This is why the participant believes that politician in Nigeria often use what he refers to as *Strategic Spiritual Intelligence*.

Here the participant's context of Strategic Spiritual Intelligence means the system should embrace indigenous knowledge of spiritual instrument not only in politics but in

other spheres of life to address sociopolitical and other challenges (Nwolise, 2014, para.4). Although Participant 001 blamed the situation of unfulfilled campaign promises on the absence of political parties manifestoes, but I believe that the electoral system also shares part of the blame. As Participant 004 opined, the electoral laws do not make provisions for independent candidates which means that the electorates are left with limited choices among the core political parties' candidates. Consequently, all candidates are supposed to be products of political parties even if the parties lack ideologies, manifestoes, values, and cardinal agendas. To this effect, Participant 004 observed that this becomes a situation where parties are mere vehicles for selecting candidates who usually buy the party ticket with money, not based on vision or ideology. He further opined that:

A party that is not ideological, and devoid of simple, easy to understand, and memorable manifesto to the teeming illiterate followers, cannot successfully educate and guide their candidates to avoid making dubious promises such as building roads, widening the existing river, making fish to increase in the ocean, and building helipads in the sky.

In line with the Participant 004 and unfortunately, the parties in Nigeria are not committed to any serious developmental agenda. That is why it is up to the candidates to make promises on the spur of the moment because if a candidate for national office appears in 40 cities, as he addresses himself to those issues he will get a firsthand knowledge of their problems and needs. This will affect his judgement which will help him to make promises that are realistic and realizable to the electorates in these areas.

Participant 030 in his input submitted that the developmental outcomes of the manifestoes of political parties are supposed to be visionary, and ideologically-driven. He further observed that:

Due to the absence of political vision and ideologies, there are therefore no proper manifestoes giving birth to unstructured promises which are most often on the spur of the moment. To satisfy the immediate desires and yearning of the electorates, the leaders almost immediately forget what they have promised soon as the political rally disperses.

This according to Participant 030 explains why it is very difficult for politicians in Nigeria to be held accountable for any promise they made because there is no available manifesto that clearly capture those promises. Furthermore, and concurring with Participant 030 I believe that if we want realistic promises from politicians we need to first reduce the number of political parties. This will not deny them the freedom of association but rather it will make the options open clearly enough for the citizens. Also, if the parties are few in number they will become easily recognizable by the electorates, even for the children within the voting ages. But as it is today, there are nearly 200 political parties and still counting. What is also begging for attention is for the parties to have their respective defined ideological agendas. The electorates need to know if these ideologies are for free enterprise, controlled economy, free society, or law and order [a more policed society]. These are critical ideological issues that the political parties need to interrogate to the understanding of their followers. Ultimately, this will surely help the

followers to make easy decisions on which party and the party leadership to surrender their God-given mandate to rule them.

Participant 025 opined that the federating unit as at today is perceived dubious because of inequality in the participation of the constituting federating units. To a large extent, this has been the bane of our political quagmire in Nigeria. According to the participant, there have been crises of inequality in the sharing of political appointments, economic resources, social amenities, distribution of wealth, and other related issues among the federating units. This has further ushered into the polity, nepotism and tribalism, ethno-religious sentiments, and sociopolitical crises. It is expected even by its definition alone that democratic society should guarantee and assiduously work towards achieving equal rights, equal opportunities, and equity of participation in the affairs of the country by all citizens. I sincerely believe that it is because these qualities are almost non-existent that often brings about the crisis between the leaders and the led.

In his input into the discus, Participant 029 opined that political parties need to interrogate all these ideological issues so as to build consensus on what is expected of political leaders. I agree with this sentiment and strongly believe that political parties without ideologies, manifestoes, vision, and ethics in driving the polity will continue to produce ineffective leadership which is a panacea to the escalation of leadership crisis leading to breakdown of trust networks between the leaders and their followers.

Consequently, Participant 029 further opined that it is expedient for the leaders to make promises that are relevant to the collective aspirations of the electorates. Also, that the parties must have clear, simple, and memorable manifestoes. He recalled the four

cardinal programs of Chief Obafemi Awolowo's political party – the Action Group thus:

the immediate termination of British Rule in every phase of our political life; the education of all children of school-going age, and the general enlightenment of all illiterate adults and all illiterate children above the school-going age; the provision of health and general welfare for all our people; and the total abolition of want in our society by means of any economic polity which is both expedient and effective (Awolowo, 1951).

Every citizen knew the four cardinal programs of the party, and they knew they were committed to *Fabian* socialism. That was it. If another political party believes in free enterprise, or unfettered capitalism, let it be made clear to the electorates. This way, if you vote for a capitalist party consciously or unconsciously, you should know what to expect rather than clamouring for unfulfilled or fake promises.

In other words, lack of vision by the leadership of the parties, unrealistic, fake, and unfulfilled promises are the consequences of parties without well-defined ideologies, manifestoes, and general guidelines for inclusiveness of the electorates. Leaders devoid of these qualities cannot perform enough to meet the yearning and aspirations of the electorates. This is similar to electing uninformed, uneducated, and in some cases stark illiterates to govern the affairs of a nation with highly educated professionals with ethics, integrity, and sound moral values. Participant 029 further opined that highly educated professionals with these moral values will compel all other candidates in the future to be realistic. He sees poor leadership recruitment and succession program, weak political parties, and bad electoral system, as vicious cycle that could only lead to weak citizenry,

weak uninformed electorates, and unrealistic political promises resulting in failure to deliver such promises - and the cycle just becomes more vicious. From another perspective, Participant 025 viewed failure to fulfill campaign promises by the political leaders as another cause of leadership crisis and insecurity in Nigeria. According to the Participant:

When President Obasanjo came into office, he said he was going to make power stable, by injecting enormous funds into the power sector of the era. At the end of the day people were disappointed, not because the president did not have the political willpower, but because of the monumental corruption in the system. Consequently, the power projects collapsed and a lot of money went down the drain.

To this participant, it might not be necessary that the president himself embezzled the fund meant for the power project; rather it is because of the corruption that is already engrained in the system.

Sometimes, in terms of implementation the leaders lack the structures to implement their policy statements. For example, President Muhammadu Buhari – the incumbent president, promised that he would fight corruption. He may have had good intentions, but the institutions of fighting corruption invariably are the ones responsible for the corruption now in the system. Can you blame him for that? Yes, because as President he can change them if they are not giving the desired results. In his contribution, Participant 023 posited that truly we do not have political parties that fulfill promises they make. Rather, we have political parties that rely on the so-called *zoning*

principle. Nigeria has six geopolitical zones [the northeast, northwest, north-central, south-west, southeast, and south-south] within which the Presidency must rotate.

Although this is not in the Constitution but it is like a grudgingly accepted political arrangement which is christened *power rotation*. The participant further observed that all political parties lack manifestoes, and there are no fundamental differences between the ruling APC and the opposition PDP apart from Buhari being the President. The participant observed that PDP promised they were going to fight corruption, and APC also made similar promise but both failed because they lack ideologies and ethical, and moral bases to do so.

He compared this with the South African political arrangement under the platform of the African National Congress (ANC), and posited that President Nelson Mandela promised one term in office, and true to his words, did one term in office. During his leadership, the ANC's main agenda was reconciliation, creating of jobs, and provision of houses for the black South Africans. However, as from 1994 to now (about 25 years after South Africa's independence), what percentage of black people are better off? The frustration and xenophobia in South Africa is because the South African government has failed to keep their promises to the Black electorates there after Mandela and not necessarily because of corruption. Even though corruption is often blamed but more often than not it is because the leaders who are in the position to fulfill those promises fail to do so because of the political structure of the country. The participant further posited that:

About 70 to 80% of the landed properties in South Africa were owned by less than 5% of the Black people - just like in Zimbabwe. Consequently, it becomes difficult

if not impossible to blame the leadership unless you change the political structure to address that inequality.

In Nigeria he claimed that the northern part controls the bureaucracy of government while the economy is controlled by the southerners. The north and south need to work in concert for progress to ensue. Therefore, a good leadership principle will focus on harnessing the best from all parts of the constituting federation to deliver the good dividends of democracy to the people and to the nation. With this done, breakdown in trust networks and belief system in leadership will become a thing of the past in Nigeria. Furthermore, Participant 023 asserted that Nigeria needs a leader who would understand that the economy is the driving force for progress and leadership. Once we have such a leader and with an economy tied to welfare, the government and the economy would flourish from taxing businesses that are doing well. The leadership of the country may decide to channel some of the proceeds from the taxation into its social welfare program or unemployment benefits. The participant further observed that the present administration introduced what they call *trader-moni*, which is small and medium scale entrepreneurship empowerment scheme. Also, he claimed that the administration introduced what they called *N-Power* as a social change initiative to cater for the teeming unemployed Nigerian youths. He concluded by explaining that:

Under the N-Power scheme a lot of graduates are paid N30,000 to teach in the class room, and as a way of discouraging the youths from indulging in drugs and other criminal activities. That is a good start. I think this is an area we should have institutionalized long before now. In the last election, many people even the

young people voted for the governing party because of the *trader-moni* which some people say is a form of bribery.

Nevertheless, Participant 023 believes that this could not be seen as bribery because the electorates still have the choice to use their voter's card to vote out the government, which they failed to.

Participant 003 viewed the political parties' campaigns as mere rhetoric because it is practically impossible for example, for somebody to set a 15 – point agenda. Like it is always the case with our political leaders, a 15 – point agenda and all the agendas focused on all the areas of problems in Nigeria, so how do you want to achieve all those agendas? Also, she stressed that it is impossible for any person to do that within a single tenure in office – it is simply not possible for only one leader to do that. Therefore, most of the promises are just for the sole purpose of winning elections.

2. Fake Campaign Promises by the Politicians

As earlier established, because political parties lack viable party manifestoes that are accessible to the electorate, the politicians use the opportunity to deceive the electorates with fake promises during campaigns just to win the electorate's votes. Therefore, for me to adequately address the research question on the issue of how leadership problems in Nigeria are borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is in their political parties' manifestoes, it is expedient to take a closer look at the factors responsible for the fake campaign promises by politicians in Nigeria. In doing so, participants were made to examine the root cause of fake campaign promises in Nigeria by political actors and proffer most viable solutions to

arrest the occurrence. In my opinion, campaign promises are public pledges by political leaders to deliver on the ideological thrust of their parties. It is supposed to be a trust building mechanism between the leaders and the led, an accountability factor, and proof that leaders vying for political offices actually have their followers' and electorates' interests in mind. However, the contrary is the case as clearly elicited by the participants' responses stated hereafter.

In his contribution to the discuss on the factors responsible for fake campaign promises, Participant 027 opined that irrespective of the political parties in power, the usual trend is that campaign promises are mere rhetoric. He consequently posited that leaders always renege from their promises soon as they are elected into offices because their promises are not tie to their political party manifesto. He cited the example that despite the overwhelming support from the electorates in 2015, President Buhari of Nigeria is yet to fulfill his campaign promises. He further opined that:

The three focal areas of his campaign in 2015 were: corruption, security, and economic diversification under the campaign mantra of *Change*. Unfortunately, the president has admitted failure when he stated that the fight against insecurity has not been easy.

According to him, although the Presidency keeps reassuring Nigerians that Boko Haram has been technically defeated and degraded, yet heavy casualties are being reported daily on the side of the Armed Forces of Nigeria. In spite of Buhari's promises of providing critical infrastructure such as construction of good road networks, new rail

lines, and adequate housing for Nigerians, his government is yet to deliver in these critical areas.

The participant further lamented government's insincere efforts at winning back trust of the electorates during the last general elections in 2019 that were postponed ab initio. According to the participant, the postponement is another evidence of a failed campaign promise since the president had promised to bequeath to Nigerians free, fair, and credible electoral processes. Instead of using the elections as trust building mechanism, he chose to postpone the election which in itself widens the gap between the leaders and the electorates.

Participant 035 corroborated that the postponed elections earlier scheduled to hold on 16 February 2019 is a clear failure on government's part. In the researcher's view, this constitutes a major factor for fake campaign promise because the people believed the postponement was a ploy by government to evade the promises the leaders had made. This is so because like the axiom says: 'justice delayed particularly without justifiable reasons, is justice denied'. To conduct an election on schedule is a form of election promise and to postpone such election without justifiable or acceptable reasons gave an impression of failed campaign promise of conducting the election at scheduled time. This position is informed by the fact that the common experience in Nigeria whenever elections fail to hold on schedule is considered a ploy for election malpractices which is a panacea for unqualified actors to win and become emergency leaders who at no time campaigned or even made campaign promises to the people. The participant further opined that because INEC succumbed to the pressure of shifting the election by two

weeks clearly shows that the election conducting body lack independence and credibility to conduct free and fair election. For this reason therefore, after the postponment of the election many electorates lost confidence in the capacity of INEC to conduct an acceptable election.

Meanwhile, Participant 025 argued that fulfilling campaign promises by political leaders should be realistic and tangible rather than the mere media rhetoric of many of the past administrations. The participant debunked claims by the Buhari administration that it has fulfilled 98 percent of its campaign promises to Nigerians. He therefore observed that:

At inception, the present administration distributed its APC manifesto document titled, *My Vision and Manifesto for Nigeria*. The manifesto contained campaign promises under three broad themes thus: tackling corruption, improving the economy, and guaranteeing security for all Nigerians.

Regrettably, this participant observed that years after the government was elected to power, none of the promises made during campaign was adequately fulfilled. Rather, to him the government of the day continues to treat Nigerians with *levity, impunity, nepotism, and wanton disdain*. Consequently, he concluded that even the so called anti-corruption crusade of the government can best be viewed as mere intimidation of political opponents.

Research Question 4: In what ways are political leaders in Nigeria totally detached from those they lead especially after elections, and how has this led to the socio-political crises ravaging the country today?

From the literature reviewed for this research, some of the scholars (Egwemi, 2012; Olalere, 2015) ascertained that political leaders often detach themselves from the electorates soon as they win elections into public offices. My effort here in this research question however is to identify the ways these political leaders have totally detached themselves from those they lead after the elections. The study's literature review also shows that some scholars (Ocholor, 2011; Lawal & Johnson, 2012) have given credence to the fact that the leaders' total detachment usually leads to breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and the led which pitches the leaders against their followers thereby leading to sociopolitical crises in the country. In my view, if the positions of these scholars are anything to go by, the fact that political leaders totally detach themselves from those they lead which consequently lead to breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and their followers will surely bring about sociopolitical crises in the polity. This narrative therefore leads the study to arriving at the following thematic categories from the responses obtained during the interviews.

Thematic Category 4: Ways Political Leaders in Nigeria are Totally Detached from Followers after Elections

The findings of this study revealed that in Nigeria, after elections the leaders detach themselves from the followers by either physically distancing themselves from the

followers or through their attitudes of not listening to the plight of their followers. These two points are discussed below

1. Physically distancing themselves from the followers

The findings of this study revealed that after elections, the leaders detach from their followers physically by not returning to the followers or by closing their doors from the followers. This entailed that the politician totally sever contacts with the followers again because they have already achieved what they wanted from the followers before elections. In his contribution therefore, Participant 004 elucidated that:

When a corrupt leadership recruitment process compounded by a corrupt electoral process produces leaders who are not accountable to the people, one of the ways they disconnect with the people is even physical. This way, the leaders may cultivate the culture of leadership inaccessibility to their followers. Simply put, they make it a duty to sever themselves totally from those they lead.

To buttress his argument, Participant 004 recalled when he worked with a former Minister of Defence in Nigeria and the doors to the Minister's office were always shut against the public. He consequently insisted that a government office is not only a public trust but also renders public services to the people the Ministry is created to serve. He thereafter took up the issue with the Honourable Minister of Defence who agreed with him and his action eventually eliminated the practice of always locking the Minister's door to the public. The participant's argument is that the practice is a colonial legacy that people in government are made inaccessible. The participant believed that one of the reasons why people in the Villa (Nigeria's Seat of Power known as 'Aso Rock

Presidential Villa'), are completely out of touch with the people is because there is an ephemeral wall erected to cut them completely off from the public. For instance, he opined that before the unfortunate events of 9/11 in the USA, the USA White House was easily accessible to the public through controlled access.

In his views, this made the US citizens to see the White House as the peoples' house, and those who are there as people working for the citizens. But as a result of our colonial legacy here in Nigeria, the colonial masters had no interest in being accessible to the public, so they came up with structures to cut off access. When the military came to power, he continued that they were not in the business of interacting with the public anyhow, so they reinforced these barriers and barricades. Unfortunately, he said successive civilian administrations failed to interrogate the practice they met on ground, so they assumed it was prestigious to be inaccessible. In the researcher's opinion, inaccessibility is the foundation for lack of accountability. There are people who opine that government cannot spend the whole day attending to the public but nobody is saying that should be the case. Rather, that is where the management of access comes in and there is a difference between derived access and managed access.

The management of access is supposed to be such that practically everyone who needs to have access is granted access, and yet it is in a controlled manner - there is a time for people in authority to interact with the public, and to receive them. On the other hand, Derived Access in the researcher's view refers to the authorized access granted to personnel who work in the Presidency or Government Houses. That is part of the problem. So accessibility is for the people to feel that the government is theirs.

I agree with Participant 004 on the issue of accessibility which he said is part of why Nigeria had to pass into law the freedom of information bill (FOI). However, when you ask questions from those in power about the FOI, nobody will provide answers because even the civil servants who are part of the end users from time to time divulges official *secret* and are consequently seen as traitors, or saboteurs. The consequences are that they may be sanctioned or they may lose their jobs. Therefore, the FOI bill has been signed into law without executing it. People for example, have not been asking questions about the value we get for public money we spend. Under our procurement process, we introduced the idea of *due process*. However, you can follow due process and still steal most of the money.

According to the participant, this means that there is *due process* stealing. The question that begs for answer is why should it cost government four times the market value to procure any item? Why should it cost government much more than market value to buy anything at all? Participant 024 further questions:

How much will it cost in reality to build 1 kilometer of road in this type of terrain? Sadly, all you have is government announcing that, after the Federal Executive Council meeting, government has approved N11 billion for construction of X road. I never heard anyone asking, how much will it normally cost to construct the X road? Yet, nobody is asking the veracity of such estimate as given by the Federal Executive Council for that construction.

He further opined that this is because government has totally detached itself from the people it governs. In some cases, where some ray of hope in successfully

completing the construction is visible it sometimes takes forever for this to happen.

Consequently, he said a construction contract in the budget that is expected to be delivered in 8 months may either end up being abandoned project or at best completed after 10 or several years later. In my view, when we talk about accountability it manifests in many ways. For example, if most of the government money is committed with little results in terms of performance and physical projects to match with the funds released, the promise will remain unkept. So I believe that we need to engender a culture where electorates will ask questions and demand stricter standards of accountability from the leaders. Projects must be delivered at reasonable costs within reasonable time frames.

Consequently, bad governance is the bane of lack of accountability, lack of accessibility, and lack of commitment to promises made. What this means is that an inaccessible government is bad. But more importantly, a government that is inefficient in managing the development process is also a bad government. A government that cannot enhance the human capital of the nation through education, health care, welfare packages, and not capable of providing adequate infrastructure for the people to interact and be closer and better connected gives room for the distancing of the leaders from their electorate.

There is no doubt therefore that this kind of attitude of governance can only lead to sociopolitical crisis in the polity. Participant 004 further argued that the total detachments of the leaders from those they lead are part of the reasons why development is nothing to write home about. And this has continued to cripple the nation and create sociopolitical crisis in the polity. For example, lack of infrastructure for physical

connection has created a lot of tension in the nation and in the country. It has also created security and health problems.

For instance, he gave a narrative of a woman who travelled for 18 hours nonstop by road in a chocked up bus from one point to another in Nigeria who was confirmed by doctors to have suffered blood clot in her leg which eventually affected her brain. A few days later she was confirmed dead in the hospital. Whereas another woman will travel from Abuja (Nigeria) to London (United Kingdom) by British Airways for 6 hours and arrive Heathrow Terminal 5 hale and hearty because she had been medically advised to use aspirin, wear tight fitting clothes, and take a little walking exercise to avoid blood clot. The difference between the two mostly rests on healthcare support by the medical establishment in both cases.

Furthermore, the participant observed that the issue of poor infrastructure can also be seen from the fact that nowadays people seldom travel by road again, rather they travel by air despite the fact that air travel is more expensive. Road travel has become unaffordable not because of the transportation rate but because of insecurity and bad roads. Like in the case of the woman who died of blood clot after 18 hours of road travel, it is evident that on a normal day with good roads, that journey would have been for just 3 hours and the cramps which brought about the blood clot would have been avoided. Therefore, these examples given by my participants clearly show that bad governance and poor healthcare delivery have far reaching consequences on the confidence and lives of the electorate. The country loses money every day through corruption and

maladministration by the leaders who are constantly bleeding the nation dry of her treasury and no one could question them.

In retrospect, Participant 004 concluded that the answer to this question is that: if we want good governance, we must make the public office holders accountable and accessible. They must be well policed by the press and the civil society groups, we must have a more independent police system, and a more independent judicial system. In fact, the leaders should get closer to those they lead through programs like town hall meetings, market place meetings, and other such frequent interactive sessions. This way, their followers can question them and get answers from them, they too can know the mindset of the people they lead. This will surely stem the sociopolitical crisis capable of escalating conflicts in the country.

Meanwhile, Participant 015 believed that the political leaders feel they have paid for the votes of the electorates. Hence, they make themselves inaccessible to the electorate. For instance, the politician who invests money and logistics for people to be registered to vote feels that he does not need the electorates after the elections. Furthermore, the Nigerian system creates a layer of protection around the political leaders after winning elections and being sworn into office, the IGP further provides the leaders with police protection. Then the politician's house is barricaded and he starts moving in a convoy. What happens next is that the society feels dejected knowing fully well that they voted the leaders into office but they have become inaccessible to them. As such, the electorates become angry, and start attacking the politicians as is the case in Nigeria today.

2. The Leaders are detached from the Followers by not providing them with Basic Amenities

Another way that the leaders distance themselves from the followers is by neglecting their responsibility of providing the people with basic social amenities. The interviews conducted with the participants demonstrated that in Nigeria, once the leaders have been elected into offices, they go to sleep until when the next election cycle is at hand before the politicians will embark on one small project or the other in the communities to fool the people into voting them again.

In my view, that is the outcome whenever political leaders distance themselves from the electorates after winning elections. The scenario depicted by Participant 015 suggested that the widening gap may be as a result of lack of commitment by the leaders. However, it behooves on common sense to conclude that the leaders' interests is just to get to that seat and start enjoying the largess on the seat, without providing any feedback to the electorate. To expatiate further, Participant 015 observed that in the USA and the UK, there are opinion polls mechanisms which the electorates use in monitoring their leaders' performances.

Unfortunately, we do not have such system of opinion poll in Nigeria. Rather, he said some state governments have made available public phone lines for the citizens to access the government through text messages and phone calls. More often than not, when the electorates send genuine text messages to the leaders, unfortunately the State Security Services (SSS) operatives may be invited to arrest those electorates. For example, he claimed that in the case of governor of a state in Nigeria, a citizen sent a short messaging

service (SMS) to the governor complaining about the non-payment of her gratuity. The aides to the governor in response claimed that the citizen was rude to the governor and they jailed her and her baby for 12 – 14 days. Agreed, a leader should be followed but the attention of the leader should be drawn whenever he derails or goes wrong. How can this be achieved when the leaders are not even accessible?

In his contribution to the discuss, Participant 003 succinctly posited that not all political leaders are detached from their followers after they get into political offices but a number of them. Hence, it is not expedient to generalize. The leaders who detach themselves do so immediately after elections simply because of corruption. Participant 003 further claimed that there is consistent allegation of politician buying votes; however he made it clear that he has neither seen anybody selling his vote nor somebody ever approach him to sell his vote to him.

If however these allegations were true, it is certainly capable of leading to gross electoral malpractices which will inevitably produce bad leaders because if a candidate buys votes or if an electorate sells its votes it is a compromise. And once such a compromise is achieved, it signifies a form of a memorandum of understanding between the electorate and the leader buying the votes. Naturally, such a leader will have no further commitment after the election to the electorate because both parties have met the parts of their deal. So, it is not surprising if there is a total detachment between such a leader and those who sold their votes. For such electorate to feel alienated during the next round of elections is unjustifiable. And for the leader to go back to the same electorate to seek their mandate is unethical. The process of that nature is a form of barter because

when we exchange needs in form of trade by barter and the needs are met, the deal is closed. It is no surprise therefore, that such process will continue to breed distances between the political leaders and the electorate. It will also continue to lead to sociopolitical crisis.

3. *They are detached from the followers by being inconsiderate to their plight*

From the data collected during interviews, participants revealed that after elections in Nigeria leaders distance themselves from the followers by closing their ears to plight of the people. In cases where the followers complain about the bad roads, insecurity, poor education, and poor health care services in the country, the leaders will hardly do much to provide some of these infrastructures.

In attempting to answer the question, Participant 018 posited that an effective leader who is always closer to the people is a very good listener. He would not let you know what his inner feelings are at any material time. He will be mulling them inside. But when you see him taking actions on issues, you will be surprised. He further stressed that a good leader will listen to you patiently, bidding his time to hear all you have to say but will not give you an indication on what his reaction will be to all you have said until he is convinced that he has thoroughly understood your point and can proffer answers to some or all of the issues raised.

The effective leader is a man of very few words but a man of action. He does not get influenced by gossips. He finds things out himself and acts accordingly. He would never come to you to say what he has found about you or any other person or subject. Furthermore, he said if the leader has enough information, it is enough for him to act. He

always takes action out of his personal convictions, and invariably most of the time he is right. He may not necessarily be in government so he does not have to please anyone.

I believe it is the fact that effective leaders usually do not nurse overarching ambitions. The effective leader constantly addresses himself to the reality on ground. He also takes his time to consider all sides of the problem before him before arriving at a decision on what to do. That way he makes less mistakes and in most cases, arrives at a very good decision. These are the outstanding qualities of any good and effective leader. If these are the outstanding qualities of any good and effective leader then one can easily deduce what the outstanding qualities of a bad and ineffective leader will be – the exact opposite of these good qualities.

In my opinion, the good leaders possess the qualities of a transformational leader who is always ready to do whatever it takes to encourage and support his followers to attain optimal performance level in all they do. The good leader is not manipulative, is ethical, usually considers others first, also considers the fact and takes the welfare of the subordinates and superiors very seriously. A good leader's attention span is incredible and is not economical with facts when dealing with both the subordinates and the superiors. In Participant 005 contribution to the discuss, he blamed the leadership recruitment process as responsible for the ineffective leadership being witnessed in the country. The participant opined that the purpose of seeking political offices by bad leaders more often than not is because of business interests and not service to the people. According to the participant, the ineffective leaders are in politics to award contracts, to create employment for their cronies, to make money, and after being voted out of office

start doing business with their loot while in office. In the developed societies, people do business, and after making some money in business they may decide to offer themselves for elections into public offices. However, he believes that the reverse is the case here in Nigeria. People think they can enter politics to go and make money and eventually start business. Participant 005 further stressed that:

the recruitment process of leadership is distorted because 90% of politicians venture into politics to make profit. Afterwards, they may come out and start business. As it were, the reverse is the case in other societies where the trend is for leaders to emerge from businessmen to become politicians. Here in Nigeria it is politics then business. There are very few people who have gone there with the sole aim of serving the people. There is hardly an exception he concluded.

Participant 001 agreed with Participant 005 and echoed his views that the leadership selection process is responsible for the ineffective leadership in the country. The participant further observed that there is a problem that is why he suggested raising leaders from secondary schools like what is obtainable in most developed nations. Through this process he said you start teaching ethics of leadership – interaction with your fellow countrymen and interaction with your fellow human beings within and outside your country. When such ethics become internalized, and somebody finds his or herself in leadership position, he will then know the difference between right and wrong, and the need for ethics at all times. Some of the leaders in his view do not even know when they are wrong.

He cited an example of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) (a politico-ethnic group agitating for secession from the Nigerian federation) whom he claimed has not killed anybody, did not commit any arson, and did not carry arms against the authority of the state. IPOB was merely carrying out what one may consider a legitimately legal and peaceful protest for its actualization, yet they were proscribed as a terrorist group by the government. Surprisingly, he further asserted that the murderous herdsmen that ransacked whole villages, killed human beings, raped peoples' wives, committed arson, carried out arms against the legitimate government authority by way of asymmetric warfare, were neither reprimanded nor tagged as a terrorist organization. If that is not strategic spiritual intelligence then what is it? It is difficult to believe that some people who take to the streets and asking for their legitimate rights, were not given any opportunity to prove whether these rights are truly legitimate because government failed to engage them in any form of dialogue. Government eventually proscribed them and demonized them.

From the example given by Participant 001, I believe that the extensive damage that this unethical leadership conduct has done to this group is the denial of dialogue which could have produced better understanding between them and the government. In the current establishment, there is a wide belief that governance is nepotistic in nature and the operators of governance already had the mindset that has closed all opportunities for any form of dialogue. This is one of the big problems in the attitude of our leaders that frequently produces ineffectiveness in leadership. A major instrument of democracy is dialogue and once it is absent, anarchy and ineffective leadership may take over. Other topical issues in the leadership climate are ethics, nuance, and responsibility. As gathered

from the input of the participants when leadership is devoid of these qualities the leaders start arrogating unfathomable level of importance to themselves and become impugned to everything that will make a system to function effectively. To transform people, the starting point is to be a transformational leader.

Simply put, leaders must most often bring themselves to the levels of their followers in order to build confidence, trust, and credibility. These are the characteristics of a transformational leader because the closer you are to those you are leading the more there will be mutual understanding. An effective leader most often is a leader who leads by example and close interaction and understanding of those he or she leads. From the same perspective of ethics, Participant 002 opined that ineffective leadership is as a result of lack of ethics in governance. Consequently he believed that:

Ethics must be guided by conscience, and when there is no conscience ethics fails. You do not need to be told that you are ethical or you lack ethics. When you have the ethical conscience, it guides your behaviors, it tells you the differences between what is right and what is wrong without being told. Unfortunately, if you do not know what is ethically right or wrong, then you have no business being a leader.

Towing the same path of ethics, Participant 012 agreed that an ethical leadership is the leadership that is driven by ethics and conscience. The problem that we have in Nigeria is lack of ethical leadership. In essence, he further stressed that most of our leaders are not ethical but are provincial. They tend to be carried away by the religious institutions where they worship, their ethnic backgrounds, their states of origin, or their

traditional institutions. He cited the example of the leader being appointed a Minister, and is expected to be in charge of the ministry for the whole nation. Unfortunately, the case is not so in Nigeria as the first set of people who will visit is the church, mosque, or your hometown community. This is how nepotistic and unethical leadership develops.

This way, the people from the churches, mosques and your hometown develop the perception that it is their own turn to rule. They therefore, keep impressing and constantly reminding you that they must be first in all your consideration and action in that office no matter how unfair, unethical, and illegal it may be. He further opined that it might interest you to also note that unethical leadership is even driven by the very structure of social and cultural systems that create that form of leadership. Effective leaders should stay away from that axiom. He consequently concluded that ideally, one would expect that the churches, mosques, and the hometown people would be more supportive rather than misleading and arm twisting the appointee to commit unethical behaviours while in office. In summary, the evidences are glaring that the leadership system encourages unethical leadership behaviours and makes it difficult for effective leadership.

Summary of the Chapter

Chapter Four was an account of the entire fieldwork experiences - the process of participants' recruitment (after obtaining IRB approval), the data collection process, the data analysis and presentation of results of the data collected. Meanwhile, the entire data collection process, data analysis, and member checking took about 10 weeks to complete.

The Research Question One sought to understand the participants' lived experiences, observations, and perspectives on why breakdown in trust network exist

between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria. From the responses obtained, the researcher found that majority of participants faulted the electoral laws for not adequately addressing issues of monetization of the electoral process, under-aged voting, undemocratic leadership selection processes (at the political party levels), and other electoral malpractices. Consequently, the participants unanimously agreed that the electoral laws were still emerging since the first electoral act was bequeathed to the country by the military in 1999 when they handed over power to the civilians. They were quite certain that a lot still needs to be done to ensure that the electoral laws become instruments of trust building among the political leaders and the followers.

Research Question Two was expedient because it is believed that many political and other leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable because in the first place, the people do not know them, the people did not vote them into offices, but rather they took power by force or coercion. Consequently, the research question sought the lived experiences of participants on the issue of accountability in political office from 3 perspectives thus – (a) from the followers’ perspective: the followers should have the mechanism to hold their leaders accountable; (b) the appropriate superior authority should have a way of holding the leaders at that level accountable, and (c) the leaders themselves should have the ethics of holding themselves accountable (to the followers or electorates).

Some Participants viewed the problem from the electorates. According to them, monetization of votes, poverty, illiteracy, followers’ lack of understanding of tenets of good governance, failure of followers to challenge leaders’ policies, projects and

programs, tribalism, ethno-religious sentiments, and lack of party manifestoes were some factors responsible for followers' inability to hold political leaders accountable.

Meanwhile, from these, maladministration, *Winner Takes All* mentality of political parties, and lack of ethics and morality for self-accountability as some factors responsible for the lack of accountability in public offices.

Research Question Three sought to explore participants' lived experiences on the impact of unfulfilled promises on the confidence of citizens in their leaders, and the consequences of unfulfilling these promises that will result in leadership crisis in Nigeria. The responses obtained from participants showed that unfulfilled campaign promises usually precede lack of accountability in public offices. Consequently, the respondents faulted the electoral system which allows political parties to campaign without adequately distributing their manifestoes among the electorate in a readable and understandable manner. Furthermore, the proliferation of political parties in Nigeria is another cause of the crisis while lack of true federalism has been identified as a major cause of inequality, nepotism, tribalism, ethno-religious sentiments and sociopolitical crises. All of these often result in leadership crisis in the country.

Research Question Four sought to address leadership issues related to total detachment of political leaders from their followers thereby leading to socio-political crises. From their responses, participants identified corrupt leadership selection and recruitment processes, bureaucratic bottlenecks which make leaders inaccessible to the electorates, lack of awareness of the FOI Bill by the electorates, over protection of the leaders by the police and other security apparatuses, and lack of commitment of the

political leaders to their campaign promises as responsible for leaders' detachment from followers soon as they win elections.

Although the interviews were guided by the Interview Protocol yet in a few cases, especially towards the end of some of the interviews, participants volunteered qualitative information that were not originally part of the interview protocol. This additional information further added quality to the data analysis. It is hoped that this effort will help policy makers to shape the landscape of political leadership in Nigeria and add value to the social change environment of the country which is one of the focal objectives of Walden University.

In Chapter five the researcher will discuss and interpret the results from the data analysis, and the limitations of the study. Thereafter, recommendations for further study and the implications for social change will be discussed based on findings from the results presented in chapter four.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Chapter 5 concludes this qualitative phenomenological case study. While most of the literature reviewed largely focuses on the causes and effects of leadership failure in Nigeria and elsewhere around the African continent, adequate empirical studies have not been devoted to interrogate the breakdown in the trust networks of both the political leaders and their followers which has continued to create tension capable of leading to escalated conflicts in the polity. There is indeed clear evidence to argue that leaders (especially political leaders) in Nigeria are totally detached from those they lead. For example, Participant 004 observed that when a corrupt leadership recruitment process compounded by a corrupt electoral process produces leaders who are not accountable to the people; one of the ways they disconnect with the people is even physical. This way, the leaders totally detach themselves from those they lead by refusing to be accessible to their followers.

In corroborating the participant, political commentators (Egwemi, 2012; Nwagboso & Duke, 2012) observe that before assuming leadership offices, the leaders in Nigeria always bond with their followers with lots of vibrant and compelling campaign promises. However, soon as they are voted into office, the first thing they do is to jettison all their campaign promises, and in the process, totally disconnect from their followers. As a result, leadership gap grows between the leaders and the followers. To drive home this point, Mboup (2008) posits that campaign promises when unfulfilled remain the precursors to the failures of leadership which sometimes manifest in deeply rooted “post-electoral constitutional and political impasse; food shortages; sky rocketed inflation;

political, and moral degeneration of the elites” (p.98). Participant 004 agreed with Mboup’s position and observed that when leaders get the mandate of the people, most of them seem to retract from fulfilling the rosy campaign promises given to the electorate. It is on this premise that this study sought to investigate the widening gap between the governed and their governors, as a critical factor for explaining the leadership crisis in Africa.

Purpose and Nature of the Study

The purpose of the study was to understand individual lived experiences of leadership crisis in Nigeria, as they impact on the relationship between the leaders and their followers, toward transformational change. What is of interest here is how followers’ trust is impacted by the leaders’ inability or lack of interest in keeping their campaign promises. In this research work therefore, the methodology for the data collection involved semistructured in-depth interviews in an effort to explore the lived experiences that contributed to the participants’ perception of leadership crisis in Nigeria. The interview guide relied on semistructured questions drawn from the four main research questions for the study. In particular, the interview questions focused on leaders’ relationship with the followers before, during, and after elections as a critical factor in understanding the leadership crisis in Nigeria. Consequently, the results from the phenomenological study on leadership crisis in Africa with Nigeria as a case study have shed more light on the nature of the leadership behaviors of Nigerian leaders toward their followers.

Summary of the Findings

Major findings for the study were reported in Chapter 4 under the thematic categories of Theme 1 to Theme 4. Basically, these were common themes and statements from responses obtained from the 35 participants interviewed for the study. In most cases, there were unified responses from participants to the questions asked. However, in a few others, some participants' responses revealed additional information than was previously expected. In this chapter, I discuss the following: the interpretation of the findings from data analysis, the limitations of the study, recommendations, and the implications for social change.

Interpretation of Findings

Consistently, the following research questions guided the study:

Research Question 1: What are the reasons for the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria?

Research Question 2: What are some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?

Research Question 3: How are leadership problems in Nigeria borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is in their various political parties' manifestoes?

Research Question 4: In what ways are political leaders in Nigeria totally detached from those they lead especially after elections, and how has this led to the socio-political crises ravaging the country today?

Hereafter, I present the interpretation of the findings in relation to the research questions and based on the emergent thematic categories from the data analysis in Chapter 4.

Background to the Participants' Responses to Research Question 1

This research question sought to understand the participants' lived experiences, observations, and perspectives on why breakdown in trust networks exist between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria. In interrogating the issue further, the interview began with some general leading questions bordering on Nigeria's electoral laws and how these laws have influenced the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers. On the issue of trust networks, Little (2010) posited that it relates to a group of people highly associated or linked by the same ties, ideologies, and interests in which a mistake, betrayal, or failure of an individual(s) within the group has the capacity to impede on the achievement of the group's aims and objectives.

Therefore, in this context, trust networks entail the coming together of both the political leaders and their followers with the aim of building high level of trust (in one another) so as to undertake activities that will bring about development and peaceful coexistence in the society. In particular, Tilly (2005) posited that "democratic regimes cannot operate without substantial integration of trust networks into public politics" (p.4). Therefore, "contemporary democracies face a threat of de-democratization" (p.4) if the followers withdraw their trust networks from the political leaders. Tilly believed that trust networks clearly elicits two different views of political involvement thus: *phenomenology and social interactions* (p.4).

Consequently, trust networks can be perceived as *an attitude or as a relationship* (p.4). In essence therefore, from Tilly's description of trust networks, one can adduce from Participants' responses that breakdown of trust networks in Nigeria emanate from ethnoreligious ties, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, class and caste system, and other such negative societal tendencies.

Discussion on Participants' Responses to Research Question 1

At this stage, it is expedient for me to present the views, responses, and inputs of the participants to research question one. Hereafter, these were presented by the researcher looking at *fault lines in the electoral laws, and poor and inappropriate leadership behaviours by the leaders.*

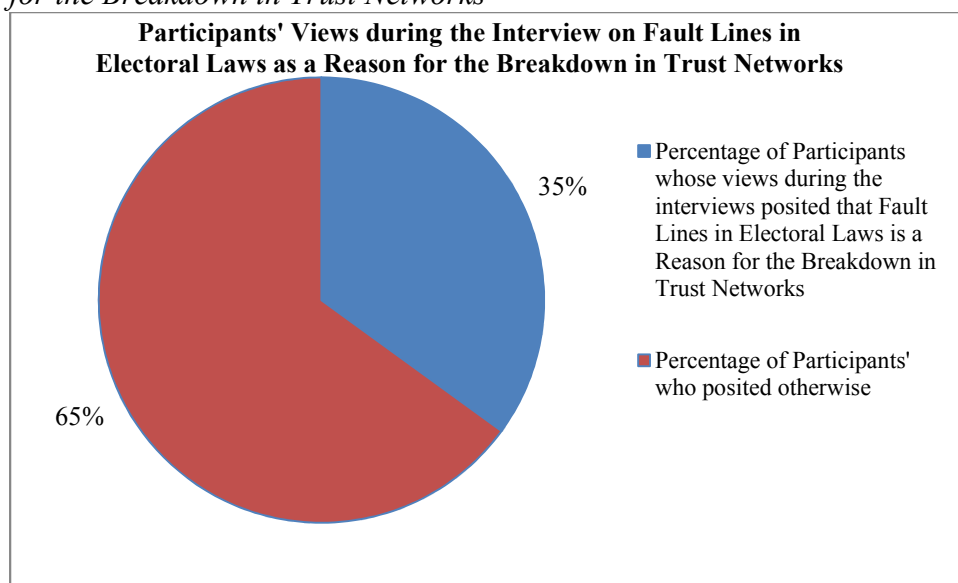
Fault Lines in the Electoral Laws

To better appreciate the participants' responses to the research question one it is expedient to briefly conceptualize what *fault lines* mean in the context of the thematic category before discussing how the responses from participants have addressed the research question. In my opinion, fault lines entail areas within the constitution or the electoral law where the blunders in the electoral process can be seen or identified. In view of this and based on the responses of the participants it can be taken that the electoral law in Nigeria is replete with many lacunas and has consequently failed to address many issues that will lend credibility to our electoral processes. In concurrence, Participant 009 argued that unless the electoral law in Nigeria is amended to embrace the full use of electronic voting that will address the peculiarities of the Nigerian society, elections in Nigeria will continue to be marred by controversies which will make the electoral

processes to remain suspect. In particular, Participant 006 posited that the manner of transmitting elections results that we saw in 2019 where people thought that identification through electronic means was actually voting was inappropriate. This is because it allowed the electorates to believe that election results obtained through this process did not conform to the electoral law. This process did not guarantee and fully recognize the full operations of the electronic voting system as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5

Participants' Views during the Interviews on Fault Lines in Electoral Laws as a Reason for the Breakdown in Trust Networks



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

As represented in Figure 5 therefore, a total of 35% of participants interviewed believed that fault lines in electoral laws are responsible for the breakdown in trust networks between leaders and those they lead. However, 65% of the participants opined that fault lines in electoral laws may not necessarily lead to the breakdown in trust

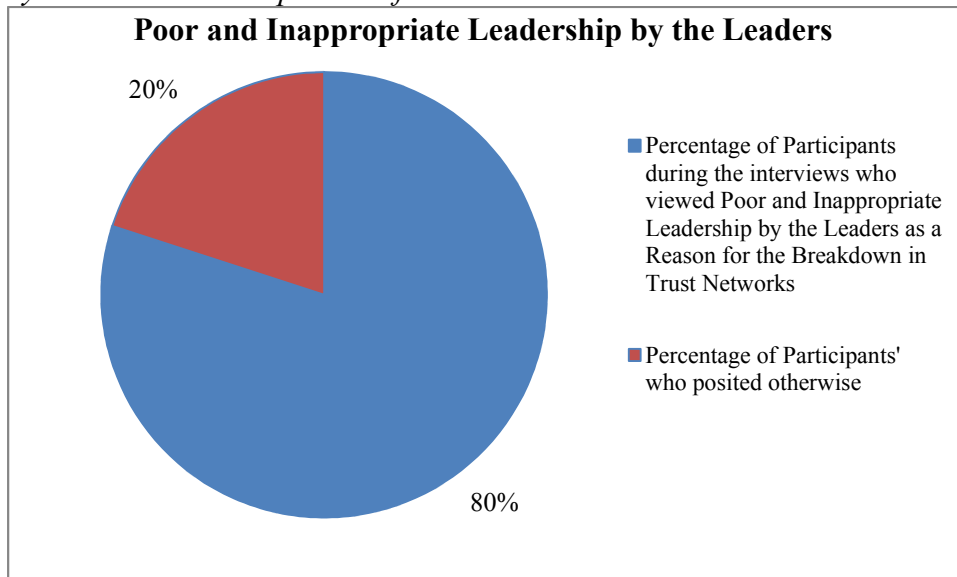
networks. Consequent upon the forgoing, the participants argued that the 2019 Presidential Election in Nigeria which was postponed by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) hours before the election was scheduled to hold further questions the credibility of the electoral law in Nigeria. Although Shola (2019) observed that the postponement itself may not be the problem because Nigeria's electoral law grants INEC the power to postpone elections on the ground that a serious breach of the peace is likely to occur if the election proceeds or on the ground of natural disaster, yet, INEC went ahead to postpone the election without much hostility that warranted the postponement. Furthermore, Sobechi and Jimoh (2018) observed that during elections, both opposition and politicians from the ruling party took advantage of the loopholes found in the electoral process which is not adequately addressed by the electoral law to perpetrate all forms of electoral fraud and malpractices.

Poor and Inappropriate Leadership Behaviors by the Leaders

The problem of Africa's development is a crisis of governance. The study affirmed that because of the leaders' insatiable quest for power, state officials in many countries including Nigeria have served their own interests without being called to account. Politics becomes personalized, and patronage becomes essential to maintaining political power. The leadership assumes broad discretionary authority and loses its legitimacy. Information is controlled; voluntary associations are co-opted or disbanded. This environment cannot readily support a dynamic economy (World Bank, 1989). This is graphically portrayed in Figure 6 which explains the Participants' responses to *Poor and inappropriate leadership behaviours by their leaders*.

Figure 6

Participants' Views during Interviews on Poor and Inappropriate Leadership Behaviours by the Leaders as responsible for the Breakdown in Trust Networks



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

Figure 6 indicates that about 80% of participants interviewed believed that poor and inappropriate behaviours by the leaders are responsible for why the leaders are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period. On the other hand, only 20% of the participants responded that it has nothing to do with it. The study further revealed that poor and inappropriate leadership styles as practiced in Nigeria by the political class play prominent roles in the breakdown of the trust networks of the followers toward their leaders.

According to the views of some of the participants, the leadership - the executive, the legislature, and at all levels of government in the country, have failed drastically and consistently in making our electoral laws more effective in curtailing the issues surrounding our elections. Thus, our electoral process is marred by monumental

corruption and high degree of malpractices, which continue to produce leaders that do not reflect the wishes of the people. In most cases, the leaders assume that they are not answerable to the people because the people did not really vote them into offices. This further explains the series of leadership crises in the country as succinctly emphasized by Participant 004 who opined that Nigeria is among the poorest and most backward when you assess it on the basis of human development index, in terms of peace and stability, and in terms of economic performance. How can you be so richly endowed with human and material resources and yet be so poor? It can only be a consequence of mismanagement and bad leadership.

Also, in the views of some of the participants (P-012; P-003), our leaders lack the knowledge of the proper leadership style that best suits the country. Consequently, we have leaders who are either authoritative or lenient in nature, which does not fit the nature of our society. Thus, Participant 012 believed that Nigeria needs all the categories and classifications of leadership for the country to function. The country needs specific leadership traits in specific scenarios. For example, the kind of leadership that will fit the Armed Forces is the authoritarian type for obvious reasons. Therefore, an authoritarian leader who also has some elements of transformational leadership is what Nigeria needs.

Again, where the leadership style does not fit the nature of Nigeria society, followers may begin to lose trust in the political leadership. As some participants (P-032; P-018) observed that most leaders in Nigeria lack the leadership charisma that will build trust in the followers due to their nepotistic behaviors. In this case, they may find it very difficult to influence or attract followers to trust any decision they take. Also, most

leaders lack the spirit of patriotism, they are nepotistic, selfish, and full of greed. For this reason, followers believe that leaders in Nigeria are only interested in accumulating personal wealth. Therefore, any decision leaders take, the followers often perceive that they have ulterior motives to loot the state resources. It is in this light that Participant 015 posited that “our leaders are not looking at the global picture but only their pockets.”

Discussion on Participants’ Responses to Research Question 2

The research question two becomes expedient because it is believed that many leaders (political and other forms) in Nigeria are hardly held accountable. This is because the people do not know them, and the people did not vote them into offices. Rather they took power by force or coercion. Consequently, they go there and do anything that pleases them. This is probably one reason why most often they are hardly held accountable by their followers for the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period. From the research findings therefore, accountability in political office were viewed from 3 perspectives thus:

1. The followers who should have the mechanism to hold their leaders accountable;
2. The appropriate superior authority who should have a way of holding the leaders at all levels accountable, and;
3. The leaders who should have the ethics and responsibility of holding themselves accountable.

In view of the forgoing therefore, the results of the interview on research question two showed that the reasons why followers in Nigeria hardly held their leaders accountable for their campaign promises include – *The followers are compromised before*

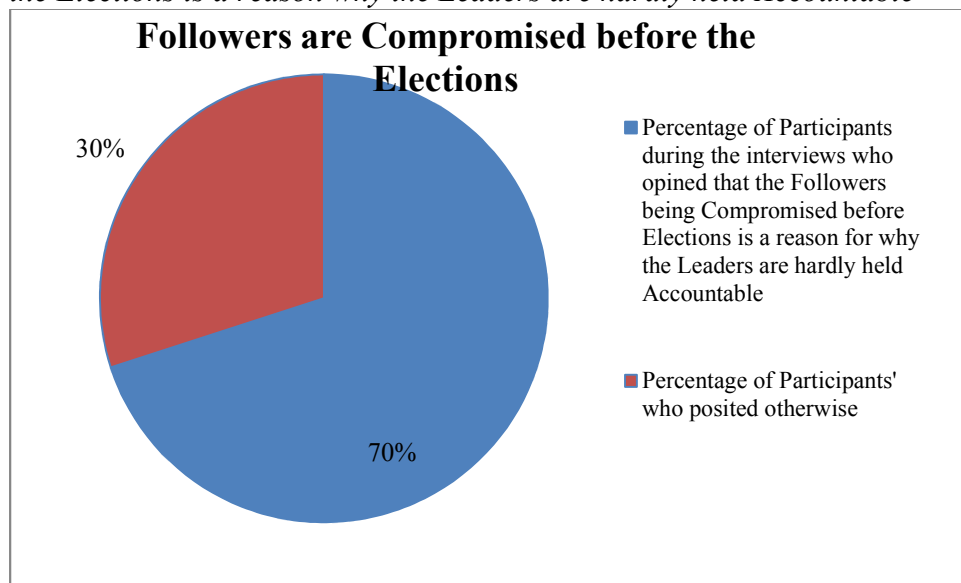
the elections, The people did not vote political leaders into offices, Intangible promises by the politicians, The leaders are unaccountable because they control state apparatus, Poverty and ignorance, Political thuggery, and High display of sentiments by followers. Hereafter, these seven critical issues preventing political followers in Nigeria from holding their leaders accountable for their campaign promises are discussed.

The Followers are Compromised Before the Elections

As shown in Figure 7, 70% of the participants opined that one of the reasons why followers find it difficult to hold their leaders accountable is because most of them were bribed or given money before voting the political leaders. About 30% of the participants interviewed responded to the contrary. This simply implies that if 70% of electorates are compromised before the elections, it is a foregone conclusion that the process will produce any accountable and forthright leadership.

Figure 7

Participants' Views during the Interviews on Why Followers are Compromised before the Elections is a reason why the Leaders are hardly held Accountable



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

This view is further held by Sakariyau and Aliu (2015) in their research work on the phenomenon of money politics in Nigerian democracy. Their study revealed that money politics is a trend in Nigeria's electoral system. The buying and selling of votes has become an accepted norm in Nigeria's political arrangement which threatens her readiness to embrace democratic virtues. In this situation, followers lack the moral strength to challenge or hold their leaders accountable. To the leaders, it is their money that brought them into the positions they occupy. Hence, the people do not have the courage to challenge or question whatever they do when they are in office. In fact, the leaders assume that they have nothing to do with the electorates because they feel their money brought them to power. Therefore, by collecting money from the politicians before voting them into offices, the followers invariably give the leaders the powers to go and do whatever they feel like doing while in office. Thus, once money changes hands (from the politicians to the electorates), the politicians find it convenient to renege on their promises to the people.

Consequently, it becomes almost impossible for the people holding them accountable after been elected. Participant 005 agreed with this position and posited that the story has been that when a political leader comes to campaign in a rally with an attendance of over 10,000 followers and these followers either demand or prefer to be remunerated with cash, a compromise is struck. Once the political leader surrenders to the whims and caprices of the followers through the compromise he arrogates the right not to fulfill any political campaign promises at that campaign ground, as exchange of money

automatically implies the robber has met the road. Therefore, he needs not make any promises because the memorandum of understanding has already been executed when the followers take money at the campaign rallies from the leaders.

In a situation like this it makes sense to conclude that if the followers want to have the moral rectitude to hold their leaders accountable, then they should not sell their votes to the politicians during campaigns. This is because once they take money they have already sold their consciences and mandates to the politicians for peanuts. As such they cannot question the politicians if they fail to perform according to their expectations. In his contribution to the discuss, Adejuwon (2012) like Participant 005 believed that “accountability is considered a key determinant of the state of governance” (p.29). This way, lack of accountability becomes the bane of leadership crisis. In essence, accountability establishes a dyadic relationship between what Adejuwon refers to as ‘accountable’ and ‘accounting actors’ (p.33), or the leaders and those they lead. Unfortunately, the issue of accountability has been dwarfed by the barter between the leaders and the electorates.

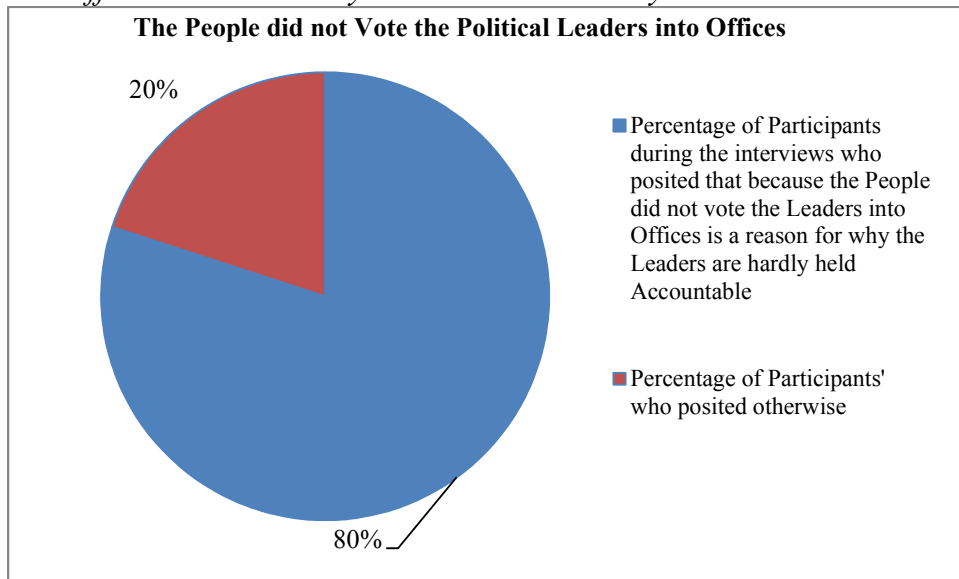
The People did not Vote the Political Leaders into Offices

Other reasons identified by participants (P-002; P-018) on why followers hardly hold their leaders accountable still hinge on the fact that the followers did not vote the leaders into political offices. It is evident from participants’ (P-001; P-004) responses that politicians in Nigeria use all forms of electoral malpractices to get themselves into positions of authority. Figure 8 indicates that 80% of participants responded that the electorates did not vote the political leaders into offices because the people do not know

them. They also believed that the political leaders got into offices through rigging or coercion. Concurring with the 80% who favoured people not voting political leaders into offices, Participant 022 further elucidated that some of the leaders are emergency leaders as a result of not being voted by the people into the offices they occupy. This can be explained from the perspective of these leaders not being well groomed or mentored before emerging as leaders. Therefore, the gap will always show in the type of leadership they render to the electorates.

Figure 8

Participants' Views during the Interview on why People do not vote Political Leaders into Offices is a reason why the Leaders are hardly held Accountable



Source: Researcher Generated

Also, Figure 8 shows that only 20% of the participants actually disagree with the view that people did not vote political leaders into offices. Rather, they believed that the people voted, their votes were counted, and the process respected the electoral law. However, since the majority of participants carry the day, this simply means people being surreptitiously prevented from exercising their franchise will without doubt bring about the breakdown in trust networks between them and the leaders. Also, after winning elections these leaders will no doubt make it clear that their victory is purely by their efforts and not the electorates. No wonder therefore, why these leaders will create an imaginary barrier that will make their followers inaccessible to them. All these are panacea for breakdown in the trust networks between the two parties.

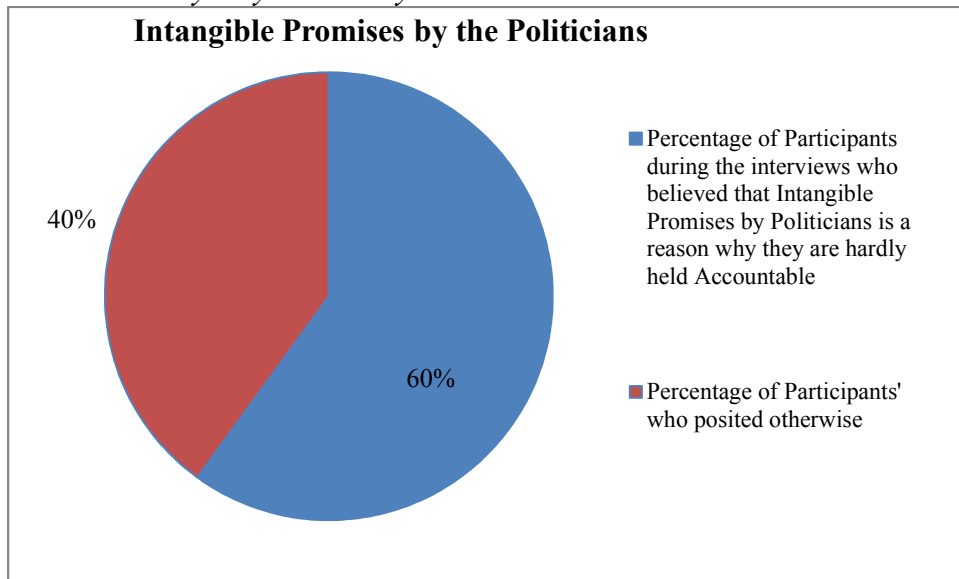
Participant 015 emphasized that lack of ethics, teamwork, and communication by the leaders often make them more inaccessible to the followers. And without visionary and transformational leadership that produces results, and with the surreptitious denial of the people from exercising their franchise it therefore become even more difficult for the followers to hold the leadership accountable. This again is a major reason why breakdown in trust networks continue to thrive. This argument was further supported by Aluaigba (2016) who opined that the conduct of elections in Nigeria since 1999 has been inundated with spiraling malpractices in the electioneering process. This trend has worsened with each round of elections, as typified by the 1999, 2003, and 2007 polls. During these three elections, rigging, violence, and intimidation flourished. As such and because the people did not vote the leaders, they are often reluctant to ask questions on the government policies knowing that the leaders would not even respond to them because they had sold their consciences ab initio.

Intangible Promises by the Politicians

Some of the participants (P-002, 004, 005) observed that due to the intangible promises often made by politicians to the electorates the citizens find it difficult to hold them accountable. This implies that politicians only make pronouncements on the campaign grounds without any written document that the people can use to hold these leaders accountable for their campaign promises.

Figure 9

Participants' Views during the Interviews on Why Intangible Promises by the Politicians is a reason why they are hardly held Accountable



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

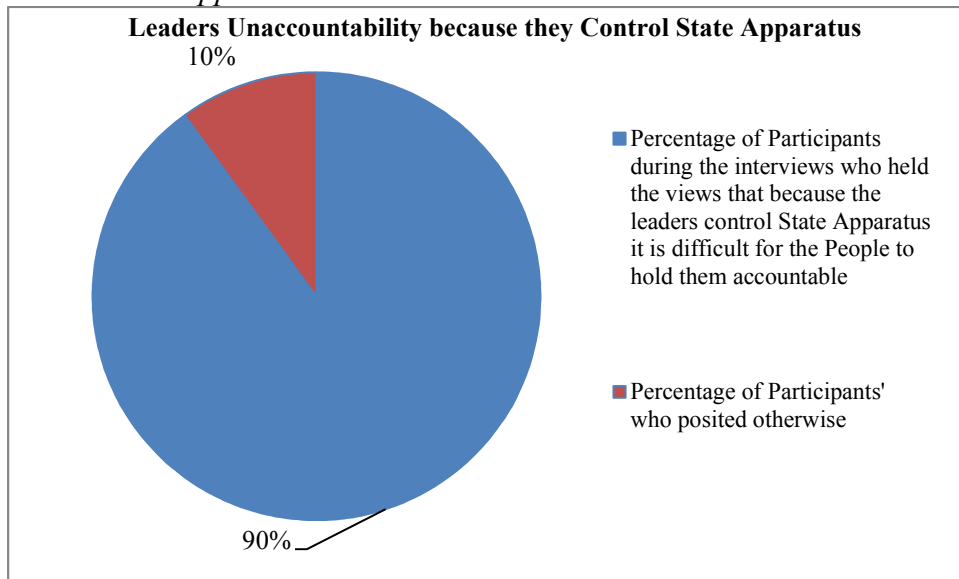
As shown in Figure 9, 60% of participants believed that campaign promises that politicians made were intangible while 40% of Participants interviewed opined that the campaign promises were always tangible. In view of this, Participant 034 suggested that if a leader wants to be a senator from a particular state he must have in his manifesto what he wants to do for the state in tangible terms. This way, the electorates can use the same manifestoes as instruments of holding the leader accountable should the leader be elected into political office and fail to deliver on his campaign promises. Otherwise, it is impossible for the followers to hold their leaders accountable for their campaign promises once elected into political offices.

The Leaders are Unaccountable because they Control State Apparatus

Figure 10 indicates the participants' views about why the electorates hardly hold their political leaders accountable. One reason given by the participants is that the leaders wield enormous powers while in positions of authority because they were not voted into these positions by the electorates. About 90% of participants interviewed as shown in figure 10 opined that the dictatorial nature of our political leaders is a reason why the followers cannot hold them accountable because they control all the state apparatus like the police, security services, anti-corruption agencies, and even the courts. Any attempts by the followers to challenge the excesses or failures of these leaders are usually met with swift reprisal as the leaders will normally unleash the venom of the security apparatus on them. For this reason, the followers see themselves as lacking the capacity to hold their leaders accountable for their actions and inactions while in positions of authority. According to Figure 10, only about 10% of participants shared contrary opinions.

Figure 10

Participants' Views during the Interviews on Leaders' Unaccountability because they control State Apparatus



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

Participant 004 succinctly opined that if the thief is in control to whom are you reporting? Who is going to prosecute the thief? Who is going to judge the thief? The citizens have been made helpless by the situation where all the three arms of government are under the control of the executive – the same government officials that you are trying to make accountable are the same ones who are controlling these institutions. In view of this Abe and Adetoye (2014) observed that in Nigeria there is complete absence of transparent and accountable leadership. This is because a government is accountable when its leaders (both elected and appointed) are responsive to the demands of the governed. Also, respect for the rule of law, and an independent judiciary constitute key mechanisms for enforcing accountability in public offices.

However, Egbefo (2015) lamented that unfortunately after many years of independence, “Nigeria is still grappling with problems of development such as bad roads, decaying or inadequate infrastructures, environmental pollution, lack of accountability, corruption, and bad governance” (p.3). Indeed, Uchem (2012) posited that “government and its agencies therefore could be seen as ‘the peoples’ servant’ and questions such as ‘why’ and ‘how’ certain things happen the way they do are brought to bear as very critical issues of collective national interest” (p.8). It therefore behooves on the government as the representatives of the people to show some sense of accountability in its affairs. Unfortunately, this has not been the case in Nigeria because of the improper and unethical processes through which the leaders ascend to positions of power.

Poverty and Ignorance

As shown in Figure 11, poverty and ignorance have been identified by about 95% of Participants as other reasons why the citizens hardly hold their leaders accountable. This was corroborated by Participant 008 who asserted that “poverty and ignorance are the tools that corrupt leaders use in making it difficult for the citizens to keep them accountable. No wonder therefore that Nigeria is regarded as the poverty capital of the world”. Where the citizens are ravaged by poverty, they can easily remain silent over issues that matter when given little tokens or stipends to buy their consciences and keep their mouths shut by the political leaders. Hence, the leaders often leverage on the poverty level of the people in Nigeria to do what pleases them.

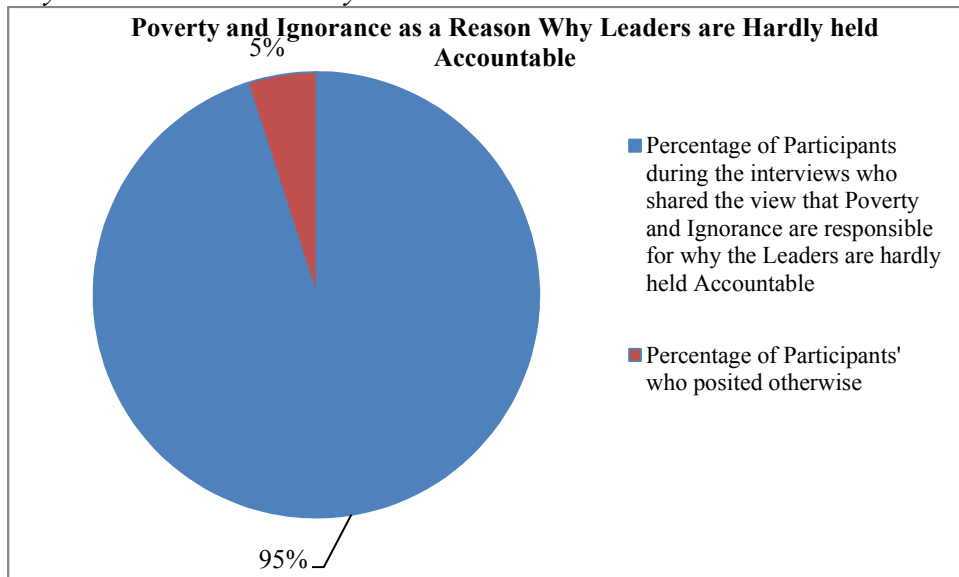
Furthermore, because of the poor state of education resulting in the level of ignorance of the electorates, the citizens are not even aware of their rights. Therefore,

lack of the knowledge of the power they possess makes it difficult for them to attempt to hold their leaders accountable. In fact, they do not even know what it means to hold the leaders accountable. This is contrary to what is obtainable in societies with high literate populations.

For example, Thompson et al. (2017) in their research found out that for 12 countries (Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the UK, and the USA), political parties and politicians fulfill their promises to voters to a considerable extent due to the high level of literate population and higher economic power that they have. Therefore, one can confidently say that the issue of poverty and illiteracy in Nigeria are deliberate schemes by the political leaders to keep the followers helpless in holding them accountable. This explains why Participant 017 alluded that in northern Nigeria, the leaders know the importance of education for their children. As such, they send their children to good schools within Nigeria and abroad. But 95% of the citizens, particularly children of the poor in northern Nigeria are deliberately kept out of school in what they call *Almajiri System*. This culture keeps the citizens perpetually repressed and deprived. This explains why only 5% of the participants as seen in figure 11 were against the poverty and ignorance narrative

Figure 11

Participants' Views during the Interviews on why Poverty and Ignorance are the Reasons why the Leaders are hardly held Accountable



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

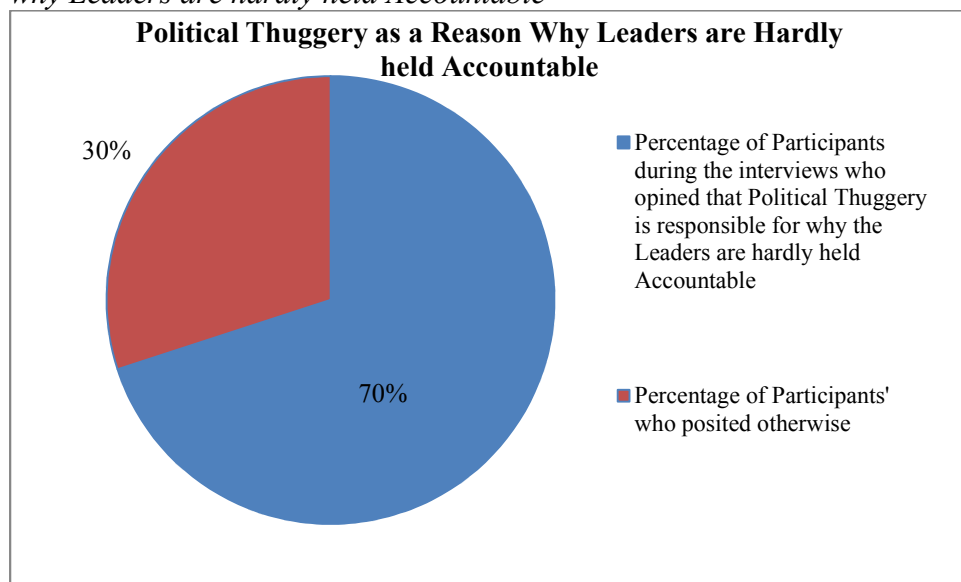
Political Thuggery

As shown in Figure 12, about 70% of the participants and some scholars (Moghalu, 2017; Olalere, 2012; Mboup, 2008) in this research effort have come to term with the facts that the state of insecurity in many parts of Nigeria can best be described as alarming, spiraling and worrisome. I share this opinion because it comes on the heels of widespread kidnapping, armed banditry, marauding herdsmen activities besides the ongoing fight against Boko Haram insurgency in the North East. This state of insecurity has in no small way impacted negatively on the socio-economic and political climate of Nigeria. According to Participants 026 and 028, the insecurity environment has no doubt created mistrust among the people such that it has bred problems of ethno-religious, nepotistic culture, and social disharmony that has continued to give rise to ethnic and

religious cleavages. I do not only share the views of these participants but equally opine that this has consequently opened up Nigeria for leadership along these phenomenological divides.

Figure 12

Participants' Views during the Interviews on why Political Thuggery is responsible for why Leaders are hardly held Accountable



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

It is a surprise that up to 30% of participants interviewed disagreed with the majority who opined that political thuggery is a major influence on political instability in the country. This is because many scholars (Moghalu, 2017; Olalere, 2012; Mboup, 2008) on African and Nigerian politics have written so much and a lot have been demonstrated to the knowledge of an average Nigerian during many of the elections about how political thuggery had contributed into violent extremism during most of Nigeria's electoral processes. However, as explained in chapter 4, the 70% gave a good account of their agreement with their belief that political thuggery if stemmed from

Nigerian political space, would have changed the landscape of politics in Nigeria for better.

Participant 026 also concurred with the political thuggery theory and opined that to properly situate what constitutes the current menace of insecurity in some states of the federation would clearly show that before now, the mismanagement of what used to be state sponsored and supported quasi-security outfits populated mainly by political thugs of government in power has now snowballed into security threats of different magnitudes. These threats as presently manifested range from coordinated banditry, kidnapping for ransom, formation of criminal gangs, criminal cells and rings, and as it is now in the North East, a full-blown conflict between an insurgency group (Boko Haram) and the Armed Forces of Nigeria. These thugs are instruments of coercion in the hands of their leaders. And their immediate victims are usually the leaders' followers. This is one of the reasons why communications breakdown between those followers and the leaders resulting in unbreachable gaps in some cases thereby creating breakdown in trust networks among these followers and their leaders.

In concurring with these participants, the researcher believes that it is noteworthy that in Nigeria both pre- and post- electioneering processes come with increased spate of insecurity challenges giving rise to the direct correlation and testament to the fact that state and non-state actors play tacit roles in scaling up insecurity through their sponsorship of armed groups. This is on the strength of the fact that those armed with weapons but without political patronage have something to fight back with in their quest for share of the 'national cake'. Examples abound where some of these political thugs

turned their guns against their political masters who abandoned them after they have been voted into power. For those leaders who are able to absorb these uneducated and violent thugs into their governance like participants (P-015, 026, 028) observed in Lagos, Kogi, and a few other states, lived to regret it because the thugs continued to widen the gaps between them and their followers, thereby, engendering breakdown in the trust networks between them. Those leaders who on the other hand abandoned their thugs on assuming positions of leadership were visited with violence by these thugs. The fact therefore is that our leaders will also loose when they engage themselves in political thuggery. Any which way, they must loose. Therefore, what is obtainable in these states and Nigeria as a whole today could be adduced to the above situation which is a major cause of breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and their followers.

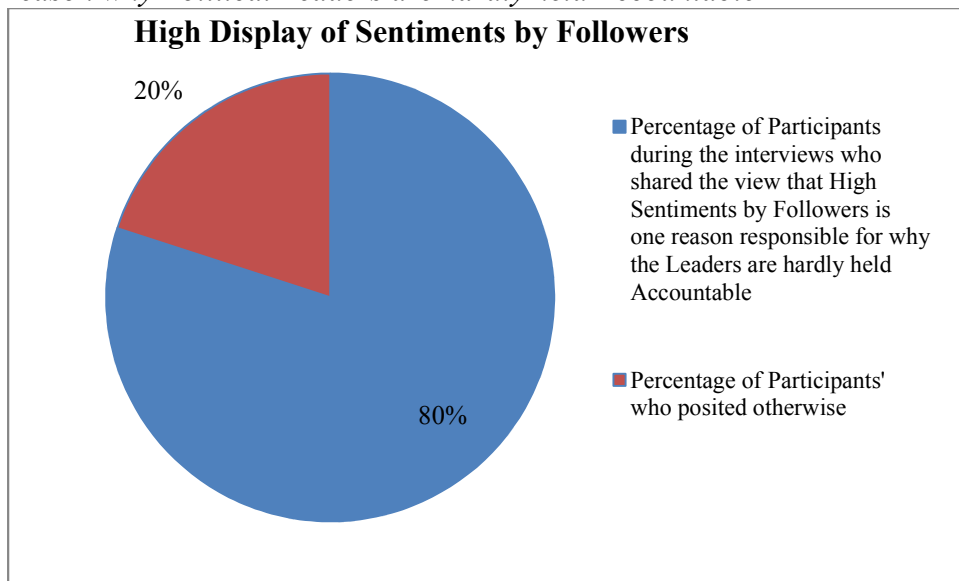
High Display of Sentiments by the Followers

Figure 13 shows that 80% of participants believed that display of sentiments by followers through tribalism, sectionalism, ethno-religious sentiments, and nepotism makes it difficult for them to hold their leaders accountable to their campaign promises. This percentage reflects the fact that irrespective of the level of incompetence and corruption of a leader, citizens from a leader's extraction will always support the leader's activities no matter how bad. In fact according to Participant 019 anything such leaders do is acceptable. Because of these sentiments held by the leaders' constituency, any attempt by others to hold such leaders accountable will be seen by people from their community, religion, ethnic group, and even geopolitical zone as an attempt to deprive or

demean the character of one of their own. This will be met with stiff resistance by their followers.

Figure 13

Participants' Views during Interviews on High Display of Sentiments by Followers as a reason why Political Leaders are hardly held Accountable



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

No wonder therefore, Participant 005 opined that if for instance, the President is from the South West, his people will agitate that he must complete two terms of 4 years each in office. This is usually how the foundation of nepotism is laid. Consequently, whether or not the leader's performance is commendable, the people from the ethnic extraction will continue to agitate for such leader to continue in perpetual leadership. It is therefore not a surprise that 20% of participants are strongly against this high display of sentiments by the followers in support of their political leaders.

In some cases, the constitutional two-term leadership protocol have been known to be stepped-aside because the leader and the people from the leader's ethnic extraction

want the leader to serve the third term or even perpetuate themselves in power – an act that grossly violates the Nigerian Constitution. The best standard practice in good democracies all over the world and in consonance with the Constitution and the rule of law is for elected leaders' re-election be hinged on their performances while in the office. Of course, it is a constitutional matter that the Nigeria political process gives room to a maximum of two terms of 4 years per term in office. There is no legal consideration for third term and beyond. Unfortunately, the reverse is often the case in most African nations, particularly in Nigeria, where ethno-religious and nepotistic factors determine such things.

Corroborating this view, Mbah, Nwangwu, and Ugwu (2019) in their study on contentious, political exclusion, and challenges of national integration in Nigeria, argued that religion, ethnicity, and nepotism shape the pre-and the post-election periods in Nigeria. That also results in divisions between ethnic groups associated with the incumbent regime and other ethnic groups. This often triggers widespread inter-group mistrust and insecurity which have resulted into post – election appointments along primordial lines like religion, region, and ethnicity. Consequently, political inclusion and national integration have become elusive.

Discussion on Participants' Responses to Research Question 3

Research Question 3 seeks to explore the impact of unfulfilled promises on the confidence of electorates in their leaders. It also seeks to unveil the consequences of the unfulfilled promises that will result in leadership crisis in Nigeria. In essence, unfulfilled promises and the issue of accountability in public office are intertwined because the

leaders' inability to fulfill their campaign promises to the electorates will deter the electorates from holding them accountable. Consequently, some of the participants opined and the researcher shared their thoughts that unfulfilled campaign promises usually precede the different political problems and instability in the country.

Furthermore, the outcome of the interviews and opinions of the participants in the interview process revealed how leadership problems in Nigeria are born out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is possible by their various political parties. The arguments many of those interviewed presented include – *Lack of clear manifestoes by political parties*, and *Corruption and poor implementation of promises by politicians*. Each of these will be discussed hereafter.

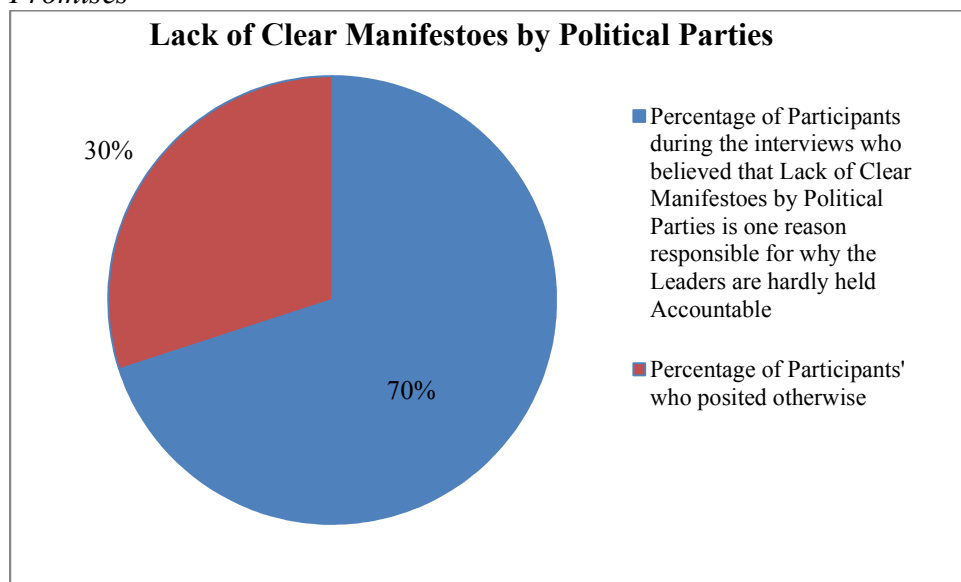
Lack of Clear Manifestoes by Political Parties

As shown in Figure 14, leadership crises are often caused by the failure of the politicians to fulfill their campaign promises. This was corroborated by 70% of participants interviewed. According to them, the politicians simply make campaign promises outside the realms of the party manifestoes. This is possible because political parties in Nigeria lack clear and well-articulated manifestoes that are binding on members contesting elections under their platforms. In this situation, instead of campaigning in line with their party manifestoes, the politicians often go about making blanket promises to the electorates. Because the promises they make are not tied to the party manifestoes, they can easily deny or deliberately refuse to fulfill such promises they made during campaigns. Consequently, when the electorate becomes aggrieved and frustrated over the failure of the leaders to execute the promises they made during campaigns, the end result

is frustration in form of aggression, violently attacking the leaders and their allies, or through all forms of propaganda. In view of this, some participants (P-001, 004) posited that for leadership problems in Nigeria to be reduced to the barest minimum at all levels of governance, it is expedient for political parties to make their manifestoes available to the electorates.

Figure 14

Participants' Views during the Interviews on Lack of Clear Manifestoes by Political Parties as one reason responsible for the Leaders' inability to fulfill their Campaign Promises



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

As again seen in figure 14, sizable percentage – 30% of the participants were against the notion that lack of clear manifestoes by political parties often result in leadership crisis. What this suggests is that the participants believed there are more important things than the manifestoes. I share the views of the 70% participants who believed that manifestoes by political leaders are critical to all successful electoral

processes because the content of the manifestoes dictate an understanding between the electorate and the political actors. It is appropriate in the researcher's views that the electorates must know what is in the process for them in order for them to surrender their mandates to their leaders of choice. Furthermore, all promises that the contestants will make to the electorates must be tied to the party manifestoes as this will serve as a legitimate document upon which the leaders can be held accountable by the electorates.

Participant 001 lamented over this issue by stating that the manifestoes of political parties are supposed to be in school libraries. They are also supposed to be distributed at the campaign rallies. But where are the manifestoes? The simple answer to this is that, they do not exist. Unfortunately, the leaders make rosy campaign promises, but when the time comes for their actualization they usually renege on their promises because they hardly circulate their manifestoes when and where they have, among the followers. Furthermore, this study found out that the forgoing problem in our politics is further ignited by the electoral system itself. Therefore, because our electoral system fails to make provisions for independent candidature, the electorates are left with no option but to vote individuals along the available political party lines, even when they lack manifestoes and concrete ideologies.

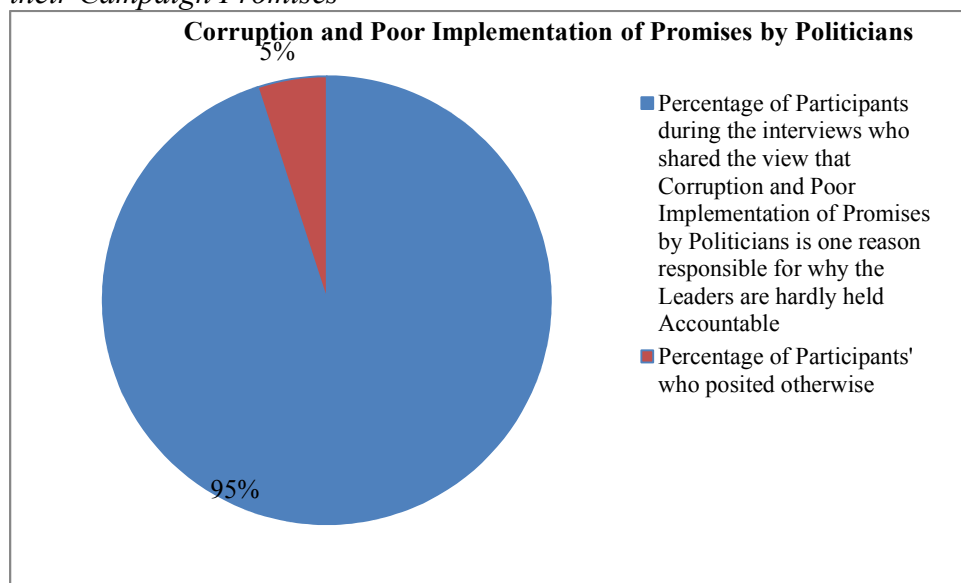
Corruption and Poor Implementation of Promises by Politicians

Another way the study shows through which leadership problems in Nigeria are borne out of the failure of leaders to align their campaign promises with what is possible is through corruption. This usually manifests when some politicians have the willpower to fulfill their campaign promises, but due to the corruption in the system, they prefer to

renege from fulfilling those promises. For this reason, the tendency for different political problems in the country may manifest quickly.

Figure 15

Participants' Views during the Interviews on Corruption and Poor Implementation of Promises by Politicians as one reason Responsible for the Leaders' Inability to Fulfill their Campaign Promises



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

As represented in Figure 15, about 95% of participants interviewed agreed that corruption and poor implementation of promises by politicians are responsible for the breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and the led. For example, Participant 005 observed that when President Obasanjo came into office in 1999, he was determined to bring stability in the power supply. However, despite injecting enormous funds into the power sector, little improvement was noticed. This was due to sabotage by both government workers and power contractors. Nigerians were therefore, not disappointed

because the president did not have the political willpower to effect the necessary changes in the power sector, but because of the monumental corruption in the system.

Consequently, the power projects collapsed and a lot of money went down the drain. In this case, it is not that leadership under the president were the major culprits, but the corruption in the system makes the entire effort of the government futile and fruitless. Similarly, Participant 011 further observed that “before 2015 under President Jonathan, the fight against Boko Haram insurgency was capably and effectively contained at its initial stages. There was nothing that the security hierarchy asked for that they were not given.” However, the resources ended up in wrong hands who failed to commit them into the fight against the insurgency in the country. Because of this, the insurgency has not only claimed uncountable lives of innocent Nigerians and military personnel but it has also metamorphosed to a level that the nation’s well trained military cannot contain anymore.

Discussion on Participants’ Responses to Research Question 4

Most participants (P-003; P-004; P-015; P-024) and some scholars (Egwemi, 2012; Ochulor, 2011; Olalere, 2015) observed that political leaders often detach themselves from the electorates soon as they win elections into public offices. This has often led to breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and the led. Consequently, two things that the research question sought to address were:

1. Total detachment [of political leaders from their followers]; and
2. Socio-political crises

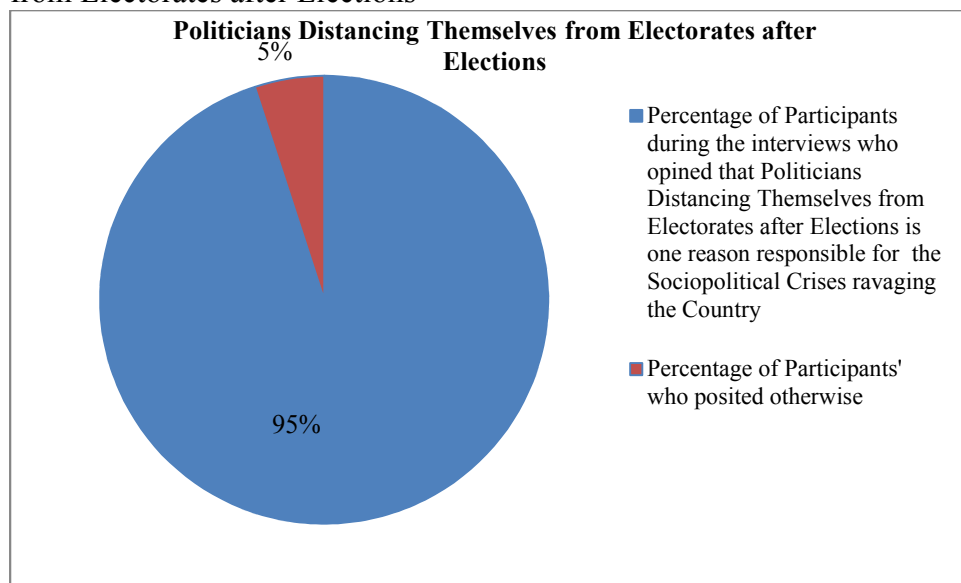
To achieve this, two major issues – *Political leaders distancing themselves from the electorates after elections* and *Causes of Leadership crisis in Nigeria*, were analyzed. The result of the analysis will form the next discussions.

Political Leaders Distancing themselves from the Electorates after Elections

As Figure 16 shows, 95% of participants believed that politicians often distance themselves from electorates after elections through lack of consultation, visitations, and denial of access to them by the leaders. 5% only spoke otherwise. However, since the majority of participants believed that politicians generally distance themselves from electorates after elections, the researcher saw this attitude as being often associated with those leaders who come to power through dubious means that make it difficult to hold them accountable. They often disconnect from the electorates completely.

Figure 16

Participants' Views during the Interviews on Why Political Leaders Distance Themselves from Electorates after Elections



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

Participant 004 recalled that when he worked with a former political office holder in the country the doors to the political office holder were always shut against the public. The participant believed that this is a bad precedence in leadership and attributed the behavior of such leaders to a colonial legacy where people in government are deliberately made inaccessible. The participant believed that one of the reasons why people in government houses are out of touch with the electorate is because there is an ephemeral wall erected to sever them completely from the public. As a consequence of our colonial inheritance here in Nigeria, the colonial masters had no interest in being accessible to the public, so they came up with structures to cut off access. When the military came to power, they were not in the business of interacting with the public anyhow, so they further reinforced these barriers and barricades. Unfortunately, successive civilian administrations failed to interrogate the practice they met on ground, so they assumed it was prestigious to be inaccessible. In the researcher's opinion, inaccessibility is a foundation for lack of accountability.

There are people who opined that government cannot spend the whole day attending to the public but nobody is saying that should be the case. Rather, that is where the management of access comes in and there is a difference between derived access and managing access. The management of access is supposed to be such that practically everyone who needs to have access is granted access, and yet it is in a controlled manner- there is a time for people in authority to interact with the public, and to receive them. On the other hand, Derived Access in the researcher's view refers to the authorized access granted to personnel who work in the Presidency or Government Houses.

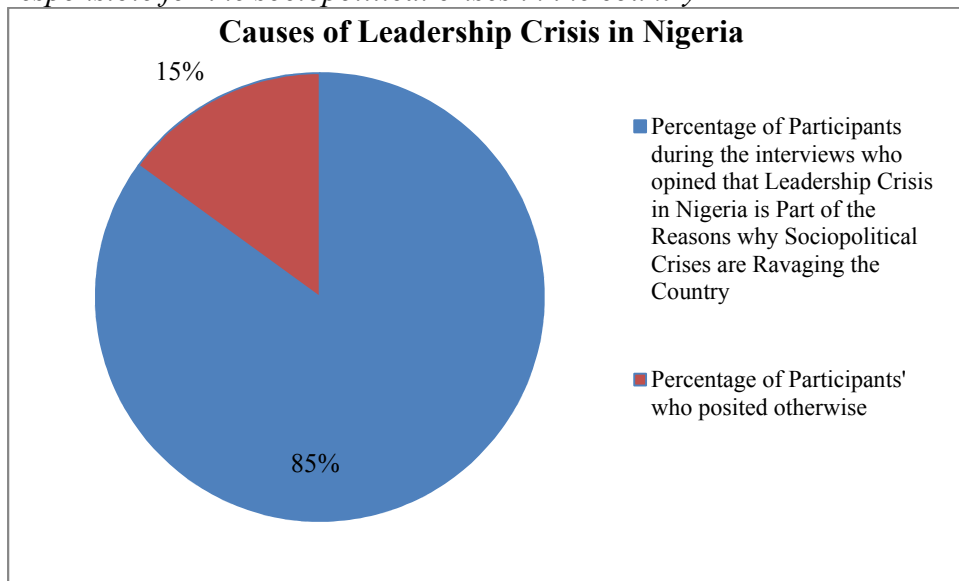
The issue of accessibility is part of why Nigeria had to pass into law the freedom of information bill (FOI). In spite of the FOI, when questions are asked on or requested for information from those in power who should be well informed, nobody will provide answers because even the government officials who divulge official *secret* are treated as traitors and saboteurs. The consequence is that they may be sanctioned or outrightly lose their jobs. Therefore, the FOI bill has been signed into law without it been executed. For example, people are yet to be asking questions about the value we get for public money we spend. Until we get to this stage therefore, the relationship between the leaders and the led will continue to remain frosty.

Causes of Leadership Crisis in Nigeria

Figure 17 indicates that about 85% of participants were unanimous in their responses and acknowledged that the fault lines in governance in Africa and Nigeria in particular have been closely associated with leadership failure. Some participants (P-) identified corruption, maladministration, the prolonged incursion into politics by the military and incompetent leadership demonstrated by the civilians as some of the fault lines in governance. Within the Nigerian context, for example, Arowolo and Aluko (2012) further emphasized that after the demise of military dictatorship and a representative democracy was enthroned in 1999 in Nigeria, the citizenry expected that better governance that would engender transformational change would emerge. In contrast, the reality turned out to be that the Nigeria democratic arrangement only serves the interests of a few powerful people rather than the majority of the people.

Figure 17

Participants' Views during the Interviews on Causes of Leadership Crisis in Nigeria as responsible for the sociopolitical crises in the country'



Note. Source: Researcher Generated

While the researcher may wish to distance his views from the 15% percentage who associated with the fact that leadership crisis in Nigeria is not a major cause why political leaders often detach themselves from the electorates soon as they win elections into public offices it is expected that some participants will have departing views from the majority 85% who thought otherwise. One may however reason that if leadership crises were non-existent in Nigeria, there would not have been the problem of leaders detaching themselves from those they lead in the first place. Furthermore, the breakdown in trust networks between the leaders and the followers would also not have brought about the gap between the electorates and their political leaders as asserted by over 80% of the participants.

One may ask if these leadership problems could be borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is possible by their various political parties' manifestoes? Or could it be because when elected into office, leaders in most African states are hardly held accountable for the campaign promises they make? Olalere (2015) tries to proffer answers to these questions by suggesting that even though the leaders especially in Nigeria often fail to align their campaign promises with their parties' manifestoes, yet there is a consensus on what is considered the most important solution to the country's socioeconomic and political crises – “problems of state legitimacy resulting in weak political systems, poor management, and leadership abuse of power” (p. 181).

In concurring, Participant 004 opined that the electoral laws do not make provisions for independent candidates. This means that the electorates are left with limited choices among the core political parties' candidates. The candidates are expected to be products of political parties and should be able to have visions and evolve plans to execute the derived missions from their visions even if their parties lack vision, ideologies, values, or cardinal agenda. So this becomes a situation where parties are mere vehicles for selecting candidates who usually buy the party ticket with money, not based on vision or ideology. A party that is not ideological, and devoid of simple, easy to understand, and memorable manifesto to the teeming illiterate followers, cannot successfully educate and guide their candidates to avoid making dubious promises such as building roads, widening the existing river, making fish to increase in the ocean, and building helipads in the sky.

Based on the arguments of some of the literature reviewed and supported by participants' views and opinions, the genesis of the leadership crisis in Nigeria among others, therefore, may arguably be traced to the failed campaign promises leaders make before being elected into political offices on what they will do to transform their society and nation. Consequently, it has been shown from participants responses that even when elected into public offices, and the leaders become aware of the reality of the situation on ground, they often realize the difficulties in actualizing the lofty campaign promises they made to the electorates. As Participant 008 opined, some of the reasons adduced for these are poverty and ignorance which are the tools that corrupt leaders use in making it difficult for the citizens to keep them accountable.

That is why the researcher believed that there is widespread poverty in the land. It is a deliberate ploy by the political leaders. For instance, in northern Nigeria, the elites know the importance of education for their children and as such they send their children to good schools within and outside Nigeria. But 95% of the citizens are poor and cannot afford sponsoring their children to most high standard schools in Nigeria, talk less of any thought of overseas schools. In particular, the children of the poor in northern Nigeria are deliberately kept out of school in what they call *Almajiri System* – a system the wealthy exploits to keep the children of the poor out of education so they can remain subservient to their whims and caprices.

There have also been some schools of thought (Anazodo, 2015; Nwagboso & Duke, 2012), which assert that the failure to fulfill these promises could also be because they have ulterior motives and personal interests for vying for political leadership

positions. They premise their argument on the assumption that these leaders purposely vie for leadership positions with purely a mindset of coming to power to corruptly enrich themselves through looting of public treasury for selfish interest (Egwemi, p.74), and not necessarily to deliver the desired promises to the electorates. Clearly, this is what Participant 004 referred to as endemic corruption in the public service arena. According to the Participant this explains why there seems to be a scramble to see who steals the most when these leaders get into public offices. The managers in the public sense are technocrats and civil servants. However, the political leaders are supposed to be the men of vision, men of great ideas, the men who will give a sense of direction to the nation, while the managers are the ones who are supposed to implement and execute on those ideas.

Other political commentators (Ochulor, 2011; Lawal & Johnson, 2012), further opined that their failure to fulfill their pre-election promises can be arguably premised on the belief that they have some personal agenda such as coming to fulfill some ethnic, religious, or expansionist ambitions. This was also supported by Participant 012 who opined that there are reasons to believe that a host of leaders in Nigeria are more skewed to tribal, ethno-religious, and nepotistic tendencies. They are also shamefully engrossed in an egoistic display of ignorance of the tenets of leadership. A leader who is nepotistic cannot lead everybody and cannot contribute to the growth of everybody.

While Participants 025 and 032 berate these egoistic and nepotistic leaders, other scholars of politics (Moghalu, 2017; Okoye, 2013) shared their views on the subject matter and opined that these leaders are inadequately equipped professionally,

academically, and morally enough to understand the concept and demands of leadership. If not, they wonder why African leaders, particularly those in Nigeria, most often delink themselves from their political followers, and also renege on the promises they make while wooing the electorates. This may also arguably be the reason why most of the followers get frustrated and subsequently lose confidence in their leaders – giving room for social disobedience, and other serious insecurity challenges that most often consume both leaders and the led. The leadership selection and recruitment processes which Participant 001 faulted as skewed is responsible for this scenario. Also, the Intelligence Quotient (IQ) of some of the world leaders is public knowledge as Participant 032 observed. Therefore, in the pursuit of good leadership in some parts of the world in contrast to our own, the intelligence quotients (IQ) of would-be leaders are public knowledge to those they will lead. That is to say there is no leader whose mental and physical states of health are not public knowledge. There is therefore, no leader through this process who does not pass through some kind of rigorous mental, physical, ethical, and moral interrogation or assessments to determine the level of such leader's competence and capacity to add value to the lot of the followers.

Limitations of the Study

Wargo (2015) opined that the limitation of a study revolves around areas in research work where the researcher has little or no control over. These areas include sample size, time for the completion of the study, issues relating to methodological constraints, and the rate of response. My distant knowledge and what I have read about the participants constituted a limitation to the quality of information elicited from them

during the interviews. This is because in some cases, participants gave superficial or over exaggerated responses which may not necessarily confirm what I the researcher have read and known about them. Furthermore, because some of the participants were elderly, their recollection of events, feelings, and situations of the past were a bit distorted thereby constituting a great limitation to the research work.

Time constraint especially during data collection stage was another limitation. It is worth noting that most of the research participants for this work were individuals who are political leaders or have occupied political leadership positions in Nigeria in time past. Therefore, getting concrete information from the participants' (present and former leaders in Nigeria and their followers') experiences of the phenomenon of study (leadership crisis), was also a limiting factor because of the pedigree and profile of these people. This is because gaining access to them at the appropriate time for interviews to be conducted took longer than expected. In some cases they had to stop abruptly in the middle of some ongoing interviews only to reschedule for other times to enable the interviewees attend to other matters of national importance requiring their urgent and immediate attention.

Another limitation was the fact that some of the past leaders are ageing. Hence, they were either not able to sit down for long periods of time or their attention spans were very short. Some of them who in spite of their fragile health occasioned by old age who still showed interest would sometimes have to reschedule for the interview to be concluded at other more convenient times for them.

After the first cycle coding, it was a bit problematic achieving data saturation early because of the number of themes that eventually emerged. As a result, the researcher had to proceed to the second cycle coding before achieving data saturation. This applied to all the four research questions. Consequently, this became a limitation because of the recurring patterns and themes which required that the researcher revisited the primary data thoroughly before attaining data saturation. Recruiting the proposed population demography was another limitation, especially while reaching out to teachers, students, female participants, artisans (labourers, commercial drivers, bricklayers, petty traders, market women, farmers, mechanics, carpenters, tailors, and others.). Other limitations involved logistics, finances, and security challenges as travelling from one location to another especially by road in Nigeria can be most challenging because of bad roads, kidnapping, armed robbery, or even insurgency attacks.

Recommendations

It is expedient to deduce from the results of the study that Nigeria needs a transformational leader who will provide effective leadership devoid of ethno-religious, nepotistic, tribalistic, class and caste sentiments for the country. Such transformational leader is expected to bring his or herself to the level of the followers in order to build confidence, trust, and credibility. This is long overdue because the closer you are to those you are leading the more there will be mutual understanding. An effective leader is a leader who leads by example, close interaction, and understanding of those the leader leads. However, most participants believed that such a leader can only emanate from ethical leadership selection and recruitment processes. Furthermore, the study classified

the research findings into immediate, medium-term, and long-term recommendations.

Further discussion and recommendations will therefore be along these three premises.

Immediate Recommendations

Two major items will form the subject of interest under the immediate recommendations.

They include - *Mentoring and Development of Effective Leadership Selection and Recruitment Processes*. These two will hereafter be discussed.

Mentoring:

Some participants clarified that there is nothing wrong with mentoring, but when you mentor for selfish reasons then it is problematic. It should be understood that the purpose of mentoring is to enable those mentored to be able to make some progressive inputs. That way the followers will discover that they also possess leadership qualities. Conceptually, mentoring is *an individual, intimate process* (Branden, 2013, p.4), involving intense face-to-face support, advising, and educating of the mentee by the mentor. Mentoring in leadership principally aims at developing the leader's organizational skills (Smith, 2013). Although Clayton et al. (2013) identify the critical role that mentoring plays in leadership development as a process of developing the best practices in individuals, yet what is of particular interest here is Branden's 'stages of mentoring' which start with *trust building stage, continuing stage, and exploring possibilities stage* (p.6). The trust building stage which suggests that mentoring can be viewed as a trust building mechanism between leaders and their followers is the focus of this recommendation.

In his view, Participant 004 believed that trust building stage of mentoring provides opportunities for training leaders starting from their youths. However, the participant further posited that the Nigeria leadership climate is replete with leaders who emerge without adequate preparation, adequate exposure, and adequate mentoring. No wonder then that such leaders end up performing poorly in offices. Therefore, a leader who is prepared to succeed in office must be mentored to suit the leadership role prepared for him or her. In his contribution to the discussion, Participant 012 admitted that Nigeria previously had generic approaches to grooming leaders particularly at the trust building stage. For example, first generation universities like the University of Ibadan in Oyo State, Southwest Nigeria, in those days, had leadership grooming and mentoring in their curriculum. The result of which is that if you read History, you will also learn a little bit of other disciplines like Banking, or Journalism. When you graduate from the university, the expectation is that you should be capably able to lead a newspaper, a bank, or any organization. In those days, the education was holistic and as such we should also have holistic leadership recruitment processes. At the same time we should reorient the universities to specific areas of academic scholarship, by developing broad based curricula. We should also emphasize information and communication technology (ICT) in our universities so as to equip students with sound knowledge of the architecture, dynamics, and the mechatronics of computer hardware and software. This is the best way trusts are built in leaders which enables trust networks to be strong between the leaders and their followers.

Another leadership mentoring recommendation is for the elderly or older leaders to mentor the emerging young crop of leaders. Through this trust building mentorship, Participant 012 believed that older leaders in Nigeria can groom the younger ones and thereafter pick their successors from the best. Therefore, for leadership in Nigeria to develop with little crisis, trust building mentoring should be encouraged across all quarters. In his own contribution, Participant 002 posited that the prerequisite for leadership trust building mentoring is patriotism, ethics, discipline, responsibility, dedication, loyalty, and sound principles. Once a leader is imbued with these qualities as the leader ages, it becomes natural to bequeath sound leadership skills and traits to the younger generation of leaders. For example, as Premier of Northern Nigeria, Sir Ahmadu Bello imbibed the spirit of leadership by trust building mentoring by selecting his staff not only from Sokoto (where he is the Sardauna) but from all parts of the then Northern Nigeria. Consequently, a late Chief Sunday Awoniyi who was from Kogi State in the Middle Belt area of Nigeria, and a Christian was selected and mentored by the Sardauna to eventually become his Personal Assistant and Secretary. This is evidence that Sardauna was not a provincial leader.

Trust Building Mentoring can be achieved through the establishment of National Institutions for Grooming Leaders. This was affirmed by Participant 030 who recommended that we need national institutions in the calibre of Harvard University in the USA for grooming leaders both at the private and government levels. We need national institutions and specific universities should be designated as leadership

universities. Unfortunately, apart from Nigerian Defence Academy (NDA) which is a military leadership university, there are no other leadership universities in Nigeria.

In view of the foregoing therefore, it is expedient to recommend that some universities in Nigeria be designated for leadership grooming, some for general knowledge, technical trainings, polytechnics or mono-technics, and others for general instructions. We should designate at least 10 percent of our universities to be leadership-oriented. With this done, graduates from our universities will become naturally prepared to assume leadership positions. It is also expedient that the various methods of trust building mentoring as discussed be vigorously pursued so that leadership development will be holistic.

Development of Effective Leadership Selection and Recruitment Processes:

To develop effective leadership selection and recruitment processes, it is expedient for Nigeria to start working towards the use of credible e-voting system with the capacity to perform tasks like all-inclusive systems of votes input, votes recording, data encryption, transmission of results to servers, consolidation, and tabulation of election results. All these should be conducted with a view to measuring up to established international best-practice standards. It was on the premise of failure of Nigeria to do this that Participant 012 faulted the leadership recruitment process and opined that “a nation that is focused and works towards development should have strategies, platforms, and procedures for leaders’ grooming and recruitment”.

Unfortunately, Nigeria is in gross short supply of leadership grooming and recruitment processes. Rather democratic processes are commonly set aside and other

forms of leadership recruitment styles like military coup d'états, election malpractices, ethnic and tribal leadership manipulations, and leadership recruitment through financial or nepotistic influences are encouraged. Consequently, recruitment of technocrats and trained leaders into leadership positions are given little or no attention in the polity.

Participant 004 further corroborated that the leadership selection process is faulty and opined that “faulty leadership recruitment and leadership succession processes always end up producing low quality leaders”. It is therefore evident that the foundation for Nigeria leadership crisis is in her faulty leadership selection process which in the present democratic system tilts heavily towards the nation’s bad electoral system.

Intermediate Recommendations

Two items will form the subject of interest under the intermediate recommendations - *Far reaching electoral reforms for faulty electoral processes* and *Poverty, ignorance, poor education, and intangible promises by politicians*. These will hereafter be discussed.

Far-Reaching Electoral Reforms for Faulty Electoral Processes:

In order to achieve international best practice electoral system to correct the faulty electoral processes, it is recommended that legislators at all levels of governance should work toward developing an electoral law capable of addressing the observed electoral lacuna so as to drastically stem all forms of electoral malpractices occasioned by existing faulty electoral law in the country. Coming up with a best standard electoral law will in no small way help to enhance Nigeria’s electoral system. Participant 006 shared this view and recommended that the Electoral Act in relation to electronic voting should be

carefully thought through. To achieve this, examples of electoral acts in other developed world democracies should be studied to see where they have worked, their advantages, and disadvantages to the electoral processes of these democracies. This will inform the adoption of an Electoral Act capable of delivering successful elections in a nation like Nigeria with diverse socio-cultural tendencies.

Poverty, Ignorance, Poor Education, and Intangible Promises by Politicians

According to Figure 8, not less than 60% of the participants (P-002, 004, 005, in particular) observed that due to the intangible promises often made by politicians to the electorates the citizens find it difficult to hold them accountable. This implies that politicians only make pronouncements on the campaign grounds without any written document that the people can use to hold these leaders accountable for their campaign promises. Furthermore, as seen in Figure 10, a whopping 95% of participants believed that poverty and ignorance are the tools that corrupt leaders use in making it difficult for the citizens to keep them accountable. Besides, most of the participants saw poor education of the electorate as another fault line in the electorate holding their leaders accountable.

It is consequently recommended that for the political climate to change, both the leader and the led must be educated and because majority of the electorate are already outside the school age limits government can step in to organize adult education to create educational awareness among the people. Also, the academic quality in our primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions must be improved upon because right now even some of the graduates from the tertiary institutions can seldom prove their worth in the area of

their academic proficiencies. Poverty alleviation processes such as *Trader Moni*, *N-Power*, *You-Win*, *National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP)*, Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) financing, Agricultural Transformational Agenda, Anchor Borrowers Program and a host of other initiatives should be entrenched by government to reduce the poverty level of the electorate.

Government must make it a deliberate policy to discourage politicians making unfulfilled and intangible promises during campaign periods. To achieve this, government should ensure that the manifestoes of every party and political contenders are not only presented to the authorities for approval but also made available to the electorates. Government should also see to it that these manifestoes are available in school libraries, public places, and in any other arena where the common man can lay hands upon them. With this done, a lot would have been contributed to the improvement of the relationship between the leaders and those they lead. If and when this is achieved, breakdown in trust networks will no longer be a major concern in Nigerian politics.

Long-Term Recommendations

Three items will be considered under the Long-Term recommendations. They include – *Easier accessibility to political leaders by their followers*, *Stricter standards of accountability in public offices and governance*, and *Corruption, political thuggery and maladministration*. These will hereafter be discussed.

Easier Accessibility to Political Leaders by their Followers

Kettenhofen (2014) in agreeing with accessibility of political leaders by their followers, posited that leadership accessibility is a delicate balancing act. However,

leaders must learn to have some level of accessibility if they must be regarded as effective leaders. This is because in his view an effective leader is not just a figure head, whose picture they may see on a wall or website. An effective leader is one who gets to know the followers and is available to help overcome challenges, acknowledge their followers' effort, provide additional guidance when needed, and be the ultimate authority they turn to when they are challenged.

Although active leadership accessibility is difficult compared to passive leadership accessibility, yet Kettenhofen opined that with active accessibility, it is expected that the leader would purposively go out and seek out the followers, engaging them in conversations, and learning about what is going on in their communities. According to him, leaders who strive to achieve progress in their communities do not wait for the followers to initiate or schedule time to interact with their leaders. Rather, the standard best practice is for the leaders to initiate the schedule time to interact with the followers. Participant 004 joined the discuss by observing that: "before the USA 9/11 terrorist attack, the USA White House was accessible to the public through controlled access that was availed to the people so that they can see the white house as the peoples' house".

The outcome of the study agrees with Kettenhofen's position and established that the gap between the leaders and their followers has been the bane of crisis among the political parties. Furthermore, this has continued to engender crisis among them. The study has also shown that the breakdown in the trust networks between leaders and their followers is closely associated with inaccessibility to the leaders by the followers

particularly after elections. This according to the research work has been discovered to be responsible for why election promises made by the leaders are never kept. Consequently, if this trend must stop it is expedient that leaders should avail the followers some levels of accessibility before, during, and after elections.

Stricter Standards of Accountability in Public Offices and Governance

Johnson (2004) observed that public accountability is an essential component for the functioning of our political system, as accountability means that those who are charged with drafting and carrying out policies should be obliged to give an explanation of their actions to their electorates. Therefore, accountability in public office and governance must remain sacrosanct for Nigeria to overcome the leadership crisis that has held back the country's growth and development. Accountability within the Nigerian political system should cover Coker's (2010) groupings, which include; process based accountability and performance based accountability. Where in Coker's account Process-Based Accountability means the leaders' ongoing processes of decision making to reduce operational costs, and Performance-Based Accountability implies the measured institutional performance of leaders occupying public offices. In line with this therefore, it is expedient for the state to develop effective mechanisms for measuring, monitoring, and evaluating the performance of public officers with the hope of minimizing corruption to the barest minimum.

Concurring with Johnson and Coker's views, Participant 001 opined that the electorate should devise ways of holding their leaders accountable. One way they can do that is to write a petition that the leader is corrupt. For example, they can argue that he

gave a budget of N20million which did not translate into any form of project. As such, he should come back to the constituents to explain what has happened to the N20million.

The leaders themselves must have the ethics and morality of accountability aside from any electoral value they may have brought with them to the political office. There is no doubt that instances abound where certain non-democratic elements with no moral values and democratic ethics run our democracy, and the security apparatuses especially the police willingly become the instruments of such elements.

In order to ensure effective running of government and ensuring accountability in Nigeria, adequate structures need to be put in place, and systems and processes need to be developed to guide the operators of the structures and ensure strict compliance with them. This is one of the measures of ensuring accountability in the system and for promoting its integrity through the consistency of the application of rules and regulations in order to be able to predict actors and curtail the culture of impunity and arbitrariness in government (David, 2014). Consequently, the Participant 005 believed that if the leaders do not perform, then they should be changed. Since the electorates voted them to be accountable, therefore if they do not perform they should be changed. However, this can be made effective only by fine-tuning and making the electoral process work. Like in the legislative arm, there is a system of recall. If you send a senator or a member of the House of Representatives to the National Assembly, and after two years he has not performed optimally then you know he is not effective, you may initiate a recall process.

In view of this, Chidibele and Chinedu (n.d) also agreed with Participant 005 and opined that performance measurement is a valuable exercise in the Nigeria public sector

that will ensure some level of accountability because no public sector can afford to overlook the importance of clearly defining its objectives and priorities, assessing performance against well-defined benchmarks, and changing the bureaucratic cultures into one that stresses client service and achievement of results. This will involve the mandatory use of operational planning, performance evaluation, communication of goals to the citizens, and clear strategy formation for implementation of government projects. Furthermore, performance measurement should follow Armstrong's (2004) five guidelines, which include; relating measurement to results, the result must be with the job holder's control, the measure should be objective and observable, the data relating to the matter should be available, and adopting existing measures where possible.

Corruption, Political Thuggery, and Maladministration

Participant 032 believed that the followers' inability to hold their leaders accountable to their campaign promises is because of corruption, political thuggery, leadership selection processes, and maladministration by the leaders. According to the participant when people tell you about corruption, the charge of corruption on Nigeria as a country is protected and enshrined in our legal frameworks. By and large, one will assume that it is already a norm that maladministration has been entrenched in our legal frameworks. This is because according to some of the participants the judiciary more often than not glorifies corrupt practices and punishes ethical behaviors. Consequently, a cursory look at the structure of government and its recruitment processes it will then dawn on the society why only corrupt people can get into government positions.

Participant 024 added his own opinion to the discuss and clearly observed that corruption, maladministration, political thuggery, prolonged incursion of the military into Nigerian politics, and the incompetent leadership as demonstrated by the civilians are responsible for followers' inability to hold their leaders accountable for their campaign promises. According to the participant corruption has eaten deeply into the fabrics of every aspect of governance and it has actually destroyed the values we had, post-independence.

The issue of political thuggery has become a thorn in the flesh of the political process in Nigeria. This is evident from the fact that 70% of the participants as shown in Figure 11 are strongly in support of the fact that political thuggery plays very negative part in political development in the country. As a matter of fact, they agreed that the social unrest and political crises that always welcomed political process in Nigeria is the brain child of political thuggery in the country. According to Participants 026 and 028, political thuggery has no doubt created mistrust among the people such that it has bred problems of ethno-religious, nepotistic culture, and social disharmony that has continued to give rise to ethnic and religious cleavages.

To arrest the menace of political thuggery, the nation's electoral law and the criminal law should not only frown at it but take punitive measures to ensure the eradication of political thuggery in Nigeria. Such measures among others should include banning any form of political thuggery during our elections, giving types of punishments that will be legally meted to those involved in any act of thuggery in our laws, ensuring that the leaders who encourage thuggery are sanctioned by the law, and sanctioning the

political parties that encourage thuggery in their campaigns and other proceedings. It is also recommended that the anti-corruption agencies in Nigeria be reformed. These agencies should be given the authority to go after any person who is suspected of being corrupt without fear or favour. Enforcement agencies need to be equipped to enforce laws and be given the authority to prosecute anybody regardless of his or her position. It is further recommended that the enforcement agencies be frequently audited to expose all the bad officers who are corrupt, thus forcing a change to occur in these agencies and leaving the good officials in charge as agreed by David (2014).

Implications for Social Change

While the major findings and emergent themes of the study have been presented, analyzed, and discussed, it is expedient to ruminate over the impact the recommendations will have on public policy decision makers on leadership discuss in Nigeria. The results from the study have substantial implications for social change. One such implication is the suggestion that political leaders both executive and the legislators should lend support for the establishment of a comprehensive policy on our electoral processes. Such policy if implemented would aid in improving leadership behaviors among political leaders via implementation of standardized leadership education and training.

Studies of this nature have significant implications for social change such as informed programs and policies aimed at developing leadership skills for citizens (particularly those interested in occupying political leadership positions at all levels of government). Through this research, the study was able to validate the relationship between the nature of leadership behaviors among political leaders in Nigeria and the

leadership crises associated with Nigeria. Consequently, the social change implications directly inform the implementation of an all-inclusive leadership education policy that will aid in stemming the risks associated with bad leadership behaviors among political leaders.

The outcome of the study further recommended the enactment of effective processes of leadership recruitment and selection right from lower levels of education to the highest level in order to inculcate in the younger people what it takes to be good leaders. The practical application of the study's findings is the need to additionally discover the impacts of all-inclusive leadership education on the behaviors of political leaders in Nigeria. According to Burns (1978) TL essentially transforms leaders and followers by changing their thoughts and emotions towards the accomplishment of organizational goals. Consequently, transformational leaders, as visionary leaders, further instill organizational changes by facilitating innovation and learning and inspiring vision for the future (Ghasabeh et al., 2015).

In my view therefore, such traits and characteristics can be swayed by numerous factors including cultural, religious, political, socio-economic, and environmental factors. Therefore, leaders are products of the environment, and as such are highly influenced by factors in the environment. It is pertinent to note that the study has revealed salient issues regarding the relationship between leaders and followers in Nigeria and why there is often breakdown in trust networks between them. Consequently, part of the social change implication of the study is its focus at improving the leadership quality in Nigeria so as to minimize crises associated with leadership in the country. Thus, the outcome of the study

can engender socioeconomic and political development needed to enhance welfare of the citizens by discovering some of the leadership behaviors that are likely to bring about sustainable peace and prosperity.

Conclusion

The research was an exploratory study on the phenomenon of *Leadership Crisis in Africa: A Case Study of Nigeria* using a qualitative phenomenological approach. The purpose of the study was an investigation into the individual lived experiences of leadership crisis in Nigeria, as it concerns the relationship between the leaders and their followers, toward transformational change. At the outset and in a bid to aptly address the contending issues related to the phenomenon of interest, I asked the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the reasons for the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria? (Main research question). The sub questions include:

RQ2: What are some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?

RQ3: How are leadership problems in Nigeria borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is in their various political parties manifestoes?

RQ4: In what ways are political leaders in Nigeria totally detached from those they lead especially after elections, and how has this led to the socio-political crises ravaging the country today?

The phenomenological study involved 35 Participants (leaders/followers) categorized into six groups thus: A, B, C, D, E, and F. Participants in the study unanimously agreed that for us to understand the leadership crisis in Nigeria we must interrogate the faulty electoral laws operating in the country and the faulty leadership selection and recruitment processes. This trend has continued unabated because of the faulty electoral laws in use in the country. To mitigate against these occurrences the study recommended immediate, intermediate, and long-term solutions. Although most participants recommended transformational and autocratic leadership styles, mentoring, National Institutions for grooming leaders, effective leadership selection and recruitment processes, far-reaching electoral reforms, reorienting the followership, greater accessibility of leaders by followers, and stricter standards of accountability in public office/governance, yet each participant gave what they felt needs to be done to engender effective leadership in the country.

Simply put, the recommendations imply that mentoring and effective leadership selection and recruitment processes should be developed; campaign promises must be kept; party manifestoes should be circulated among the followers and electorates; a more functional and holistic Electoral Law should be enacted; the leaders should engender enhanced literacy and readability levels among their followers; poverty alleviation measures/social intervention schemes should be established; stricter measures of accountability should be demonstrated by the leaders through strengthening of public institutions so that occupying political offices should be seen as holding public trust. The study further recommended that accessibility of the people to public office holders should

be enhanced through managed access and derived access. In order to rebuild trust networks between the political leaders and their followers, religion, ethnicity, tribalism, nepotism, class and caste system, among others should be de-emphasized by the political leaders.

With that said, all participants agreed that Nigeria can become great again with the right leadership in power. This can only happen through effective leadership that is devoid of all the identified tenets of bad leadership. It therefore behooves on the leaders to work toward ensuring equity by rebuilding the trust networks with the followers. Consequently, it is expedient that future studies that will emanate from this research should explore more data in a bid to developing other frameworks and designs (such as quantitative methods) to further enhance the leadership architecture of Nigeria.

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Appendix A: Interview Questions

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS ON “LEADERSHIP CRISIS IN NIGERIA: A CASE
STUDY OF NIGERIA” – PECULIAR TO LEADERS

1. What is your take on the current electoral laws in Nigeria?
2. How do you think the electoral law can be reformed to address the existing electoral problems in Nigeria, if any?
3. What part in your view has the fault lines in the electoral laws played in encouraging the breakdown in trust networks between the electorates and their leaders?

Research Question 1: What are the reasons for the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria?

Leading Interview Questions for Research Question 1:

- What in your opinion contributes to the loss of trust networks of the followers toward their political leaders?
- How can the trust network level of the followers be improved upon by the leadership in Nigeria
- How can breakdown of trust networks between the followers and their leaders contribute to the leadership crisis in the country?

Research Question 2: What are some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?

Leading Interview Questions for Research Question 2:

- How can followers in Nigeria make their leaders accountable to their campaign promises?
- What do you consider to be responsible for the inability of the citizens to hold their leaders accountable for their campaign promises?
- To what extent can leadership in Nigeria be made effective if the followers learn to hold their leaders accountable for their campaign promises?

Research Question 3: How are leadership problems in Nigeria borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is possible by their various political parties?

Leading Interview Questions for Research Question 3:

- How can failure to fulfill campaign promises by leaders lead to leadership crisis in Nigeria?
- What are the factors responsible for fake campaign promises by politicians in Nigeria?

Research Question 4: In what ways are political leaders in Nigeria totally detached from those they lead especially after elections, and how has this led to the socio-political crises ravaging the country today?

Leading Interview Questions for Research Question 4:

- How do political leaders often distance themselves from the electorate after elections?

- What do you consider to be responsible for the widening gap between political leaders and the electorate especially after elections?
- How can this attitude of political leaders lead to ineffective leadership?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS ON “LEADERSHIP CRISIS IN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF NIGERIA” – PECULIAR TO FOLLOWERS

1. What is your take on the current electoral laws in Nigeria?
2. How do you think the electoral law can be reformed to address the existing electoral problems in Nigeria, if any?
3. What part in your view has the fault lines in the electoral laws played in encouraging the breakdown in trust networks between the electorates and their leaders?

RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

What are the reasons for the breakdown in trust networks between political leaders and their followers in Nigeria?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

- What in your opinion contributes to the loss of trust networks of the followers toward their political leaders?
- How can the trust network level of the followers be improved upon by the leadership in Nigeria

- How can breakdown of trust networks by the followers toward their leaders contribute to the leadership crisis in the country?
- What should Nigerian leaders do to regain the trust of their followers?

RESEARCH QUESTION 2:

What are some of the reasons why the leaders in Nigeria are hardly held accountable for the failure in fulfilling some of the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

- How can followers in Nigeria make their leaders accountable to their campaign promises?
- What do you consider to be responsible for the inability of the citizens to hold their leaders accountable for their campaign promises?
- What way(s) can the followers hold the political leaders accountable for the campaign promises they make during the pre-election period?

RESEARCH QUESTION 3:

How are leadership problems in Nigeria borne out of the failure of the leaders to align their campaign promises with what is possible by their various political parties?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

- How can failure to fulfill campaign promises by leaders lead to leadership crisis in Nigeria?

- What are the factors responsible for fake campaign promises by politicians in Nigeria?
- What are some of your expectations of the leadership class (political) in Nigeria especially after elections?

RESEARCH QUESTION 4:

In what ways are political leaders in Nigeria totally detached from those they lead especially after elections, and how has this led to the socio-political crises ravaging the country today?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

- How do political leaders often distance themselves from the electorate after elections?
- What do you consider to be responsible for the widening gap between political leaders and the electorate especially after elections?
- How can this attitude of the political leaders lead to ineffective leadership?
- How do political leaders totally detach themselves from those they lead especially after elections, and in what way(s) does it lead to leadership crisis in Nigeria?

Appendix B: Glossary of Acronyms

ACF – Advocacy Coalition Framework

AIDS – Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC – African National Congress

APC – All Progressive Congress

AU – African Union

DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo

ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States

FBI – Federal Bureau of Investigation

FOI – Freedom of Information

FtF – face to face

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GNI – Gross National Income

HDI – Human Development Index

HIV – Human Immuno Virus

HMT – Human Motivation Theory

HRW – Human Rights Watch

ICT – Information Communication Technology

IGP – Inspector General of Police

INEC – Independent National Electoral Commission

IPOB – Indigenous People of Biafra

IQ – Intelligence Quotient

IRB – Institutional Review Board

KANU – Kenya African National Union

MDC – Movement of Democratic Change

MHNT – Maslow’s Human Needs Theory

NAPEP – National Poverty Alleviation Programme

NDA – Nigerian Defence Academy

NURTW – National Union of Road Transport Workers

PDP – Peoples’ Democratic Party

PVC – Permanent Voters’ Card

SAP – Structural Adjustment Programme

SMS – Short Messaging Service

SSS – State Security Service

TLT – Transformational Leadership Theory

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO –

ZANU-PF – Zimbabwe African National Union Popular Front